

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

by

Dr. N. RAMESAN.

MADRAS (10th) 1981



Published by

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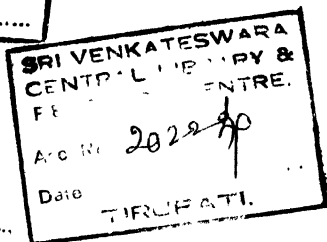
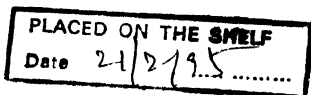
TIRUMALA TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAMS, TIRUPATI.

1981

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

By :

Dr N. RAMESAN, M.A, Ph.D; F.R.A.S; I.A.S.



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P. V. R. K. PRASAD, I.A.S.,

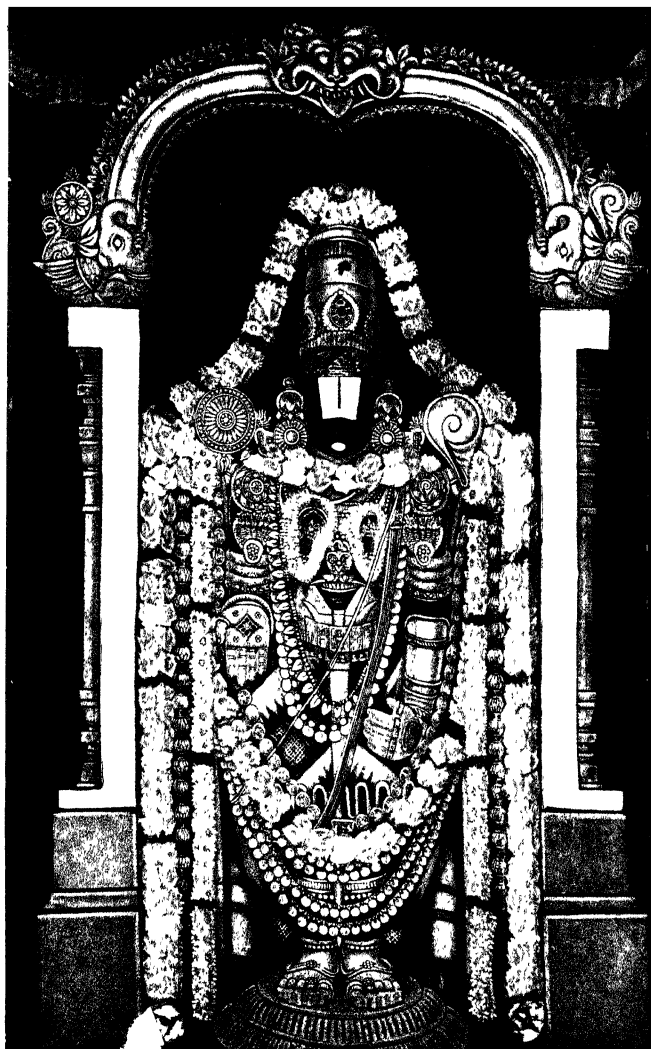
Executive Officer,

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Printed at :

T. T. D. Press, Tirupati.

Copies : 2,000



Publisher's Note

Indian culture and spiritualism was enshrined in its temples which were exactly designed to remind people of their rich and varied heritage. Thus the ideals and aspirations of the nation as a whole are centred in the temples where, we are given to understand the visible and tangible form of the Lord of the creation is established for the specious purpose of sincere worship of the devotees at large in gratitude to enable them to have a worthy and useful life in society.

Thus the sacred Temple of Lord Venkateswara at Tirumala is of hoary age. Renowned devotees with profound devotion to the Lord have worshipped at the shrine through centuries. Several well-known Royal personages of the bygone ages had bestowed their attention on the Lord and his Temple and endowed the same with their special *sevas* and improved the precincts of the original shrine in various ways.

The T. T. Devasthanams had already published some books on the History and development of the temples at Tirumala - Tirupati in the past. Now, we are happy to present to our readers, yet another work on the Temple at Tirumala with particular emphasis on the lively Art found in the various shrines and places there. We are grateful to Sri (Dr.) N. Ramesan, the expert and enthusiast, with rich experience to his credit, who came forward to contribute his labours to record the relevance and significance of the Art Lore at Tirumala and its environs.

We sincerely hope that this work will enthuse the interested and devoted public to worship Lord Venkateswara with understanding and devotion.

TIRUPATI,
July 17, 1981

P. V. R. K. PRASAD,
EXECUTIVE OFFICER,
T. T. DEVASTHANAMS

FOREWORD

The Temple of Lord Venkatesvara at Tirumala is one of the most sacred shrines in South India. People believe that Lord Narayana manifested himself at this spot to redeem people from the miseries of the 'Kali-age.' People throng in millions to get the sacred darshan and obtain the boons from the Varadahastha of the Lord here. It is perhaps the richest temple in the East. The temple has a hoary antiquity and several scholars have attempted to present the history of the shrine and of these "The History of Tirupati" by Dr S K Iyengar and Tiruvengadachari are notable.

Dr Ramesan has tried in the following pages to present the history of this shrine in all aspects making an indepth study of the problems connected with the Tirumala Temple.

He has attempted to reassess the voluminous literary, epigraphical and iconographic data and presented a connected chronological account of this famous centre of pilgrimage, which has received benefactions from ruling dynasties like the Pallavas, Colas, the Yadavarayas, and the Vijayanagara rulers.

Dr. Ramesan has identified the numerous structures in the temple complex mentioned in the inscriptions, dated them, and has provided us with an account of the evolution and development of this temple complex. This is a distinct addition to our present knowledge.

There are a number of misgivings amongst scholars relating to this God. Some believe that it is a 'Saivakshetra' while others state it to be a Sakti Pitha. As though to give credence to this, ritual and offerings connected with this shrine are similar to those of Sakti. The God is given a sacred bath on Friday and the Brahmotsava is performed during the Navratri festival when the Goddess Durga is worshiped with all pomp and splendor. Dr. Ramesan after making careful personal study of the image has finally set at rest the doubts, by presenting the data and establishing that it is essentially a Vaishnavakshetra and that the image of Venkatesvara belongs to the Pre-Pallava age when the Agama texts were not codified and that it is a Svayam-vyakta.

He has also utilised the data from the European records and traced the administrative history of the shrine in modern period after graphically describing its vicissitudes during the earlier epochs, which serves as a background. This is a welcome addition to the literature on the Tirumala Tirupati Devasathanam. We should be thankful to Dr. Ramesan for this magnum opus.

P R E F A C E

Lord Venkatesvara of Tirumala is our family deity, our *kula deviam*, who has been guiding the fortunes of our family for several generations. To me personally, He is not only the Lord of the universe, but a very intimate, close, loving, speaking, deity, to whom I turn for support in times of joy, and succour in times of distress. To me, he is not a mere stone idol, but a vibrant living personal God; full of grace and full of infinite blessings, to be conferred if only, one surrenders one's self to Him

My earliest re-collection of the Lord of the Seven Hills is of 1926, when as a child of five years I trudged along a *doli* which carried some of my family elders up the hill. Since then, off and on, I have been going up the seven hills, whenever I felt it, and whenever I felt the need for it

On the Vijayadasami day of 1942, which was a misty and foggy day, when I witnessed the procession of the Lord at the close of the *Brahmotsavam* I, as a very young student, who had just then stepped into epigraphical research, felt a yearning, that in the fullness of time, I might be given an opportunity to present a critical review of the epigraphs of the Temple. It is a curious quirk of fate, that on the same Vijayadasami day, nearly forty-years later in 1979, I am writing this preface on this book of mine, on The Tirumala Temple

The intervening four decades have to me been years of great events. During these four decades, I have been on an average visiting the Lord practically once in three months. From 1956 onwards, I had kept detailed notes about my observations of the Temple, about its epigraphs, its sculptures, its architecture, its agamic practices, and about all matters connected with it.

I deem it a great stroke of good fortune, that at the end of my active career in the Government, a set of fortuitous circumstances should have so shaped themselves, as to afford me an opportunity to be the first servant of the Lord, as Chairman of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams for nearly a year. Little did I imagine in my wildest dreams, that such a singular honour of serving the Lord, for however short a period it may be, would ever arise in my life. My grateful thanks are due to the Giver of All Mercies for what I consider to be the greatest blessing in my life. In temporal terms, my profound and grateful thanks are due to Dr. M. Channa Reddy, the present Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, through whom, the Lord of the Seven Hills made this possible

So far as this book is concerned, I do not claim to be a scholar. Nor do I claim this to be an original one. I am not, in any professional sense, either a historian, or a specialist in anything. However, I have always been preoccupied with history, with epigraphs, with religion and the agamas as a whole, and with the general forces of history and philosophy, that supply the basic impulses towards human conduct. I have always believed, that history is nothing but the evolution of a drama that is played out by society, and that the ideas and thoughts that permeate a society, in any particular period, supply the motivating forces for their action. Hence, in my view, we have to look for a history of thought to trace correctly a history of events, and deduce from a critical review of a history of events, the evolution of a history of thought

In our country, such a preoccupation, would inevitably lead to a study of the impact on society, of religion, which has contributed towards major shifts in the history of human thought, and thereby helped to shape world history. This mental preoccupation of mine, found me therefore, specially disposed, if not specially equipped, to take a comprehensive view of the Temple and its evolution, and to edit this book.

However, I have taken great pains to see, that the original sources were always resorted to for factual information, and one may rest assured, that this work will not suffer from any lack of factual authoritativeness. Whatever may be the other drawbacks of this book, the factual data presented here, can be accepted to be based upon widely respected authorities.

SRI Sadhu Subramanya Sastry, the renowned Epigraphist of the Devasthanams, has done yeoman service in collecting, tabulating, deciphering and presenting in a critical manner, a major portion of the epigraphs of the Tirumala Tirupati Temples. The work has been done by him with such thoroughness, competence, and authoritative mastery of the subject, that no one can hope to better it. I have fully drawn upon this mine of information, for preparing most of the historical material in this book. Most of his conclusions and translations have been quoted in his own words, in the body of this book, since his books have also been published by the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams. In this respect, most of the contents of the present book, based on epigraphs, could be deemed to be only an edition of Sadhu Subramanya's work. I had also the benefit of seeing some stray essays written by him in manuscript, which were available in the Devasthanam's office, and which contained further additional information, and which do not appear to have been published upto now. The present book could never have been written but for his monumental work, and I take great pride in acknowledging the profound indebtedness of this book to his pioneering work.

Similarly in 1950s Sri T. K. T. Viraraghavachari brought out a book of the history of Tirupati Temple, also published, by the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams. Sri Viraraghavachari was a very renowned scholar, and a devout bhakta of Lord, and he had critically examined most of the epigraphical source material that were presented by Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry. I have also drawn extensively from his books and quoted then in his own words in this book, and my grateful thanks are due to him also for much of the information in this book.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar wrote for the first time a history of Tirupati in two volumes in 1939. Sri Viraraghavachari's book which was next, dealt at length with the mode of worship, the festivals and rituals and the historical evolution of the Temple administration. A short book on the Tirumala temple was brought out by Sri V. Srinivasa Rao about 1949. This was in the nature of an informative brochure on the temple.

In 1953, Sri V. M. Narsimhan published a very small booklet of 25 pages on the *Architectural Development of Tirumala Temple*. This is in the nature of a very short essay.

In 1963, Professor M. Rama Rao of Sri Venkatesvara University published a very small pamphlet on the Temples of Tirumala, Tirupati, Tiruchanur which is more in the nature of guide book.

The Bharata Vidya Bhavan of Bombay has published in 1968 a handy and popular edition, by my good friend and colleague Sri P. Sitapati, I.A.S., entitled '*Sri Venkateswara*'. He has an exquisite write up in inimitable prose on the Holy figure of the Lord in this book, and since this could not be bettered, I have reproduced it in full in this book.

The above are the only publications on the Tirumala Temple. It would be seen from the above that apart from Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry's epigraphs and Sri T.K.T. Viraraghava Chari's book, there has been no consistent and authoritative account of the Temple containing an account of its geography, its history, its epigraphs, its iconography, a description of its festivals, the treatment of Tirumala Temple in literature and music, the temple administration under various kings and lastly the temple under the British etc. etc. It is rather curious that such a famous and ancient shrine, with a history of nearly 2000 years, has not upto now attracted the attention of scholars, especially, since, in the past two decades, a study of temples has become an integral part of the study of society in India. The present book presumes to supply this want in some respects.

The job that I set before myself was not to make any original discoveries or to put forth original points of view. Mine was a simple undertaking to

collect, arrange and determine the proportions of the parts and phases of the great strides in Temple worship which is typified in the Tirumala temple. I did not expect to add anything new to the knowledge of the Temple, and I hope I have added none. The job that I set before myself was to digest the original sources that were made available by such illustrious scholars as Sadhu Subramanya Sastry, T. K. T. Viraraghavachari etc. and present them in as readable and as cogent a manner as possible before the devotee public. For this limited task, I am probably better qualified than the other scholars, since I have no prouder title than my own name, and the only conceivable honour that I have is my own. I am therefore in the happy position of committing mistakes which will affect none. However, the subject of the abode of the Lord of the Seven Hills is so splendid, that no possible treatment of it by anyone could rob it of its sweeping dignity and grandeur. Some of this has stuck to this book, and I must confess, it is so, in spite of me.

My foremost thanks are due to the present Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh Dr. M. Channa Reddy for all the consistent encouragement that he has been giving me right through in my assignment in the Temple.

My special thanks are due to my young friend and colleague Sri P.V.R.K. Prasad, I.A.S., Executive Officer of Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, who so enthusiastically and readily agreed to take up the publication of this work, under the auspices of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams. Brief as has been my association with him, it has been a very intimate and to me a gratifying one. He has taken to his work, not as a mere official assignment, but as a mission, and the one year of his association with the temple has brought about great and perceptible changes in the temple administration. My grateful thanks are due to him for all the help that he rendered to me.

I am deeply beholden to Sri R. Suryanarayanamurthy, Public Relations Officer, Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, and the able Press Manager Sri Vijaya Kumar, and all the staff and workers of the Devasthanams Press who have printed this work so well and so neatly and in record time.

My personal thanks are due to Sri R. S. P. Anjaneya Sarma and Sri Syed Habeebuddin, who have faithfully served me as my personal assistants and who have ungrudgingly typed the entire work as a labour of love.

I have discussed with my friend Dr. R. Subramanyam, Professor of History, Nagarjuna University, the architecture of the Temple and especially that of the Vijayanager period. I am grateful to him for his suggestions and for the write up on the architecture of the Mukkotil Pradakshinam of the Temple which has been embodied in full in the book. I am also deeply grateful to him for having so kindly agreed to write a Foreword.

I must also thank my good friend Sri C. Anna Rao, Peishkar, Executive Officer, and later Chairman of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, who gave me all the help required to study the temple at close quarters through 20 or 30 years. I could never have attained such an intimate rapport with the Temple but for his unfailing courtesy and readiness, always to help

I am grateful to the Geological Survey of India for the description of the natural geological arch and the geological non-conformity mentioned in Chapter I. Similarly Chapter II was edited under my supervision while I was State Editor, District Gazetteers, Government of Andhra Pradesh, for Chittoor District. Since the historical background of the Temple is the same, I have reproduced it in full with only slight changes here and there

I have also perused a very comprehensive and authoritative work on the iconography of the Temple prepared by Dr. K. V. Raman and which it is hoped will be published shortly by the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams. To avoid duplication in block making by the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, I have selected the same photographs for my treatment on the chapter of the iconography of the Temple. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. K. V. Raman for this

Last but not least, my special thanks are due to my wife, Smt. Tripurasundari Ramesan, who has been so full of understanding and accommodation, in dealing with an otherwise busy husband, who chose to be beset, in his spare time, by the wayward moods of a historical research student, rather than by the pleasures of homely comfort

I have dedicated this book, as all my other works, to his Holiness Jagadguru Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati Swamy Sankaracharya of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Pitham, who has been my guru and God always guiding me in his own inimitable manner on the path of right thinking and right conduct.

N. Ramesan

DEDICATION BY THE AUTHOR

स म र्प ण म्

The work is respectfully dedicated to His Holiness

Jagadguru Sri Chandrasekarendra Saraswathi Swami

of

Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham

By whose Grace

I am what I am

श्रीमत्काञ्चीनगर्यामवनिजनगणैः पूजितं कामकोटी-

पीठं सम्भूषयन् यो जयति कलिलं शोषयन् मौनिचन्द्रः ।

जीवन्मुक्तो जगत्पां नियतिमयतपश्शक्तिः पूजनीयः

सद्धर्मस्योद्दिधीर्षुः कलियुगजनुषां भाग्यतो भासते यः ॥

१

सज्ज्ञानानन्दभासे प्रविमलतपसे मद्गुरुस्वामिनेऽहं

अल्पोऽरूपार्थमिहैनां निजकृतिमुपदीकर्तुमर्हः कथं स्याम् ।

यद्यप्येवम् त्वदीयस्समजनिषि जनन्यात्मजन्यायतोऽहं

क्षान्त्या स्वीकृत्य महुष्कृतमथ सुकृतं रक्षतान्मामितीडे ॥

२

गण्येऽहं दीनदीनः त्वमिह भुवि जनैः गण्यसे दीनबन्धुः

चिच्छक्त्याः कामकोट्याः शिवमयभगवत्पादसंस्थापितार्घ्यम् ।

पीठं विश्वप्रशस्तं कलयसि महसा सद्गुरो! ज्ञानमूर्ते!

त्वत्पादाभोजयुग्मार्पितजनिमव मामाविल पापपङ्कैः ॥

३

विज्ञानज्ञानरक्तिः सदसदबगमः साहितीसक्तबुद्धिः

लोकज्ञत्वं च भक्तिः जगति परिचिताः त्वत्पदार्चावशान्मे ।

तस्य श्रीपादयुग्मे कृतिरियमणुरप्यर्पिता भक्तिभावैः

पूजाग्लानप्रसूनाञ्जलिरेव भवतात् प्रीतये सद्गुरोर्मे ॥

४

GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS

(I) Location

THE group of hills lying in the shape of a coil called the Tirumalai hills, forms a feature of the region of South India between the 13th and 14th degrees of north latitude and east longitude 79 degrees.

The Tirumalai range has seven principal peaks, each of them sacred, and each of them bearing a separate name accounted for by a fable. Near one of them namely Seshachalam, stands the Tirumala temple and the whole range is often called after this principal peak.

The Eastern Ghats which, from the northern extremity of the state, run close to the coast, turn into the interior after passing the river Krishna, and then break up into a number of parallel ranges of hills, of which, in the region south of the Krishna and extending southwards to the latitude of Madras, say roughly 13th degree of north latitude, three parallel ranges are distinguishable. The range nearest the coast runs more or less straight in one single range. The second range is an irregular group starting from the Krishna well below Kurnool, and runs down in a semicircle into the Cuddapah District scattering about in a cluster, one group of which is called Seshachalam hills; the main range however runs southwards till it makes a further approach to the coast, coming down as far as Ponneri, a few miles north of Madras. The third range, more irregular and much lower in point of height, proceeds

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

northwards from the foot of the Mysore plateau and scatters itself through Anantapur and Kurnool districts. The central group is what is called Nallamalais in the Kurnool District, and, as it proceeds southwards from there, it becomes more definitely something like a single range, and meets the Eastern range round about the group of hills at Tirupati, Kalahasti, etc. These hills therefore form a feature of the frontier half a degree to the north of Madras, extending the whole length from the Mysore plateau and stretching eastwards to almost near the coast at Ponneri, and thus constitute a prominent feature of the south extremity of Andhra Pradesh.

The Hill is but a part of the mountain range designated as the Eastern Ghats. It may be taken to start from the *Anamalais* in the extreme south and to traverse the Coimbatore District, the eastern frontier of Mysore territory, through the Salem and the present North Arcot Districts, before entering the Chittoor District at Palamaner. It takes a direction somewhat east of north upto the *Talakona* Water Falls, where there is a deflection towards the east till it reaches *Tirumala*. To the east of *Tirumala* it ends in a gap. The length of this bit of the Eastern Ghats is about 12 miles between *Talakona* and *Tirumala*, as the crow flies. The actual forest path along the crest of the Hill may be about 20 miles. This portion seems to have been considered very holy from time immemorial. As evidence of this, we see even today that the *Kona* (water course) commencing from the *Talakona* falls on the extreme west is called the *Papavinasanam Kona*. The water course of the eastern end is also called the *Papavinasam Kona*.

The *Talakona* Falls and the *Vagu* seem to be the natural result of the wrench which the Hill was subjected to by the sharp turn from north to east. The level of the hill on the north is about 3,583 feet, east and south about 3,800 feet. The waterfall itself which is perennial is about 200 feet. The level country to the west of the hill, is about 1,800 to 2,000 feet above sea level. The valley contains luxuriant ever green forests and presents a good natural scenery. The hill has a sharp slope towards the plains. There is an ancient *Siddheswara* shrine on the plains, close to the hill on the west. This waterfall, being the first one on the hill, is known as the *Talakona* falls.

This constituted the ancient border between the Tamil country in the South and *Vadugu*, by which name the modern Kannada and Telugu speaking region, to its north, was then known. *Vengadam* or the *Tirumala* hill was a prominent outpost of this border. The Puranas compare the central range, mentioned above, to a huge recumbent serpent, and locate the *Mallikarjuna* temple of *Srisailem* on its tail, the *Narasimha* temple of *Ahobilam* on its back,

GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS

the *Sri Venkateswara* temple of *Tirumala* on the back of the hood, and the *Kalahastisvara* temple of *Kalahasti* at the opening of the mouth.

Tirupati and *Tiruchanur* are located in a big circular plain surrounded by a chain of hills on all sides. The *Tirumala* hills form the northern part of this chain and the town of *Tirupati* is about two miles to the south of these hills.

The hill on which the temple of *Sri Venkateswara* stands, popularly known as *Venkatachala*, is low and surrounded by many hills of a higher altitude, as is the case with the hill on which is located the *Mallikarjuna* temple of *Srisailem*. There are five well-known paths leading to the temple. Of them, two routes start from the town of *Tirupati*, the stepped pathway, seven miles long, and the motor road, twelve miles long. The third route is from *Chandragiri*. The fourth starts from the *Mamandur* Railway Station and the fifth passes by *Nagapatla*.

Intimately associated with the temple of *Tirumala* are two *konas* on the Hill. One is called the *Papavinasam* (obviously the eastern one) and the other the *Avachari vanka*. The former drains the part of the Hill which may be said to be to the north of the temple and the latter the part to the south, rather south east, of it. Both are important on account of the many sacred *Tirthams* thereon.

(ii) Topography

The physical geography of the *Tirumala* like its social economy, typifies the interaction of the Tamil and Telugu cultures of South India. The dominant topographical feature of *Tirumala* is the secluded hill top on which the temple is built. As a matter of fact this has been referred to in the following words used in *Silappadhikaram*:

“*Venkadamennum Enguyar Malaiyath thuchimimisai*”

This notion that the Lord was named as “*Uchchuyilninran*” (He who stands on the summit) appears to have persisted as a legacy of the tradition till the middle of the 13th Century. The realisation that the temple was actually on a much lower level than its surroundings became more general in later days.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The temple rises to 3,426 feet. A little further near the *Jabali Tiritham* the level is 3177 feet. To the East the hill rises from about 2250 ft. to 2750 ft.; to the South to 2920 ft. and in the South west the *Narayanagiri* rises to 3,620 ft.

The western parts of the Chittoor district in which Tirumala is situated form the rugged eastern scarps of the Mysore Plateau with Gneissic rocks. Eastwards of the plateau are numerous clusters of detached hills some of considerable size and elevation. In the eastern parts of the area, the Cuddapah geological formations occur. The southern end of the Veligondas, the *Tirumala* hills including the Mamandur valley forests, contain a succession of shales, quartzites etc. The tremendous lines of scarp and often vertical cliffs seen in the *Seshachalam* range of hills give a peculiar and grand character to the local landscape

(iii) Climate

The climate is on the whole dry and agreeable. The year is divided into four seasons. December to February is dry and cool. March to May is summer followed by the South West monsoon from June to September. October and November is the post monsoon retreating period, the average rainfall being 8 to 7.5 mm. (32.58").

(iv) Rainfall

The annual rainfall is between 34 and 35 inches. The rainfall during the monsoon period from June to September constitutes only 44% of the annual normal rainfall. During May there is some significant amount of rainfall mostly in the form of thunder showers. During the post monsoon season as much as 35% of the annual rainfall is received. The period from August to November is the chief rainy season, October being the rainiest month. The variation in the rainfall from year to year is very large.

The valleys of the tract on the whole are fairly healthy. In the *Tirupati* range the climate is very unhealthy, and till recently a residence of even a few days ensured an attack of malaria fever.

The rainfall is rather precarious in Chittoor District where *Tirumala* is located and the district is constantly subject to drought and famine. Most of the precipitation occurs in North East monsoon while it is less in South West monsoon. The western taluks of Vayalpad, Madanapalli, Punganur,

GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS

Palamaner and Kuppam are the worst taluks constantly subject to famine. Whenever there are depressions in the Bay of Bengal nearer to Madras coast, the district gets good rain under their influence.

(v) Temperature

The annual temperature ranges from 18° to 42° C. The period from about the middle of November to the middle of February is the coolest part of the year. In December when the mean temperature is the lowest, the mean daily maximum temperature is 25.3°C (77.5°F) and the mean daily minimum is 15.4°C (59.7°F). After February the temperature begins to rise rapidly. April and May are the hottest months with a mean daily maximum temperature of 34.8°C (94.6°F). The nights are slightly hotter in May than in April, the mean daily minimum in May being 23.9°C (75.0°F). Thunder showers which occur on some days during the afternoon of April and May bring welcome relief. With the onset of the South-West monsoon by about the first week of June, day temperature decreases a little and the weather in the whole of the south west and post monsoon season is more agreeable than in the summer season. Night temperature decreases after October.

(vi) Humidity

The relative humidity is about 70% to 80% in the morning and about 60% to 65% in the afternoons during the period from July to December. It decreases thereafter. The driest part of the year is the period from February to May when the relative humidities in the afternoons are between 25% to 40%.

(vii) Cloudiness

During the period from June to November, skies are moderately and heavily clouded and overcast on a few days. During the rest of the year the skies are clear or highly clouded.

(viii) Winds

Winds are generally light and blow mainly from directions between south-west and north-west during the period from May to September; for the rest of the year, winds are light and variable in the morning. Afternoon

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

winds are stronger, and in the period from October to January, they are mainly north westerly or easterly; in the next three months, afternoon winds are mostly from direction between east and north

(ix) Geological Formations

The geological formation of the area is of three kinds. The Jewadis, the Eastern Ghats, and the spurs passing from them—belong to the gneissic or metamorphis series, and this formation underlies, and occassionally crops up from beneath, the level plains of the south-east. The hills present a bare and rugged appearance, being rarely covered with more than a stunted scrub jungle. Long coarse grass grows everywhere among the rocks, affording pasturage to the miserable village cattle during the cool season, but during the dry months the rocks are parched and useless. The villagers then set fire to the grass, and the conflagrations rapidly spreading destroys the withered blades and form a fresh soil, from which at the advent of the rains new shoots spring up. The stunted jungle naturally suffers from such rough treatment, and wood sufficiently large for building purposes can only be cut in a few localities.

Associated with the gneissic deposits are found enormous bands of trap, occurring in the form of dykes. These may often be traced for many miles, and almost invariably follow a direction from east to west, rising vertically through the hills that they traverse. The trap rock is very hard, and in consequence often forms the backbone of lofty ridges of gneissic formation.

The formation also consists of conglomerates, and sandstones altered into quartzites, with limestone and volcanic rocks. Near the southern base of the *Tirupati* Hills, which resemble those of *Nagari*, has been found an extensive bed of soft sandstone, or freestone, several hundred feet in thickness, and running in a north westerly direction for two or three miles. The stone is remarkably like the freestone which occur on the borders of coal fields.

To these formations may be added the laterite beds of *Kalahasti*. This part of the area forms a detached portion near the sea coast, and its geological features resemble those of the neighbourhood of *Madras*. The soil consists of red clayey conglomerates, gravels, and sands, the first predominating. The conglomerate is of a coarse kind, containing numerous quartzite stones, waterworn and smooth. The embedded stones are large and numerous in the neighbourhood of the *Nagari* rocks, but decrease in size and number as the distance from those hills increases, till near the coast they are mere

GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS

casual pebbles. The laterite when first dug is comparatively soft, but hardens on exposure to the air, forming an excellent material for revetting tanks or wells, building houses, or enclosing fields.

The remarkable and highly picturesque scenery which a pilgrim sees during various points in ascent is due to the great mural scarps into which the massive quartzite beds have been worn. The quartzites are generally very massive and semivitreous in texture, and occur in thick beds, which often show but little lamination. The prevalent colours of the quartzites are pale greys and drabs all weathering to shades of buff or pale orange. The principal lines of scarp face the south. In places we find bare walls standing vertically

The Tirumala hills are composed essentially of sedimentary rocks—Quartzites with intercalated shales, which are given the geological, stratigraphical nomenclature of Nagari Quartzite. These quartzites rest directly on the granites and gneisses which form the lower parts of Tirumala hill ranges of South and West and also constitute the rocks of the minor and major hills South and West of Tirumala. This Nagari Quartzite forms a part of a major geological basin (depositional basin) known as the Cuddapah basin, whose rocks extend for a large semicircular region, upto Dronachalam in the West, beyond Srisailem in the North, Jaggayyapeta in the Northeast, and with the hill ranges of Velikonda along Vinukonda, Udayagiri and Venkatagiri, forming the eastern margin of the basin. While the granites and gneisses with intrusive dolerite etc., which form the basement for the basin, are about 2,500 million years old, the oldest formation of the Cuddapah basin are approximately 1,700 million years old and among them the Nagari Quartzites which are slightly younger are about 1,500 million years old. This long time gap between the basement and sedimentary rocks in this region, represented by the basal conglomerate is called the *Eparchaeon Unconformity*. This feature was recently highlighted by the Geological Survey of India by setting up a selected spot at the base of sedimentary rocks near Tirumala, as a National Geological Monument. This is located at the 18th km on the new ghat road at the point where the road reaches the plateau top.

The Nagari Quartzite whose base is very near the top of the Tirumala hills at Tirupati, gradually comes down, as the boundary is traced eastwards and reaches the valley level at the foot of the hills near Kapilathirtham and goes below ground level further east.

The granites and gneisses as well as the Nagari Quartzite are cut by several major faults i.e. dislocation of the formation along more or less straight

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

lines and displacements of the blocks relative to each other on either side of the plane of disturbance. One such fault runs in SSW—NNE direction passing right through the Tirumala temple area. Another runs in WSW—ENE direction passing through the Avaicharikonda. Another major fault running EW is inferred along the foot of the hills North of Tirupati passing further east through Karkambadi and Erpedu. The fault zones are usually locales of seepage of water. The fault at Tirumala has evidently helped in localising the water sources in the Tirumala—Tirupati area.

The top parts of the hills of Nagari, Narayanavanam etc. situated in the area between Swarnamukhi and Arni rivers between Kalahasthi and Puttur at the east and southeast of Tirupati, are composed of the same formation, i.e. Nagari Quartzite; while the lower parts of hills and valleys are composed of granites and gneisses. The depositional limits of the Cuddapah basin rocks extend considerably to the South and Southeast of Tirumala-Tirupati area, and the rocks exposed in the hills of Nagari and Narayanavanam are now isolated by faulting and erosion.

While the hill ranges of the Tirumala form vertical cliffs, the hills of granites and gneisses are ranged to a large extent. This is because of the difference in the nature of the rocks. While the quartzites are gently sloping, bedded rocks, where the vertical jointing has resulted in the formation of cliffs, the granites and gneisses are large masses, whose uniform nature has resulted in different type of mounds. Moreover, the granites are more easily weathered and eroded than the quartzites, which are resistant to chemical weathering. Thus in many areas the quartzites have formed a protective cover on the granites and prevented their complete erosion.

The agents of erosion have carved a 'Natural Arch' in the Nagari Quartzite, in the area northwest of Tirumala Temple. This is a gift of nature to the Shrine of Lord Venkatesvara. This is interesting to a layman and important to a scientist. Hence, this rare gift of nature is to be preserved as a National Monument.

The faulting as well as the folding of the rocks further east of Tirumala area, has deformed them into faulted structures, anticlines and synclines and formation of linear hill ranges. In contrast, the western part of Tirumala and further northwest where the rocks are only tilted and faulted retain their general slopes and are wide spread.

GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS

(x) Minerals.

Among the gneissic hills iron ore of Dharwarian age in the form of hematite is found in considerable quantities and is in some places, exported. The product is poor in quality and the percentage of iron is less than 60%. Steatite barytes, gold and lead are found in small quantities in the area. Copper mines, once profitably worked in the Kalahasti Zamindari have long been abandoned.

(xi) Flora.

The flora of the tract is a measure of the general state of its progress on the whole, although the ecological succession is rather hampered by biotic influences mostly. In spite of the heavy influence of a biotic nature the district still presents unique flora to a botanical explorer. The climate, topography and geology have played a great role in presenting the flora of the tract. The climate is on the whole salubrious.

The gneissic formations occurring in *Seshachalam* and *Tirupati Hills*, mostly carry the red sander forests with its associates, the plateau portions sandal, and the plain areas dry deciduous forests. In the *Chamala*, *Mamandur* and *Talakona Valleys*, soil depth is more, and dry evergreen vegetation occurs. In the crevices of rocks, *Ficus* species and other epiphytic species come up, which help in the process of breaking up of the rocks and their eventual disintegration.

The rest of the country-side outside the hill ranges, i.e., the Reserve Forest areas, presents a dry undulating landscape, more so in the western upland taluks without crops of granite and quartzites. In between the uplands, one comes across depressions caused by the numerous nallas that drain into *Bahuda*, *Satyavathi*, *Pincha*, *Palar*, *Swarnamukhi*, *Kalyani*, *Talakona*, *Kusasthali*, *Neeva* etc. Often these streams are bunded to form small tanks from the catchment area downwards under whose ayacut wet crops like paddy (*Oriza sativa*) is sown. Along these wet fields and depressions one comes across green patches of mesophytic type of flora like *Syzygium cuminii*, *Pongamia glabra* and large trees of *Terminalia arjuna*. One also finds large trees of mango (*Mangifera indica*) which are often planted, *Phoenix sylvestris* and a number of grasses along water courses. The district is rich with tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*) trees which are found along highways and in village sites; but most of them are now being cleared to get the areas under plough

THE TIRÚMALA TEMPLE

and for widening the roads and they are getting isolated and scattered on private and government lands as silent witnesses to the capacity of the land.

(xii) Forest.

Forests cover about 27.4% of the total extent of the area of the Chittoor district in which *Tirumala* lies. In view of conserving and increasing the land under forests the Government have taken over several estate forest blocks paying due compensations during the past one decade.

The floristic composition in the forests vary from dry mixed deciduous to thorny scrub with occasional patches of dry evergreen growth and can be assumed to have reached the climatic climax of the region. The forests of *Bhakarapet* and *Tirupati* Ranges and these in their vicinity, mainly confining to imposing *Seshachalam* hills were assumed to be part of *Dandakaranya* of antiquity, as expounded in the famous epic *Ramayana*. *Dandakaranya*, as implied in its name, was impregnable and was replete with a great variety of birds and animals, besides its luxuriant and varied vegetative forms. Such remarkable vanams are too far deteriorated physically, as to be easily reclaimable, and in fact, tending to be an assemblage of bald and barren mountains and hills.

The principal natural factors influencing the floristic composition and its distribution are the locality factors inclusive of biotic factors. The forests of the tract present considerable variations in altitude, and these elevational variations naturally entail local variations in soil moisture and climate and influence the growth of the vegetation to some degree or other. The biotic factors are manifested by fires, thefts, overgrazing and cultivation. The frequency and intensity of fires have a direct bearing on the aspect and altitude and they largely influence the composition of the forests at least in the ground cover and lower canopy as crown fires are almost nil in the region.

The plateau forests are confined wholly to the high level plateau near *Tirumala* and to places above the escarpment of *Seshachalam* hills in *Bhakarapet* range. In a typical forest of this zone *Engenia alternifolia* forms nearly 80 percent of the crop. *Shorea tumbaggaia* is practically confined to the hillocks and ridges, while *Shorea talura* is confined to more moist localities. The associates of the above species are *Terminalia Pallida*, *Buchanania latifolia*, *Buchanania angustifolia*.

Besides the natural and endemic species a number of exotic species have been introduced by the forest department in plantations and afforestation

GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS

schemes of the degraded areas. Notable among these species are *Eucalyptus* hybrid, *Dalbergia sissoo*, *Cassia Siamea*, *Prosopis cineraria*, *Acacia auriculiformes*, *Acacia senegal* and *Tecoma undulata*. Many exotic species notably *Gulmohar* (*Delonix regia*), *Peltophorum ferrugineum*, *Millingtonia hortensis*, *Grevillia robusta* (silver oak) planted on some avenues and in some institutional compounds are coming up well. Avenues of neem and tamarind are of common occurrence.

(xiii) Fauna.

The forests of the district especially those of *Tirupati* and *Bhakarapet* ranges even before their reservation, were reported to be rich both in flora and fauna. Legions of birds and animals were reported to have found in them a good abode and lived an unbridled and poised life. Mr. Jean Baptiste Travernier a French traveller and jewel merchant who passed through these forests on 27—8—1652 has written in his chronicles that the "place is very pleasant and derives its coolness from numerous streams and fountains" and that elephant capturing operations were then being conducted in these hills by one of the captains of Mir Jumla's army. This may appear rather difficult to believe to those acquainted with the present condition of the forests and the fauna existing therein now, but it may not be far from truth, if we can visualise the amount of havoc which could have been caused by man to the once dense forests during the past three centuries. Not only have the big game like elephants, bisons etc, disappeared, but even the carnivora like tigers and panthers, not to speak of Cheetahs, are greatly depleted and almost extinct. Other common forms of wild life such as sambhurs and spotted deers are also frightfully reduced and one rarely sees them in herds. The opening of extensive unreserves around all forest reserves for cultivation, forming new highways passing through or along *Nagapatla*, *Bhakarapet*, *Tirupati*, *Mamandur* and *Napier R F.* and the advent of fast moving vehicles and the jeeps that can cruise the rugged forest tracts, the proliferation of unlicensed weapons and coming of cheap and poisonous poison drugs like endrine etc, and man's unsportive desire for ruthless destruction of wild beasts, have all cumulatively contributed to the present sad state of affairs of reduction in the rate and varied fauna in the forests. Today even the harmless peacocks are reduced in numbers. To give the much harassed wild life a chance to recoup, all the forests in the district were closed to shooting from 1962.

The incidence of horned game is much in *Tirupati* ranges where the locality factors are quite congenial for their living.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xiv) Birds

The bird life in general may be considered to be in much better shape in the tract as the poachers had not concentrated much in their destruction and the birds protecting themselves better by their flight and smallness in size than quadrupeds. A number of species exist in the tract whose number swell in the winter by swarms of migratory birds. Among the Babblers, the Large Grey Babbler (*Tindoides malcolmi*) is the common one. The Shrikes, like the Large Grey Shrike (*Lanis excubitor*) can be seen hawking insects among the main highways in the district and help to keep down the insect population that crop up during and after rains. The king-crow, Mynas and Crows are always attendant on cattle snapping up insects. These and a host of other birds like the Warblers, Zee-eaters, Hoopoes, Swifts etc., all help in keeping down the insect population which would otherwise cause untold harm to the crops. Vultures like the White-Borched and Long-billed keep the countryside clean of carcasses and are to be found practically all over the area. The other predatory birds are the Eagles, Kites and owls which keep the rodent population under check. Among the game birds mention may be made of Sandgrouse, Quails, Partridges, green pigeons and pigeons, which are trapped by local villagers and Yenadis. A large number of water fowl visit the numerous tanks in the district in the winter season. Mention may be made of various ducks like spot-bills, pintails and pochards. The Chinnagottigallu tank in winter is always found with these ducks. Among the teals, the whistling teals are found in all seasons while the cotton and Blue-winged teals are found in other seasons. The paddy fields attract a number of Herons and Egrets at all times. The peacock (*Pavo cristatus*) is present still in *Tirupati*, *Bhakarapet*, *Madanapalli* and *Palamaner* Ranges, and quite often it may be seen crossing the *Tirumala* ghat road in the evening between the 6th and 7th mile. Parakeets, grey jungle fowls, Weaver birds are also found in plenty in all the class-I reserves in the district.

(xv) Reptiles.

A number of poisonous as well as non-poisonous snakes are found in the district. Most common among the poisonous are the cobra which is often revered by Hindus and milk offered into the anthills during *Nagulachavithi* festival. Russets viper (*Vipera russelli*) and Krait (*Bungarus faciatus*) is also common in the area. The python (*Python molus*) is reported to be present in the interior Class-I forests though it is seldom seen. The other non-poisonous snakes like rat snake (*Ptyas mucosa*), sand boa (*Erymjonni*),

GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS

the Green snake (*Tropidonotus stolatus*), water snake (*Tropidonus coton*) etc., are to be found commonly in and around the villages performing the very useful function of keeping down the rodent population.

Among the common *Lacertilia* (Lizards) mention may be made of the Monitor lizard (*Varanus grisens*: Telugu-*Udumu*). Geckos (*Hemidactylus fienatus*—Telugu-*Nalkisi*) and wall-lizards as well as the common garden lizard (*Calotes versicolor*: Telugu-*Tondaki*) are the usual sights.

Among the tortoises mention may be made of the soft shelled tortoise and the common tortoise which occur not only in rivers and streams but also in numerous wells and ponds. The starred Tortoise (*Testudo elegans*) is also found in the tract. It is a land-dweller and seeks the shelter of rocks where on account of its pattern it blends well with the bouldery surface.

A variety of fish are also found in the several rivers, streams, reservoirs and tanks in the district.

C H A P T E R

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(i) PREHISTORY

THE palaeolithic age, in which man fashioned his tools and weapons by chipping hard stones of convenient size and shape, is represented by the highly developed Acheulian handaxes discovered at Tirupati, Sitarampeta, Ellampalle, Mekalavandlapalle, Piler and Ghattu. The Mesolithic (Middle Stone) age, which was essentially a continuation of the one mentioned above, is represented by the quartzite tools found at Agraharam, Aravandlapalle, Chintaparti, Maratavandlapalle and Tirupati. Remains of the neolithic age have not yet been unearthed.

(ii) ANCIENT PERIOD: (1. The Mauryas and 2. The Satavahanas:)

Between the prehistoric and the earliest historical period there is a wide gap. No direct evidence relating to the early history of Tirumala has so far come to light. However, the political history of the area, like the other districts, commences with the Mauryas who extended their sway to the south after overthrowing the Nandas. After the decline of the Mauryan empire, the territory, constituting the present Chittoor district, came under the control of the Satavahanas whose rule lasted for more than four centuries.

(iii) THE PALLAVAS

The area then passed under the Pallavas, who are divided into the **Pallavas** of the Prakrit charters, the **Pallavas** of the Sanskrit charters and the **Greater**

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Pallavas. In the time of Skandavarman of the Prakrit charters, the kingdom extended upto the Krishna in the north and the Arabian Sea in the west. The territory, comprising the present Chittoor district, passed out of their control in the middle of the 4th century A.D., when the Gupta ruler, Samudragupta, invaded the south and defeated the Pallava ruler, Vishnugopa of Kanchi. Though the Pallava hegemony was re-established, the dominions were once again lost to Karikala Chola during the time of Trilochana Pallava. The Pallava overlordship over this region was established by Simhavishnu who ruled the kingdom between A.D. 560 and A.D. 580. A major portion of this district, situated in the north west of the Pallava kingdom bordering the Chalukyan territories, was poised directly between two rival powers, the Pallavas and the Chalukyas of Badami. Mahendravarman I (A.D. 580-630), however, lost much of his northern territory to the Western Chalukya ruler Pulakesi II. The Pallava rule over this district was, however, resuscitated by Narasimhavarman I (A.D. 630-668). His successors held sway over this area till the end. This is evident from a number of inscriptions pertaining to the Pallava rulers such as Narasimhavarman II (A.D. 700-728), Paramesvaravarman II (A.D. 728-731), Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-796), Dantivarman (A.D. 796-847), Nandivarman III (A.D. 846-869), Nripatungavarman (A.D. 859-899) and Aparajita (A.D. 885-903), found in this district.

The age of the Pallavas constitutes the first important landmark in the history of Tondamandalam and the Tirumala-Tirupati region which was included in it. These Pallavas were originally the inhabitants of the south-eastern part of the Satavahana empire, bordering upon Tondamandalam. The founder and first ruler of this dynasty, Simhavarman alias Virakurcha, married a Naga princess from the kingdom of Vanavasi and inherited a kingdom and royal status through his wife. As the son-in-law of the most powerful Naga family of the time, he might have been easily recognised as the leader by the other Naga tribes inhabiting Tondamandalam. He then invaded the coastal region, brought about the end of Ikshavaku rule and annexed the Guntur and Nellore districts and the districts of Rayalasima. He revived the old glory of the city of Kanchi by making it his capital. This vast kingdom founded by him flourished for a long time and was ruled over by his successors till the end of the ninth century A.D. It was then conquered by the Cholas.

There are two records * (219 and 223 G.T.) of the first of the last three rulers of the Pallava dynasty in this region. This king is mentioned as Ko-Vijaya-

* Note:- This and similar references elsewhere represent the epigraph number in Tirumala Temple (written as T.T.) and Govindaraja temple (written as G.T.). These epigraph numbers are the same as those given in the six volumes of "T.T.D. Inscriptions" published by T.T.D. Thus 43 T. T. means 43rd inscriptions of Tirumala Temple in "T.T.D. inscription", 25G.T. means 25th inscriptions of Govindaraja temple in "T.T.D. Inscriptions" and so on.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Dantivikramar and is identified with Dantivarman (775-826 A.D.). These inscriptions contain gifts made not to the temple on Vengadam but to a proxy or representative temple and its god, situated in Tiruchanur.

This area was included in the fief of the Banas, a family of Pallava feudatories. A Bana Vijayaditya figures in two inscriptions (429 and 229 G.T.). This Vijayaditya seems to have flourished in the early half of the ninth century A. D. After two more generations of Pallava kings the Chola king, Aditya I, invaded Tondamandalam, defeated its Pallava king, Aparajita, and conquered it. Thus ended Pallava rule over this region.

(iv) The Renadu Cholas

About the period of the Chalukyas of Badami and the Greater Pallavas of Kanchi, a portion of this district was under the rule of a branch of the Cholas claiming descent from the family of the historical or quasi-historical figure Karikala Chola. These chiefs are called the Renadu Cholas after the tract Renadu 7000 in Cuddapah district. Of these chiefs, the inscriptions of Mahendravikrama known by his title 'Chola Maharaja' and his son Punyakumara are found in this district.

(v) The Rashtrakutas

The Chalukyas of Badami were overthrown in A.D. 757 by their feudatories, the Rashtrakutas. Towards the close of the ninth century A.D., the Pallavas themselves had to contend with the rising power of the Pandyas. The Rashtrakutas seem to have actively assisted them, at least for sometime, in their struggle against the Pandyas. Another new power, the Imperial Cholas, emerged about this period in South India. These dynasties were destined to exert considerable influence over Chittoor district. Their feudatories, like the Banas, the Nolambas, the Western Gangas and the Vaidumbas, were entangled in the wars of these paramount powers and Chittoor district passed through fairly exciting times with the changing fortunes of the kingdoms and principalities of all these rulers.

The Pallava rule, however, came to an end in this district with the overthrow of the Pallava ruler Aparajita by the Chola ruler Aditya I (A.D. 871-907) and the annexation to the Chola kingdom of Tondaimandalam, which included this district. Before his death near Srikalahasti in the district, Aditya I conquered large territories and annexed them to his kingdom. Thus, at the accession of his son, Parantaka I (A.D. 907-955), the Chola kingdom embraced the whole country between Srikalahasti and Madras in the north, and the Kaveri in the south. Parantaka I defeated between A.D. 909 and A.D. 916 the Vaidumbas and two Bana kings, namely, Vikramaditya II and

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Vijayaditya III, whose rule extended over 'Perumbanappadi' comprising the area to the north of the Palar, between Punganur in the west and Srikalahasti in the east. Consequently, the Banas and the Vaidumbas sought refuge with the Rashtrakuta ruler Krishna III from the onslaught of the Cholas. Krishna III, accompanied by several subordinates including the Banas, led an expedition against the Chola kingdom and it ended disastrously for the Cholas. Much of the Chola territory slipped out of Parantaka's hands. There are a few inscriptions of Parantaka I in this district. Of these, some attest the closing years of his reign. For instance, an inscription from Vanamaladinne in Punganur taluk in this district is dated in his 48th regnal year, corresponding to A.D. 955.

Krishna III could not stay for long in the enemy kingdom but continued to be in effective possession of Tondaimandalam throughout his long reign, by appointing officers to look after the administration of the conquered territory. Vajjaradeva was thus appointed to govern Pulinadu in this district. A number of inscriptions belonging to the reign of Krishna III has been found in this district. After the death of Krishna III, Vajjaladeva or Vajjaradeva appears to have taken advantage of the disturbed conditions and declared independence, for he is described in an epigraph at Bodinayanipalle in Punganur taluk as 'ruling over the earth.' The rebellion by Vajjaradeva was, however, quelled.

Attempts were made by the Chola ruler Gandaraditya (A.D. 949-957) to recover the territory lost to Krishna III, but he could not make much progress. His efforts were continued by Arinjaya and his son Parantaka II (A.D. 957-973). Remarkable success attended the Chola efforts in the north, especially during the reign of the latter and by the time Uttama Chola (A.D. 970-985) ascended the throne, the bulk of Tondaimandalam had been recovered from the Rashtrakutas. The rule of Gandaraditya, Parantaka II (Sundara Chola) and Madhurantaka Uttama Chola in this district is represented by a few inscriptions.

(vi) THE BANAS

The Banas were closely associated with the territory now falling within the confines of Chittoor and other adjoining districts, including Kolar in Mysore State. They constituted one of the important feudatory dynasties. About 32 inscriptions of this dynasty are so far noticed in this district. Of these as many as 22 inscriptions are concentrated in Punganur taluk. The information available in these epigraphs is not yet clear enough to permit the presentation of any connected account.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The Banas claimed descent from Mahabali, a mythological asura king. In the middle of the fourth century A.D., the Kadamba chief Mayurasarman took up his abode in the inaccessible forests of Sriparvata (Srisailam) and levied tribute from many kings including the Brihat Bana, *i.e.*, the Great Bana. About this period, the Banas were probably feudatories of the Pallavas.

The country ruled by the Banas is called variously as '*Andhra Pathah Paschimato Kshitih*,' *i.e.*, the land to the west of the Andhra Road (or of the country called Andhrapatha), otherwise known as Vadugavali merku, Vadugavaliyinmerku, Vadugavali 12,000, and Vedugavali 12,000 and Manne 200. Perumbanappadi was perhaps another name in Tamil for this Bana territory. As already seen, Perumbanappadi extended from Punganur in the west to Srikalahasti in the east. The river Palar formed its southern boundary. Inscriptions refer in all to eight chiefs, namely, Nandivarman, Vijayaditya I, Malladeva, Vikramaditya I, Vijayaditya II, Vikramaditya II, Vijayaditya III and Vikramaditya III.

Some of these chiefs were often engaged in the conflicts involving the Pallavas, the Rashtrakutas and the Cholas and the feudatory dynasties such as the Vaidumbas, the Western Gangas and the Nolambas. They entered into matrimonial alliances with the other feudatory families and strengthened themselves. Thus Vikramaditya I married the daughter of the Western Ganga ruler Prithivapati I. Two inscriptions of his son, Vijayaditya II dated S. 820 (A.D. 898) and S. 827 (A.D. 905) take us to the period of the Rashtrakuta ruler Krishna II (A.D. 880-914), by which time the Pallavas had been replaced by the Imperial Cholas. The failure of Krishna II with whom the Banas were allied to secure the throne of the Cholas for his daughter's son, Kannaradeva, against Kannaradeva's rival and half-brother Parantaka I, created considerable difficulties for the Banas. Vikramaditya II and Vijayaditya III, who are said to have been then ruling over the Bana principality, were defeated and ousted from power by the Western Ganga chief Prithivipati II under the orders of Parantaka I. The Bana territory thus passed into the hands of the Chola ruler Parantaka I who appointed his own governors over it. But the irrepressible Banas were not to be eliminated altogether. One of the subsequent Bana chiefs lived even to acquire the appellation 'dear friend of Krishna Raja,' *i.e.*, Rashtrakuta Krishna III (A.D. 939-67).

(vii) The Vaidumbas

A portion of this district was under the control of another local family known as the Vaidumbas. Their capital 'Vaidumbavrolu' or 'the city

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

of the Vaidumbas' was situated in this district. Several inscriptions of this family are found in Chittoor and Cuddapah districts and in Kolar district of Mysore State. About twenty epigraphs of this dynasty are noticed in this district and they are assigned on palaeographical grounds to about the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A.D. They yield scanty information. Many are merely hero-stones commemorating the death of warriors in battles and cattle-raids. Thus it is not possible to give any connected account of this dynasty.

These rulers appear to have been war-like chiefs, frequently fighting with their neighbours, the Lonkulas, the Cholas of Renadu, the Banas of Perumbanappadi and the Nolambas of Nolambavadi. The first ruler of the line was Vaidumba Maharaja. He came into conflict with the Lonkulas, another war-like tribe. The Vaidumba army was led by a certain Gandara Mutraju, but he was killed in the battle. It was during this period that the Vaidumbas displaced the Cholas of Renadu from Chippili in Madanapalle taluk and occupied it. Vaidumba Maharaja appears to have been followed by Sankali or Ganda Sankali. Ganda Trinetra Vaidumba Maharaja was another ruler of the line. He was an ambitious and powerful king. He flourished about the beginning of the 10th century A.D., and was always involved in wars with his neighbours. Early in his reign he defeated Jata Choda and annexed his principality, Renadu 7,000. He fought two battles with the Nolambas at Mudumaduvu, identified with Mudivedu in Madanapalli taluk, and Soremadi in Anantapur district. He came out victorious in these battles and acquired mastery over parts of Kolar district. He was followed by Manuja Trinetra and Bhuvana Trinetra in succession. Bhuvana Trinetra was crowned in A.D. 973 and his principality included at least parts, if not the whole of Renadu, Mulikinadu and Pakanadu. The other Vaidumba chiefs known from the inscriptions were Irigaya Maharaja, Nannimarayar son of Tukkarai, Maduka Maharaja and his son, Kaliga Trinetra Bhuma Maharaja.

(viii) THE WESTERN GANGAS AND NOLAMBA PALLAVAS

Another dynasty that held sway over a portion of this district was that of the Western Gangas, the foundation of whose power was assigned to the second half of the fourth century A.D. They were feudatory to the Pallavas. A chief of this family, Harivarman (A.D. 450-460) was crowned king by the Pallava ruler Simhavarman I, to crush the Banas in this region. The Western Ganga kingdom, however, witnessed partition towards the end of the reign of Sivamara II (A.D. 788-812) between his son and brother Marasimha

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and Vijayaditya respectively. A portion of this district appears to have been included in the share of Marasimha according to the inscriptions which came to light in Punganur taluk. Four later Ganga chiefs, namely, (a) Uttamachola-Ganga alias Senbakachchipati Nayanar, (b) Uttamachola Gangan alias Vira Gangan Vettum Amarabaranam, (c) Uttamachola Ganga alias Selva Ganga and (d) Selva Ganga, son of Uttamachola Ganga Padmadeva, are referred to in the epigraphs found in Punganur taluk. Their relationship with either the main line or with the collateral line is not ascertainable. The rule of the Western Gangas, however, gradually came to an end after the capture of their capital Talakad in A.D. 1004 by the Cholas.

The Nolamba Pallavas: This district was associated with the rule of yet another minor dynasty known as the Nolambas or the Nolamba Pallavas. There were eleven rulers in this dynasty. They held sway over Nolambavadi 32,000. They came into conflict with the Banas, the Vaidumbas, the Cholas and the Rashtrakutas.

With the succession of Mahendra I in A.D. 878, the Nolamba dynasty gained considerable strength. Mahendra, the most powerful of the Nolambas, extended his conquests on all sides. Under the orders of his Western Ganga overlord, Rachamalla I, he set out on a conquest of Talakad which was then in the hands of the collateral line of the Western Gangas. In the course of the campaign, he asked his subordinates Kaduvatti and Maduva to invade Pulinadu. Kaduvatti attacked and captured Koyarrur (Laddigam near Punganur) in this district. On hearing this, the Bana king Vijayaditya Vira Chulamani Prabhumuru started with his army and dispersed the enemy's forces. The battle was fierce and several chiefs fell in it. The other ruler of the dynasty, whose inscriptions are noted in the district, was Vira Mahendra II. He led an invasion against the province of Tondaimandalam in the Chola kingdom. On returning from his expedition, Vira Mahendra II entered Nolambavadi, encamped himself at Kolar and conferred on a private individual the rank of an officer together with a village in Pulinadu in this district as a gift. Pulinadu appears to have continued under the rule of the Nolambas even during the latter half of the 10th century A.D., when another Nolamba chief Iriva Nolamba II granted a village in Pulinadu to a merchant.

(ix) THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI AND THE IMPERIAL CHOLAS

The Rashtrakutas were replaced by the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani in A.D. 973. This district, however, continued to be under the rule of the

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Cholas. The rulers who held sway subsequently were Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1016), Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-1044), Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1052-1063), Virarajendra (A.D. 1063-1069) and Adhirajendra (A.D. 1067/68-1070). Of them, the thirty years of Rajaraja's rule constituted the formative period of Chola imperialism. A relatively small state at his accession, hardly recovering from the effects of the Rashtrakuta invasion, the Chola kingdom grew under him into an extensive and well knit empire. The rule of this as well as the other Chola kings over this area is attested by a number of inscriptions which register gifts to temples at various places in the district. The income from the lands thus gifted was spent for the maintenance of worship in the temple. The cattle and sheep endowed to the shrines were entrusted to shepherds whose main task was to provide ghee for the perpetual lamps in the temples. A few other inscriptions refer to the digging of tanks, construction of temples, and levy and remission of taxes.

In A.D. 1070, the Eastern Chalukyan prince Rajendra occupied the Chola throne under the title of Kulottunga (A.D. 1070-1120). His accession marks the commencement of a new era in Chola history. The kingdom of Vengi became a province of the Chola empire and hence the rulers came to be known as the Chalukya-Chola emperors. He avoided unnecessary wars and evinced true regard for the well-being of his subjects. Kulottunga I was followed by Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1118-1135), Kulottunga II (A.D. 1135-1150), Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146-1173) and Rajadhiraja II in succession. How the Chola empire continued to retain its hold over this district during this period may be inferred from the provenance of their inscriptions found in this district. One striking feature of this period was the growth in the number of feudatories and the extent of their influence. It was during this period that the Telugu Cholas, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chola monarchs, rose to prominence in this as well as the neighbouring districts. A number of gifts to the temple at Srikalahasti and Tirumala is registered in the name of these chiefs who did not once find themselves strong enough to defy their overlords.

Tondamandalam became part of the Chola empire after its conquest by Aditya I and remained so till about the middle of the thirteenth century. The earliest record available here is that of Parantaka I (232 G.T.) (907-955) dated in the 29th year of his reign. His son, Parthivendrarman *alias* Aditya II, was viceroy of Tondamandalam for nearly fifteen years commencing from 956 A.D. In the 14th year of his rule *i.e.*, in 970 A.D., Samavai, the wife of a Pallava subordinate, consecrated in the temple of Tirumala



THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

silver image named Manavalapperumal, a replica of the original deity and instituted festivals (18 & 19 T.T.). There are three inscriptions of Rajaraja I (985-1014) in this area of which one (170 TT.) from the temple on Tirumala states that a queen of Parantaka II gifted a pattam of gold.

Of the next king, Rajendra Chola, two records are available. One of them mentions the construction of the Kapilesvara temple at Kapilatirtham (224 G.T.).

There are eleven inscriptions of Kulottunga I. (1070-1120 A.D.) (381, 382, 387, and 388 G.T. and 71, 110, 112, 131, 144, 298, and 657 T.T.) In the temples of Tirumala and Jogi-Mallavaram and one record of Vikrama Chola (386 G.T.)

Of the next king, Rajaraja III, there are seven inscriptions. It is necessary to refer here to an event which changed the character of the temples of this region and gave them the present complex. Vaishnava saints, popularly known as the Alvars, preached devotion to god and inspired many honest souls to take to Vishnu worship. After them came the Acharyas who gave this early Vaishnavism a definite shape and form and put it on a firm basis. The greatest of these was Ramanuja. He made Srirangam his headquarters and carried on missionary activity. His new interpretation of Vedanta, popularly known as Visishtadvaita, was making rapid progress. Acharya Nadamuni, who restored the practice of reciting the Tamil Prabandham in the temples, visited Tirumala during the course of a pilgrimage. Alavandar, the next acharya, also paid a visit to the hill temple. He deputed one of his grandsons, Tirumalai Nambi, to go and reside on the hill and attend to the pious task of supplying holy water and flowers to the temple. Tirumalai Nambi migrated to Tirumala and spent his life there in god's service. Next was Ramanuja. This teacher is said to have visited Tirupati thrice. On the first occasion, he spent about a year with his uncle, Tirumalai Nambi, learning the esoteric meaning of Ramayana. His second visit was for settling a dispute that arose between the Saivites and the Vaishnavites regarding the nature of the image set up in the Tirumala temple. During the last visit, which was at the advanced old age of 102, the acharya installed the image of Govindaraja and laid the foundations of the present town of Tirupati.

(x) THE SUBSEQUENT IMPERIAL CHOLAS

The association of the Cholas with the district of Chittoor continued for some decades. The rule of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1218) was by no means weak and he succeeded, in the midst of many troubles, in maintaining the integrity of the kingdom. The Sambuvarayas, the Kadavarayas, the

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Chedirayas and the Yadavarayas constituted the four clans of powerful feudatories in the region comprising portions of Chittoor and Chingleput and the two Arcot districts. The number of feudatories, mentioned in the inscriptions of Kulottunga's reign, shows how rapidly conditions were changing for the worse. The reign of his successor, Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-1260) was a period of continuous trouble. His inscriptions dated upto the twenty-ninth regnal year are found in Chittoor and other neighbouring districts. This implies that the hegemony of the Cholas continued to be recognised over the whole of Chittoor in his time. During the reign of the last Chola ruler, Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-1279), the hold of the Cholas over this district appears to have weakened, for a number of inscriptions of the Telugu-Pallava chief Vijayagandagopala come to light. It is generally presumed that Vijayagandagopala and Kopperunjinga, an ally of the Pandyas shared Tondamandalam between themselves, the former taking the northern half and the latter the southern half.

(xi) THE PANDYAS

The kingdoms that rose subsequently were the Pandya and the Hoysala in the south, and the Kakatiya and the Yadava in the north. Minor powers like the Telugu-Cholas of Nellore played their part as auxiliaries to the chief powers. The accession to the Pandya throne of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I in A.D. 1251 was an important event. He was a famous warrior and a conqueror under whom the Pandyan power attained its greatest splendour. In the early years of his reign Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I fought many wars and rapidly extended his sway to Nellore and beyond. He also came into conflict with Kakatiya Ganapati whose inscription is noticed on a stone in front of the Manikantesvara temple at Srīkalahasti. Five inscriptions of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I are found in this district. The other Pandya ruler mentioned in the epigraphs of the district was Maravarman Kulasekhara I (A.D. 1268-1308/1309). He fought against Hoysala Ramanatha who had allied himself with the Chola ruler Rajendra III, defeated both and occupied their territory. After this loss, Ramanatha started a war against his brother Narasimha III and succeeded in capturing some territory. An inscription dated in his 38th regnal year, corresponding to A.D. 1293, is found at Punganur. It records the grant of four dandaka of land for offerings in the temple of Karumanikkattalvar at the place by a certain Vamanavanan Kuttapperumal.

The Pandyan interlude—The power of the Cholas declined about the middle of the thirteenth century and the Pandyas, under Maravarman Sundara I, became aggressive. This king invaded Tondamandalam, subjugated all the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Chola subordinates in this region and reached as far north as Nellore and performed Virabhiseka there. There are several records of this Pandyan king in the Tirumala temple (127, 164, 172, 175, 231, 239, 241, and 140-TT).

(xii) THE YADAVARAYAS

The Yadavarayas were a local dynasty exercising authority over the northern and eastern portion of Tondamandalam. Tirukkalattideva Yadavaraya was the first chief of the family. He assumed high sounding titles such as 'Chalukyanarayana' which indicate their connection with the Eastern Chalukyas from whom they appear to have acquired a portion of the Vengi kingdom. His inscriptions are noticed in Chittoor, Nellore and North Arcot districts. He strengthened his power by entering into matrimonial alliance with the Telugu Cholas. He was succeeded by his son Virarakshasa Yadavaraya who was in turn followed by Vira Narasingadeva Yadavaraya. He ruled over the principality for fifty-one years. He fought on the side of the Chola ruler, Rajaraja III, in the wars which Kopperunjinga waged. He came into conflict with the elder Kadavaraya Alagiya-Siyan. He was a subordinate of Vira Gandagopala, the Telugu-Pallava chief, whom Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I claimed to have defeated and killed. Another member of the family was Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya. He ruled the principality for about fifteen years till A.D. 1336-37. On the request of his general Singaya Dannayaka, Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya granted half the village of Pongalur for the celebration of the 'Adi' festival in the temple of Tiruvenkadamudaiyan. He was subordinate to the Hoysala ruler Ballala III and paid tribute to him by levying a tax called the 'Vallaladeva-vari.' His relationship with the earlier members of the family or with his successor, Sriranganatha is not ascertainable. However, it is presumed that Tiruvenkatanatha was the father of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya. During this period a number of taxes were levied. The taxes were classified as gold taxes, grain taxes, taxes relating to free service known as 'Amanji-Vagai,' taxes levied by the assembly of the Nattar, and other old and new taxes promulgated from time to time. Some of the taxes related to tolls levied on animals, road-cess or a kind of poll-tax, profession tax on merchants, oil-mongers and weavers, licence fee for planting gardens and fishing in ponds and poundage on stray cattle. Two of the three 'ancient and customary aids' mentioned in the inscriptions were the taxes levied for the benefit of the heir-apparent and the queen-mother. The third one, *i.e.*, the aid for ransoming the body of the king if captured by the enemy, occurs as a kind of tribute paid to the liege lord.

Sriranganatha Yadavaraya succeeded to the principality in A.D. 1336 or 1337 and ruled for about 20 years. Consequent on the establishment

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

of the Vijayanagar kingdom, he submitted himself to the Vijayanagar authority and ruled as a subordinate of Harihara I. He is reported to have waged wars against kings who defied his commands, driven them out of their magnificent cities and made them seek shelter on mountains. As the period was characterised by political turmoil, Sriranganatha might have taken an active part in such warfare either for self-aggrandisement or in support of Vijayanagar

The invasions of the Delhi Sultanate, which began towards the end of the 13th century A.D., upset all the four major kingdoms in the south and caused a period of confusion terminated by the rise and expansion of the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms in the second quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. From the reign of Muhammad I (A.D. 1358-1375) almost right upto the end of the Bahmani kingdom, there was internecine warfare between the two powers and the bone of contention between them was the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab. Though the Bahmani dynasty came to an end by A.D. 1538, the Bahmani Sultan ceased to exercise any control whatsoever long before that date, over the governors of the provinces constituting the Bahmani kingdom.

(xiii) TIRUMALA IN THE TRANSITORY PERIOD 1260-1360 A.D.

Tondamandalam was included in the Vijayanagara empire from the very time of its foundation in 1336 A.D. Still, the earliest Vijayanagara record found in the Tirumala-Tirupati region is dated 1359 A.D. The period intervening between the time of Sundara Pandya and this Vijayanagara record is a period of transition. During this time various Chola subordinates took advantage of the weakness of the Cholas and assumed independence. They figure in this region without acknowledging the suzerainty of anybody.

Of these chiefs, two later Pallavas, father and son, named Kopperunjinga, created considerable trouble. The elder Kopperunjinga or Kadavaraya ruled over a small chieftaincy round about Sendamangalam. He raided Tondamandalam in 1220 A.D., and held a part of it. His son, the famous Kopperunjinga, *alias* Khadgamalla, crowned himself in 1243 A.D., invaded Tondamandalam and fought a battle at Urattur with Narasinga Yadavaraya, the local chieftain. He went further north along the coast upto Draksharama, in the East Godavary district, received a rude shock at the hands of the Kakatiya king, Ganapatideva and returned home humiliated. Later, he was subjugated by Sundara Pandya I. Two records of this Kopperunjinga are found at Tirumala. (226 and 227 - TT.).

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

A number of Telugu Pallava chiefs were governing parts of Tondamandalam as Chola subordinates. They held the modern Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Chittoor, North Arcot, South Arcot, and Chingleput districts. They too assumed independence on account of the weakness of the contemporary Chola kings. When the Pandya entered the field, they acknowledged his suzerainty for the time being. Vijayanagandagopala, Rajagandagopala and Tripurantaka are chieftains of this line represented in the Tirumala Temple records of this region. (173, 285, 143, 73, 431, 128, 296, 111, 137, 139, 141, 129, 125, 134, 652, 119, 123, 126, 443, 221, and 72, TT and 127, GT).

Nellore was the headquarters of a line of Telugu Chola family which too exercised considerable influence in Tondamandalam. Allun Tirukalattideva of this family held even the city of Kanchi for a time. He figures in the records at Tirumala.

The Yadavarayas were the most important local chieftains in the Tirumala-Tirupati region. They were intimately connected with the temples of this area and made valuable benefactions to them. They governed the Venkatagiri, Kalahasti and Chandragiri taluks of the Nellore and Chittoor districts. The earliest known member of this family was Ghattideva, who flourished between 1184 and 1227 A.D., as a Chola subordinate. He is also stated to have invited Ramanuja to settle a dispute that arose between the Saivas and Vaishnavas at Tirumala. This view is untenable because Ramanuja is said to have passed away soon after 1130 A.D. and Ghattideva did not become a ruler till 1184 A.D., Ghattideva's son, Rajamalla, lived and ruled between 1208-1237 A.D. He is supposed to have consecrated a deity named Yadavanarayana. The next chieftain was Tirukalattideva who is assignable to 1191-1246 A.D. He governed a large area extending from Tiruvannamalai to Kalahasti. His son was Virarakshasa, who flourished in the reign of Kulottunga I. Then came Vira Narasingadeva, the greatest chieftain of the Yadavaraya family. He ruled between 1209-1262 A.D. He was first a Chola feudatory and then a Pandyan subordinate. He was a great benefactor of the temples of Tirumala and Tirupati. Vira Narasinga's son, Tiruvenkatanatha, governed between 1310-1336 A.D. This was the time when remarkable events took place outside Tondamandalam. An independent Muslim kingdom, popularly known as the Sultanate of Delhi, was established in northern India towards the end of the 12th century and embarked upon a career of rapid expansion. Both Hinduism and lingering Buddhism and their institutions suffered terribly at the hands of these Muslim rulers. The Khalji dynasty established itself on the throne of Delhi towards the end of the 13th century. Two great Hindu

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

kingdoms flourished at this time in the Deccan, the Yadava kingdom with its capital at Devagiri or modern Dawlatabad and the famous Kakatiya empire which embraced the entire Telugu speaking area. To the south-west there was the kingdom of the Hoysalas with its capital at Dvarasamudra, in the Mysore state. In the Tamil country, the Pandyas were powerful and ruled from Madura. Allauddin, the Khalji governor of Kara and Allahabad, led an unprovoked invasion against Devagiri in 1296 A.D. and obtained great wealth. Very soon thereafter he usurped the throne of Delhi and became the Sultan. He sent an invasion in 1303 A.D., against the Andhra country but it was repelled. He sent another expedition in 1309 A.D. under the lead of his famous general, Malik Kaffur. Malik Kaffur besieged Warangal and extracted immense wealth from its ruler, Kakatiya Prataparudradeva. He then marched in a south-western direction, entered the Hoysala territory and plundered it. The Muslim general then entered the Tamil country and harassed the Pandyan kingdom. He returned home in 1310 A.D. carrying much wealth and many precious stones obtained from the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan and South India. The Tirumala-Tirupati region was saved from the ravages of this Muslim invader because he took a south-western direction and did not march due south from Warangal through the heart of the Andhra country.

The Koil-Olugu, a traditional account of the famous Sri Ranganatha temple of Srirangam, mentions an important event which seems to have taken place about this time. It is stated that in 1327 A.D., during the course of his campaigns in the Tamil country, Malik Kaffur reached the neighbourhood of Srirangam. The local people were then engaged in celebrating the annual festival for the god and neglected the information conveyed to them. When, however, they found that the information was only too correct and that the Muslim army was near, they took some emergency measures. The sanctum of the temple was walled up and all the jewels were hidden. The processional image of Ranganatha was smuggled out of Srirangam by Pillai Lokacharya and other devotees. These fugitives wandered from place to place and ultimately reached Tirumala. There the image was held suspended before a ravine and kept for a long time. The date mentioned by the Koil-Olugu is obviously wrong because Malik Kaffur's invasion took place in 1309-1310 A.D. and not in 1327 A.D. Nor was there a Muslim invasion of the Tamil country in 1327 A.D. The incident mentioned in this temple history must be ascribed to 1310 A.D.

The troubles of the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan and South India were not over with the return of Malik Kaffur to Delhi. The Khaljis were

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

succeeded by the Tughlaks as rulers of the Sultanate of Delhi. Ghiasuddin, the first ruler of this family, sent a strong expedition against the Kakatiya kingdom and the Andhra country in 1321 A.D. under the lead of his son and crown prince, Ulugh Khan. The Andhra generals offered stiff resistance and repelled this invasion. Ulugh Khan renewed his attack in 1323 A.D. when the Kakatiya ruler was completely unprepared. A serious battle was fought and the king was defeated and captured. After his victory at Warangal, the Muslim general marched through the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and penetrated into the districts farther south. He too marched in the south-western direction and conquered the area lying between Nellore in the east and Qilon in the west, known as Ma'bar. He returned to Delhi through the coastal districts of Andhra and Orissa. Thus for a second time the Tirumala-Tirupati area escaped certain destruction and misery at the hands of the Muslim invaders.

Ulugh Khan left the area conquered by him in the charge of efficient governors. After returning to Delhi, he killed his father and ascended the throne, assuming the title of Mohammad-bin-Tughlak. Very soon after this, the people of the Andhra country recovered from the shock of this Muslim invasion and made successful attempts at shaking off the Muslim yoke imposed upon them. The old generals and feudatories of Kakatiya Prataparudradeva gathered the people behind them and liberated large areas driving away the Muslim governors of the Sultan. Thus, coastal Andhra, Telengana and Rayalaseema soon recovered their independence. Among those that fled from Warangal after its capture by Ulugh Khan were two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, sons of Sangama and guards of the treasury of Kakatiya Prataparudradeva. These brothers went to the small kingdom of Kampila, situated on the bank of the Tungabhadra and obtained employment under its Hindu ruler. Muhammad Tughlak sent an expedition against Kampila in 1327 A.D. The ruler of the kingdom was killed and a few men were taken prisoners. A Muslim governor was appointed to administer the Kampila region. Very soon, however, the local people rebelled and drove away this governor. Among the men captured in the siege of Kampila were the two brothers Harihara and Bukka. The Sultan released these two brothers, nominated Harihara as the governor and Bukka as the commander and sent them both to Kampila in order to restore peace and order. These brothers subjugated all unruly elements and soon consolidated their position in the modern Rayalaseema area. They then came into contact with the famous saint, Vidyaranya, and developed, under his inspiration, the idea of founding a new kingdom which would protect the country, the religion and the culture

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

of the Hindus from the destructive activity of the Muslims. They founded the city of Vijayanagara on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra in 1336 A.D., made it their capital and proclaimed the establishment of an independent Hindu kingdom. The Sultan was preoccupied with more serious troubles and could not do anything to check this insubordination of Harihara and Bukka.

(xiv) THE RAYAS OF VIJAYANAGAR

The district then passed under the Rayas of Vijayanagar. Four dynasties, namely, Sangama, Saluva, Tuluva and Aravidu, ruled over the Vijayanagar kingdom from A.D. 1336 to the last quarter of the 17th century A.D. Harihara founded the Sangama dynasty in A.D. 1336 and the kingdom during this period extended from Nellore in the south-east to Dharwar and Badami in the northern Karnataka. Harihara I was followed on the throne by his brother Bukka I. To unify the kingdom and strengthen his position, Bukka I appointed his own sons as the governors of the provinces and made them responsible for the maintenance of the royal authority. Bhaskara Bhavadura was thus made governor of Udayagiri and Kumara Kampana of Mulbagal and Padaividu which included a portion of this district. There are a few inscriptions of Bukka I and his son Kumara Kampana in this district. The earliest of these, which is undated, pertaining to Bukka I, registers the grant of a village to the temple at Tirumala for 'sandhi' (offerings) twice a day. The inscriptions of Kampana and his subordinates, found at Tirumala and other places, register grants mainly to temples. Of the subordinates, Saluva Mangideva, a general of Kampana, Somappa and Gopanna deserve mention. Saluva Mangideva governed the region surrounding Chittoor, which was the headquarters of the later Saluva chiefs. Somappa was Kampana's pradhani. He is referred to in two inscriptions of Kampana. He issued an order to Meydevar, who was in charge of the taxes levied in Pulinadu in this district, to assign certain duties, imposed in kind, on all articles that passed through the district, for the benefit of the Vishnu temple at Kurumavi which is stated to have been a village situated in Chitturirajya. Gopanna was a Brahmin general of Kampana and the governor of 'Senji.' He went to Tirumala on a pilgrimage and found the idol of Ranganatha of Srirangam worshipped along with that of Venkatesvara. The idol (Alagiya Manavala-Perumal) was brought to Tirumala for safe custody during the Muhammadan invasion of Srirangam. With the consent of the priests of Tirumala temple, he transferred the image first to Senji and thence to Srirangam.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Harihara II succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1377 and ruled till A.D. 1404. The appointment of his son Devaraya as the governor of Udayagiri in A.D. 1370 marks a new epoch in the relations between Vijayanagar and Kondavidu. The rule of Harihara II over this district is attested by a few epigraphs noted in this district. One of these inscriptions registers the institution of a festival for Sri Venkatesvara in Harihara's name in the Tamil month of 'Masi.' On the death of Harihara II in A.D. 1404, the succession to the Vijayanagar throne was disputed. Taking advantage of the disturbed conditions, the Reddis of Kondavidu launched in A.D. 1406 an attack upon the Udayagiri-rajya and occupied among others, Pulugulanadu, a subdivision of Chandragirisima. Malla Reddi, a cousin of the Reddi ruler Peda Komati Vema who led the attack, remained in the occupied area till A.D. 1413. He was, however, expelled by an army sent from Udayagiri by Devaraya I. The rule of Devaraya I in this district is testified by a few inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1405 to A.D. 1418. They refer to the grants made by the king, the crown-prince Vijaya Bukka who was also known as Vijayabhupati or Vira Bukka and their subordinates. Mention is made of Jommana, son of Kampana II, in one of the inscriptions found in this district. The reign of the Vijayanagar ruler Devaraya II (A.D. 1422-1446) is also represented by some inscriptions. One of his subordinates, Mallana, governed Chandragirirajya from S. 1330 (A.D. 1408) to S. 1366 (A.D. 1444). He was succeeded in the governance of Chandragirirajya by Saluva Peri-Mallayadeva Maharaja. In A.D. 1463, i.e., during the reign of Mallikarjuna, Hamvira, the son of the Gajapati ruler Kapilendra, led an invasion against Vijayanagar empire and captured, among others, the fort of Chandragiri. However, for reasons not ascertainable, the forces of Orissa retraced their steps from this area.

The frequent attacks of the Gajapatis on the Vijayanagar kingdom, the assassination of Mallikarjuna and the usurpation of the Vijayanagar throne by Virupaksha II, provided the long awaited opportunity to the forces of disintegration. Saluva Narasimha, son of Saluva Gunda the chief of Chandragiri, who succeeded to his family estate Chandragiri in A.D. 1456, slowly extended his power over the districts of Chittoor, North Arcot, South Arcot and Kolar during these years of anarchy. His power grew so great that Mallikarjuna's young son, Rajasekhara, sought refuge at his court. Like most usurpers, Saluva Narasimha found that it was easier to capture the throne than to enforce his authority in the kingdom. He, therefore, resolved to seize the opportunity and sent an army under Narasa Nayaka to expel Praudha Devaraya, who came to the throne on the death of Virupaksha II. Narasa

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Nayaka met with no opposition and Praudha Devaraya fled from the capital. Saluva Narasimha soon followed Narasa Nayaka to the capital and celebrated his coronation about the close of A.D. 1485.

With the coronation of Saluva Narasimha, the second or the Saluva dynasty came to power. Saluva Narasimha ruled the kingdom till A.D. 1490 and was succeeded by his son Immadi Narasimha with Narasa Nayaka as his regent. During this period kandadai Ramanujayyengar was a prominent spiritual leader who had devoted his life to the cause of religion. He was presumed to be the guru of Saluva Narasimha and he had been of much help in organising and maintaining the free feeding houses established by Saluva Narasimha both at Tirupati and Tirumala. In appreciation of his services, Saluva Narasimha gave him a free hand in the maintenance of the Ramanujakutams for which he granted lands and villages. Narasa Nayaka, however, died in A.D. 1503 bequeathing the kingship and the kingdom to his eldest son, the ambitious Vira Narasimha. Vira Narasimha overthrew Immadi Narasimha, proclaimed himself king in A.D. 1505 and established the third or the Tuluva dynasty. Vira Narasimha whose reign also is represented by a few epigraphs ruled till A.D. 1509.

On the death of Vira Narasimha, his half-brother Krishnadevaraya ascended the Vijayanagar throne. About 85 inscriptions pertaining to the reign of Krishnadevaraya are noted in this district. They range in date from S. 1432 (A.D. 1510) to S. 1451 (A.D. 1529). A few records register the offerings and gifts made by the monarch and his two consorts, Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi, during their frequent visits to the temple of Sri Venkateswara on the Tirumala (whom he venerated as his patron deity) and the temple at Srikalahasti. A few others, in which Krishnadevaraya is acknowledged as the overlord, mention the gifts made by his subordinates to temples at various places in this district. Krishnadevaraya visited the temple of Sri Venkateswara seven times and also dedicated his work, 'Amuktamalyada' to Lord Venkateswara.

His visits were, however, not isolated tours undertaken for the purpose of pilgrimage to this sacred shrine. Excepting the last two or three visits, which were avowedly made during his religious journeys, the first four occasions were in the course of his campaigns against the Gajapatis. Krishnadevaraya's first visit to Tirumala along with his two Queens, took place on the 10th of February 1513. From there he proceeded to Srikalahasti and presented jewels to Srikalahastisvara. He was again at Tirumala for the second time on the 2nd of May 1513. From Tirumala he proceeded once more to

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Srikalahasti where he was present on the 11th of May. On the 8th of June, he journeyed from Vijayanagar to Tirumala and Srikalahasti for the third time and was back at his capital on the 20th of September 1513. These flying visits to the temples at Tirumala and Srikalahasti lasted for very short durations.

The problem of succession seems to have engaged the attention of Krishna devaraya during the last years of his reign. He set his half-brother Achyuta free from the prison at Chandragiri and nominated him as his successor. Achyuta's accession to the throne was not peaceful as Aliya Ramaraja, son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya, proclaimed an infant son of Krishnadevaraya emperor and attempted to seize the throne. Aliya Ramaraja, however, failed because Saluva Nayaka, the most powerful nobleman in the empire and a supporter of Achyuta, seized the throne and held it until the arrival of Achyuta from Chandragiri.

It was probably the opposition of Ramaraja that induced Achyuta to take an unusual step. As soon as he heard the news of his brother's death, instead of hastening to the capital, he proceeded to Tirumala where he had his coronation celebrated. From there he went to Srikalahasti where the coronation ceremony was repeated. It must be noted that Achyuta was the first ruler of Vijayanagar who had his coronation celebrated in a place outside the capital. He was also the first king to crown himself on more than one occasion. It looks as if, fearing the opposition of his rival in the capital, Achyuta had his coronation purposely celebrated in the two holy places of the empire ostensibly to strengthen his claim to the throne. He came to an agreement with Ramaraja to enter into a sort of partnership with him in governing the empire. The coronation of Achyuta was then celebrated for the third time at Vijayanagar and his authority was recognised by all. Saluva Nayaka, who was not satisfied with this arrangement, rebelled against Achyuta. To suppress this rebellion Achyuta proceeded to the south accompanied by a huge army. Leaving the army behind at Chandragiri, he proceeded to Tirumala and Srikalahasti, worshipped the deities there and endowed them with valuable gifts. After suppressing the rebellion, the Vijayanagar ruler, on his return journey, again visited these temples. On this occasion of his visit to Tiruvenkatamudaiyan, he was accompanied by his queen Varadadevi and his son Kumara Venkatadri. He performed the mahadanas 'kapila-pasu,' 'svarnavarsham' and presented to God Venkatesvara a big 'kapha' fully decked with pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, four pon-valaiyam, a pair of 'uchchippu' set with gems for the head, a

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

‘kuttam’ ornamented with diamonds for the top of the crown; a long string of pearls and other jewels consisting of differently shaped gold beads and nuts.”

Achyuta, however, did not stay for long at the capital and had to proceed to Gooty in Anantapur district which fell into the hands of a rebel. He availed himself of the opportunity on this occasion to pay a visit to Tirumala. He was present in Tirumala on the 26th of December 1535, when he instituted two new festivals, namely, the Lakshmidēvi mahotsavam to be celebrated for Tiruvenkatamudaiyan and Alaimelmangal Nachchiar for five days, and the Punarvasu Tirunal for Raghunathan (Sri Rama), Nachchiar (Sitadevi) and Ilaya-Perumal (Lakshmana) on each of the 13 days of the Punarvasu star occurring in the year. He seems to have returned to Vijayanagar sometime before S. 1458 (A.D. 1536).

The rule of Achyuta came to an end in A.D. 1542 and he was followed on the throne by his son Venkata and his brother-in-law Salakaraju Tirumala for short periods. The death of Achyutadevaraya was the signal for the renewal of the struggle between Ramaraja and Salakaraju Tirumala who supported Sadasiva and Venkata respectively. The conflict, however, ended in the victory of Sadasiva and Aliya Ramaraja. Sadasiva was coronated in A.D. 1543 and Aliya Ramaraja became his regent.

The opponents of Ramaraja who could not bear to see their enemy established permanently as the supreme head of the state attempted to defy his authority. They obtained control over the fort of Chandragiri and its dependent territory. Farther south, the chiefs refused to pay tribute to the empire. This rebellion was suppressed in its initial stages by sending an expedition against them. The increase in the power of Ramaraja by leaps and bounds was very much feared by the Deccan Sultanates and his interference in their internal affairs was not liked by them. When his power became formidable, the Deccan Sultanates formed a League and brought about the downfall of Ramaraja in the battle fought at Rakshasi Tangadi in A.D. 1565.

On Ramaraja's death, his brother Tirumala became the regent and the sole guardian of the emperor Sadasiva. He found the atmosphere of the capital uncongenial to the advancement of his plans of assuming royal titles and founding a dynasty. He, therefore, left Vijayanagar and retired to Penugonda in Anantapur district. He next divided the empire into three subdivisions, roughly corresponding to the three main linguistic areas of which it was composed and entrusted the government of each of them to one of his

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

three sons. According to this arrangement, Venkata the youngest, assumed the governorship of the Tamil country and carried on the administration from Chandragiri in this district. Tirumala subsequently overthrew Sadasiva and had himself formally crowned in A.D. 1570. He ruled for a few months and was succeeded by his son Sriranga I. Sriranga's reign witnessed an invasion by the Bijapur Sultan, Ali Adil Shah in A.D. 1576. On the approach of the enemy, he repaired to the fort of Chandragiri with all the treasures. The Bijapur Sultan sent one of his officers by name Fazl Khan to Chandragiri with instructions to conclude a pact with the Raya. Fazl Khan successfully persuaded Sriranga to accompany him to the camp of Ali Adil Shah and conclude an alliance with him. Sriranga ruled till A.D. 1584 and died leaving no children.

Venkata II ascended the throne in A.D. 1585. His reign witnessed an invasion of his kingdom by the Golkonda Sultan Muhammad-Quli. The Qutb Shahi forces overran all the places that came in their way and Venkata was forced to sue for peace. Venkata took full advantage of the brief respite which he had thus obtained and later cast off all pretensions of submission and defied the Golkonda Sultan. A section of the Sultan's army led by a member of the Ravilla family marched south and reached the hill fort of Gurramkonda in Vayalpad taluk. Venkata II commanded Matli Ananta to put the invaders to flight. Matli Ananta marched to Gurramkonda with his army and laid siege to it. The Ravilla chief, who was well-provided with artillery and ammunition, offered stubborn resistance, but Ananta showed dogged perseverance in pushing forward the operations. He succeeded at last in demolishing one of the bastions and the garrison could not hold out for long. The Ravilla chief realised the gravity of the situation and immediately sued for peace, and, having probably surrendered the fort, departed to his place. Venkata II's reign also witnessed internal rebellions. Nandela Krishnamaraja was the rebel, and he was defeated and taken to Chandragiri, where he remained in captivity until his death.

Venkata II died in A.D. 1614 and he was followed by Sriranga II and Ramadeva whose reigns were uneventful. The death of Ramadeva plunged the kingdom into anarchy and civil war. Venkata III, who came out victorious in the war of succession, had to contend against both internal troubles and foreign invasions. Of the latter, the one sent by the Qutb Shahi ruler Abdullah Qutb Shah in A.D. 1642, is important. Venkata III and his allies could not, however, offer effective resistance. His allies deserted him and he was also forced to retire to the mountainous tracts in Chittoor district where he sojourned in a helpless condition for sometime. When he lay dying among the hills

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

of Narayanavaram, his nephew Sri Ranga III, finding a good chance of saving the Vijayanagar throne for himself, came forward as the defender of his ancestral kingdom.

Sriranga III was proclaimed king on the 29th of October, 1642. The first thing which he had to do was to expel the invaders from his dominions. To oppose the advance of the Golkonda army, he went to Tirupati and entrenched himself there in A.D. 1643. Though he had a large army with him, he dared not face the invaders who were better armed. Moreover, the treachery of some of his nobles probably engendered a feeling of insecurity. Damerla Venkatapati Nayaka of Srikalahasti, who was hostile to him ever since his accession, treacherously encouraged the enemy to attack. Sriranga, therefore, abandoned his camp and retreated towards Narayanavaram and thence to Vellore on the approach of the Golkonda army. Nayaka's treason was discovered on Sriranga's return and he was arrested and kept in confinement. Though Sriranga could have put him to death, he contented himself with depriving him of some of his possessions.

The kingdom was again threatened by the Bijapur and Golkonda rulers. The Bijapur Sultan sent an expedition under Mustafa Khan while the latter sent another under Muhammad Said Mir Jumla. Mustafa Khan marched against Vellore, after passing through Bukkapatnam in this district while another Bijapur general Khan-i-Khannan went to Gurramkonda. Sriranga made desperate efforts to defend himself even by taking the jewels of the women of Vellore and the money of the temple of Tirumala. The Golkonda army led by Mir Jumla advanced along the east coast, capturing in quick succession Tirupati, Chandragiri and other places in this district. Sriranga seems to have given up all hopes of defending the kingdom. He, therefore, fled to Tanjore and then to Mysore. Subsequently the fort of Gurramkonda was also subdued. Sriranga's movements during the two or three years that followed his flight to Mysore are not known. But his sojourn in Mysore was not, however, long. In the meanwhile, the Qutb Shahi Sultan, Abdullah Qutb Shah feared the growing influence of Mir Jumla in the Karnatak and wanted to bring him down. This led to differences between the two. To safeguard his possessions in the Karnatak, Mir Jumla persuaded Sriranga to return to Karnatak and recapture the territory occupied by Bijapur. The Bijapur general, Khan Muhammad immediately proceeded to Vellore to re-establish Bijapur authority there. In the fight that ensued, Khan Muhammad was obliged to come to terms with Sriranga and cede to him the fort of Chandragiri with its dependencies. Abdullah Qutb Shah who was enraged by the treacherous conduct of Mir Jumla entered into an alliance with Sriranga.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

This enabled Sriranga to concert measures to recover his lost possessions. He captured Tirupati and planned the conquest of other places. This, however, did not materialise due to the sudden change in the attitude of the Sultan of Golkonda, who shortly afterwards, cast off the mask of friendship and sent armies to re-establish his authority in the Karnatak. Sriranga suffered defeat and Chandragiri, a fort ceded to him in A.D. 1653 by the Bijapur general Khan Muhammad, passed in A.D. 1658 into the hands of the Qutb Shahi officers. Sriranga was forced to flee for a second time. He appears to have returned to Penugonda (Anantapur) in A.D. 1665 and ruled a portion of the kingdom until A.D. 1681.

(xv) TIRUMALA IN VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD.

Tondamandalam was included in the kingdom of Vijayanagara from the time of its foundation and continued as part of it till the time of its fall. The period of the rule of the Sangama, Saluva, Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties of Vijayanagara constitutes the most brilliant epoch in the history of the Tirumala-Tirupati region and of its temples.

The Sangama Dynasty:—The earliest record of this dynasty found in this region belongs to the time of Harihara I, the second ruler (1355–1377). One important event of the time which is not known from the inscriptions but is mentioned in the Koyil-Olugu is the removal of the processional image of Ranganatha from Triumala to Srirangam. Kumara Kamparaya, a Vijayanagara prince, lead an expedition against the Muslim Sultan of Madura and put an end to his rule. Gopanna, a brahman general of this prince, got this image re-installed at Srirangam in 1371 A.D. The idol was taken to Ginjee and kept there for some time and then finally restored to the Ranganatha temple. In all probability, it was removed from Tirumala in or about 1368 A.D. The next ruler, Harihara II, is mentioned in an inscription from Tirumala.

Devaraya II (1406–1447), the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty, was a great devotee of Sri Venkatesvara. He visited the temple and worshipped the god in November, 1428 A.D. and made a substantial gift for the restoration of Vedaparayanam in the Tirumala temple.

Mallikarjuna, the last king of the Sangama family, is represented in the records from both Tirumala and Tirupati. Other important persons that figure in this region are Saluva Gopayya, Saluva Timmaraja, Saluva Parvataraja, Saluva Tripurantaka, Kampayadeva, Saluva Erramaraja, Tammayadeva

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Coda and Vallabhayadeva. Saluva Narasimha, who was the generalissimo and the de facto ruler during the last days of the Sangama dynasty, was a great benefactor of the Tirumala and Tirupati temples. His institution of the Anna-unjal-Tirunal in the temple of Sri Venkatesvara in a mantapa specially constructed for the purpose was a valuable benefaction.

Saluva Dynasty:—Saluva Narasimha set his master aside and usurped the throne of Vijayanagara. As the sovereign he installed an image of god Lakshminarasimha by the side of the pathway leading up the hill. (II-82).

Tuluva Dynasty:—The temple of Sri Venkatesvara reached the acme of its glory in the reign of the illustrious emperor, Krishnadevaraya of the Tuluva or third dynasty of Vijayanagara (1509–1529). Sri Venkatesvara was the patron deity of this monarch. On every important occasion the Raya visited Tirumala and obtained the blessings of the god. His first visit to the temple was on 10th February, 1513. Inscriptions record other visits of this monarch in 1513, 1514, 1515, 1517, 1518 and 1521 to the temple, each of which resulted in substantial and valuable presents being made to Sri Venkatesvara.

Krishnadevaraya was succeeded by his brother, Achyutaraya (1529–1543). Achyuta was confined to the palace at Chandragiri during the period of his brother's rule. Immediately after the death of Krishnaraya, he came to Tirumala and had himself coronated there, being bathed with water poured out of the conch held in the hand of Sri Venkatesvara. He too was a great devotee of this god. The emperor visited Tirumala in 1533 A.D. accompanied by his queen, Varadaji and son, Kumara-Venkatadri, and presented many valuable jewels to the god. He presented some more costly jewels on another occasion. On 26th December 1535, he instituted a special festival, named the Lakshmidēvi festival, for Sri Venkatesvara and his consort, Alarmelmanga.

Sadasivaraya succeeded Achyutaraya. He seems to have visited Tirumala on two occasions. He came here once on 3rd February, 1554 and again in July of the same year and made some gifts to the temple. The rarity of his visits and comparative poverty of his gifts is due to the fact that he was dominated by Aliya Ramaraya and was therefore a virtual back number though for some time he was kept up as the sovereign. Later, Ramaraya was the real ruler and Sadasiva had to languish in prison.

Aravida dynasty:—Aliya Ramaraya, who usurped the throne of Vijayanagara casting Sadasiva into prison, played high politics with the contemporary Sultans of the Deccan and exasperated them with his arrogance and illtreatment.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The Sultans combined their armies and invaded the Vijayanagara empire. Ramaraya opposed them between two villages, named Rakkasi and Tangadi, in 1565 A.D. In the battle that ensued Ramaraya was killed by an accidental shot and the Vijayanagara armies were routed.

Tirumala crowned himself, assuming the title Tirumalaraya, and thus began the rule of the Aravidu family in 1570 A.D. His name is associated with part of the Unjal-mantapam, known as the Tirumalaraya-mantapam in the Sri Venkatesvara temple at Tirumala. Muslim attacks started even during the short rule of Tirumalaraya. The armies of Bijapur attacked Anegondi, Adoni and Penugonda but Tirumala, following the policy of Ramaraya, played the Sultans against each other and averted danger.

Sriranga I (1572-1585) succeeded him. Six inscriptions of this ruler's time are found in the temples of Tirumala and Tirupati. All of them register gifts made by private individuals.

Venkatapati (1585-1614) was the next ruler. He was the governor of Chandragiri during the two preceding reigns and was also in additional charge of Udayagiri and Kondavidu. After his accession, he shifted the capital from Penugonda to Chandragiri. He was a great devotee of Sri Venkatesvara and set up in the temple at Tirumala statues of himself, his father, Tirumala and mother, Vengalamba. This monarch is mentioned in fourteen inscriptions from Tirumala and Tirupati.

(xvi) THE MATLI.

The Matli chiefs were among the most important of the feudatory dynasties connected with this district. They belonged to the Devachoda family. They ruled from Matli in Rayachoti taluk (Cuddapah) and came to the forefront when the Vijayanagar empire was at its zenith. They had acquired sufficient status to enter into matrimonial alliances with the imperial house itself. They stood firmly by the rulers of the fourth or the Aravidu dynasty and helped to continue the great traditions of the Vijayanagar empire in diverse spheres.

The progenitor of the family was Bommaraja. He had three sons, namely, Somaraja, Timmaraja and Mangaraja. Somaraja had five sons. The eldest of them, Potaraja, had in turn six sons of whom the eldest was Varadaraja. Timmaraja's son and grandson were Konaraja and Ellamaraja respectively. Ellamaraja had four sons, Tirumala, Varada, Chinna Timma and Ananta

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(Matli Anantaraja, the author of 'Kakutsthavijayamu'). Mangaraja had a son by name Guruvaya Devachoda. Of all these chiefs, Varadaraja, the son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya, functioned as the virtual ruler. An epigraph at Tirupati of S. 1465 (A.D. 1544) registers his gift of 312 rekhai-pon (gold coins). This was made use of by the temple authorities for the improvement of tanks and channels in the temple villages. Varadaraja bore many titles such as 'Kaverivallabha' and 'Gayibindibirudu.' Ellamaraja, the son of Komaraja, enhanced the influence of the Matlis. He stood loyal to the Vijayanagar ruler Venkata II and helped him in suppressing the rebellion of the two Kondaraju brothers, Kondaraju Tirupatiraju and Kondaraju Venkata, the rulers of Sidhout. In appreciation of his services, Venkata II conferred Pulugulanatisima of Chandragirirajya on Ellamaraja as amaranayan-kara. The next Matli chief of importance was Anantaraja. He was a great warrior and also a scholar of considerable merit. As already observed, he led an invasion against Gurramkonda which was then occupied by the Qutb Shahi forces, at the instance of his overlord Venkata II. Anantaraja was followed by his son Tiruvengalanatha and his grandson Kumara Ananta in succession. Kumara Ananta exercised authority over the territory lying between the hills of Tirupati and Ahobila (Kurnool district). He was a great scholar. He was deeply attached to the Visishtadvaita school of Ramanuja but was however tolerant of other schools of thought. Considerable light is thrown on the varied achievements of Kumara Ananta in two epigraphs of S. 1550 (A.D. 1628) noted on the walls of the Pathala Mantapa at Alipiri at the foot of the Tirumala hills. He founded about a dozen free feeding houses for the benefit of pilgrims proceeding on foot between Setu and the Himalayas. Tirupati was one among the places where such a house was established. At Tirupati itself, he constructed, among others, the 'agra-gopura' (the tower on the top of the front hill called the Gali-gopuram), a 'Sopanamarga' (pathway with a flight of steps) and an 'Unnata Kelimandapa' (meaning literally a 'superb sports' mandapam). The other inscriptions at Tirupati reveal that the major works for which Kumara Ananta was responsible at Tirupati included the big outer gopuram (tower) of the temple of Govindaraja with seven storeys and the second gopuram at the foot of the hills called the Kotta-gopuram through which the pathway to Tirumala runs. His numerous other offerings to the shrine included a crown set with gems. He made many gifts to the temple at Srikalahasti also. From all this, it appears that the Matli principality had reached its zenith under Kumara Anantaraja.

Kumara Anantaraja was succeeded by his adopted son, Anantaraja Devachoda or Kumara Ananta II. During his rule, the Matlis lost a sizeable

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

portion of their principality to the Sultan of Golkonda in A.D. 1644 or 1645. In spite of this set back, his sway extended over a fairly extensive area, comprising Pulugulanadu in Chandragirirajya and Pottapinadu and Siddhavatamsima in Cuddapah district. Kumara Ananta accompanied by his uncle Ellama, who also helped him in the administration of the principality, inflicted a severe defeat on the army sent by Abdullah Qutb Shah. Fearing reprisal, Kumara Ananta fled to Ikkeri-Basavapuram. As expected, Mir Jumla marched against his principality and after occupying it, entrusted its administration to Triambaka Sankaraji Pant. With this, the administration of the Matlis in this district came to an end, though it is reported that their rule over parts of Rajampet taluk in Cuddapah district was revived.

Subsequent important events relevant to this district were the march of Sivaji through the Tirupati pass in this district in his expedition against Ginjee during A.D. 1677-78 and the annexation of the Qutb Shahi kingdom to the Mughal empire in A.D. 1687 by Aurangzeb.

(xvii) TIRUMALA IN THE PERIOD OF MUSLIM RULE 1650-1800 A.D.

The Tirumala-Tirupati region came to be conquered by the Sultans of Golconda by about the middle of the 17th century and remained under Muslim rule for about a century and half. This was a period of confusion, chaos and disorder and there was practically no government worth the name in this region. The Hindu empire of Vijayanagara had vanished and various interested parties like the Qutub Shah, the Mughals, the Nizam, the Marathas, the Nawabs of Arcot, Hyder Ali, the English and the French entered the arena and added to the confusion and misery of this area.

Qutub Shahi rule:—The Vijayanagara emperor, Venkata II, granted to the English East India Company a small site on the east coast in 1640 A.D. on which was built the Fort St. George. Further south, the French established a settlement at Pondicherry and the nationals of these two European states rapidly increased their strength and exploited the rivalries of the local princes in their own wars during the next century. Qutub Shahi expansion into the districts of the eastern Carnatic assumed a serious phase in 1646 A.D. when the celebrated general, Mir Jumla, led a number of raids. He soon took Tondamanad, Tirupati and Chandragiri and devastated the Chittoor and North Arcot districts. He penetrated further south and captured Ponneri, Poonamalli, Kanchi, Gingee and Wandiwash. Soon after this, he deserted Golconda and walked into the Mughal camp. Shah Jahan, the Mughal emperor, confided the Carnatic as a Jagir on Mir Jumla and Tupaki Krishnappa

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Nayaka managed the jagir for the general. After Mir Jumla's death in 1663 A.D., the jagir was given to Neknam Khan who managed it through a representative, named Chintapalli Mirza. Sivaji, the celebrated Maratha ruler, passed through the Kallur pass, near Tirupati, in 1676 A.D. while on his way for the conquest of Arni, Vellore and Ginjee. Five years later, the Golconda minister, Akkanna, was at Tirupati, trying to set matters right. Aurangzeb, the son and successor of Shah Jahan, conquered the Qutub Shahi kingdom and annexed it to the Mughal empire. With this the Carnatic and the Tirumala-Tirupati region, which was included in it, passed into the hands of the Mughals.

Nawabs of Carnatic:—This change of control created great confusion in eastern Carnatic. Many people fled to the English settlement for safety. The Subedars of the Deccan exercised power over this region. Several Mughal and Maratha armies ravaged this area. The Mughal emperor, Shah Alam I, constituted the Carnatic into a separate Nawabi and appointed Sadatulla Khan as its Nawab in 1710 A.D. This Nawab's adviser, Todar Mal, visited Tirumala and set up there statues of himself, his wife and his mother. Asaf-Jha Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Mughal Subedar of the Deccan, began independent rule in 1724 A.D. and claimed authority over the Nawabs of Carnatic. This was also the time when the Peshwas became powerful in Maharashtra and the Carnatic soon came to be involved in the struggles between the Nizam and the Peshwa. Asaf Jha appointed Dost Ali as Nawab of Carnatic in 1733 A.D. A Maratha army invaded this region under Raghoji, seven years later, killed the Nawab in a pitched battle fought at Damalacheruvu, near Tirumala, and looted the country around. The mother and the wife of Baji Rao, the Peshwa, visited Tirumala about this time. Safdar Ali now succeeded to the Nawabi. He paid fifty thousand rupees from the treasury of the Tirumala temple, which was under his control and got rid of the Marathas. Anwaruddin became the Nawab in 1744. Very soon, however, the Nizam of Hyderabad and this Nawab of Carnatic died and their successors started a war of succession. This was also the time when, in accordance with a war declared between their home countries, the English and the French started fighting in India. Mohammad Ali, son of Anwaruddin, who was championed by the English for the Nawabi, sent two lakhs of rupees from the treasury of the Tirumala temple to the English Commander, Clive, who was besieged at Arcot.

About 1750 A.D. he assigned the revenues of the Tirupati-Tirumala temples to his allies and supporters, the English East India Company. The next twenty years witnessed terrible disorder and confusion in the Tirupati

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

region. An adventurer, named Mahammad Kamal, ravaged this area but was driven out by an army of the Company. The Zamindars of Venkatagiri, Kalahasti and Karvetinagar, created trouble. Nazibullah, a brother of the Nawab, advanced upon Tirupati and threatened it. Abdul Wahab, another brother followed his example. Both of them were repelled by the Company's forces. Two Maratha generals, Gopalarao and Narayanarao, occupied the Tirumala temple but were dislodged. Later, Hyder Ali, who usurped power in Mysore, created trouble here. The Nizam and the Company had to fight bitterly with Hyder and his son, Tippu. During the time of the Mysore wars, the Company took over the management of the Carnatic.

(xviii) TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THIS PERIOD.

During this period Tirumala had been the scene of several struggles for possessing the income derived from the offerings made to the shrine. The revenues of Tirumala had for many years been paid to the ruler of the district within which it was situated. The Nawab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali, who thus received nearly two lakhs annually, assigned this valuable source of income to the English in consideration of the assistance rendered by them in establishing his power in the Karnatak. In A.D. 1753, a chief named Mohammed Kamal marched to Tirumala. This created alarm at Madras where the authorities feared the loss of their revenue. A small force was immediately sent but it was surrounded by Mahommed Kamal's troops upon the plain of Tirupati itself and driven back with great loss. On the following day reinforcements arrived and the issue of a battle was once more tried. In the battle, the elephant, which carried Mahommed Kamal, was killed and he was captured and executed on the spot.

In A.D. 1754, Mahammad Ali sought the assistance of the English to coerce the tributaries and to levy fresh contributions. The polegars of Srikalahasti and Karvetnagar whose estates lay in this district were among those against whom English help was sought. They all submitted without a struggle. In A.D. 1756, Nazibulla rose against his brother, Mahammad Ali, and, retiring to the north, raided the territories of the polegars of Srikalahasti and Karvetnagar. In August 1757, Nazibulla invested the Nawab's fort. Sensing his motive to acquire the offerings in the ensuing Brahmotsavam festival at Tirumala, the detachment sent from Madras occupied the town below the Tirumala hills. Being thus frustrated, Nazibulla retired from the neighbourhood and turned back as many pilgrims as he met. Consequently, the income of the temple for that year diminished considerably. In the same

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

year, the Karnatak again faced an invasion of the Marathas led by a general named Balvanta Rao. He attacked Cuddapah and the Nawab Abdul Majid Khan (A.D. 1753-1757), was killed in the fight. The latter was succeeded by his uncle Muhsin Khan alias Mocha Miya. He concluded a treaty with the Marathas, according to which, Gurramkonda was ceded to them. Balvanta Rao next invested the fortress of 'Cadapanattam' which stands at the head of the 'Thallapullaghaut' in Palmaner taluk. He also took Punganurpalem after killing its polegar in a battle.

In A.D. 1758, Tirupati was again threatened by Abdul Wahab, another brother of the Nawab of Arcot. Abdul Wahab quarrelled with his brother and fled to Chittoor with his mother and son. He maintained himself and a small body of followers at Chittoor by collecting as much peshcush as he could from the polegars of Chittoor. Later, he resolved on trying his fortune by attacking Tirupati. Raising a considerable force he threatened the lower town, but was deterred from making any decided attempt to plunder the temple by rumours of the march of the English reinforcements. He, therefore, retired and seized the fort of Chandragiri where he waited for a more favourable opportunity. On his way from Hyderabad, the French general Bussy halted at Tirupati, seized the Company's renter and intimidated him to resign the revenues of the temple in his favour. Abdul Wahab joined Bussy at Tirupati and accompanied him to the south under the impression that he would obtain the grant of the revenues of Tirumala. He, however, failed in his expectation and returned to Chandragiri. Again, in December 1758, a large body of the Marathas led by Gopal Row marched to Tirupati, climbed the hills and took possession of the temple in March, 1759, to amass the income to be received during the festival in April. As the main body of his force was subsequently recalled, a small detachment under the command of a certain Narayanasastri was left in charge of the temple. Abdul Wahab had driven away this small force and reported his success to the Madras Government with a request to farm the revenues of the temple to him. His application was rejected and the previous renter was confirmed.

Narayanasastri had returned to the palem of Karkambadi on the east of the Tirupati range. In July 1759, he ascended the hills and reoccupied the shrine with the assistance of the polegar of Karkambadi. A force was sent to dislodge him, but it was driven back. An application for reinforcement was sent to Madras and Major Calliaud, who commanded the English reinforcements, decided on creating a diversion by attacking the stronghold of the Karkambadi polegar. The village of Karkambadi was burnt and

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

its polegar was killed in the engagement that took place. This damped the courage of the Marathas and their allies and the attack upon the temple on the succeeding day was completely successful. Narayanasastri retreated and the renter was reinstated. A small body of English troops was left to protect the renter for a time. Tirupati was again the venue of a battle between the forces of the Nizam, Nizam Ali Khan, and the Government of Madras. The forces of the former, however, retreated and passed through Srikalahasti in their precipitate flight towards Nellore.

Rule of the Company:—After the Mysore wars, the Company tried to restore order in the Carnatic. The successors of Mahammad Ali opposed it. The Company forced the Nawab to retire on a pension and took over the administration of this area in 1801 A.D. Not willing to undertake the management of Hindu temples, the Company handed over the temples of Tirumala-Tirupati to the Mahants in 1843 A.D.

The Government of Madras took over the temples in 1933 A.D. and put them under the management of a Board of Trustees. With the formation of Andhra Pradesh, these temples came under the control of the government of this new state.

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

I. Ancient period

(Circa 1st Century A.D. to Circa 9th Century A.D.)

(Based on literary aid)

(i) THE SACRED HILL OF TIRUVENGADAM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

IN ancient Tamil literature the sacred shrine of Tirumala is referred to by the name Vengadam. This is generally understood to refer to the hill, though quite often the reference is as much to the territory surrounding it. The northern Vengadam or Vada Vengadam, is generally spoken of, in ancient Tamil literature as the northern boundary of the Tamil speaking country. Tolkappiyam, the most ancient classical Tamil grammar, which is said to be one of the oldest pieces of Tamil literature extant, defines the area where Tamil speaking people lived, as situated between the hill Vengadam in the north and the Kumari or the Cape Comorin in the south and between the seas in the east and in the west. Thus from very ancient days, the Tirumala hills have been recognised as the landmark through which the Tamil speaking people had to pass, to reach to regions where Tamil was not spoken.

The language spoken to the north of Vengadam was known to ancient Tamil literature as Vaduku and the chieftains of this place were known as princes of the Vadukas in classical Tamil (Vadukar Perumakan). There is

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

at least one chieftain, the ruler by name Erumai, who is referred to known as Vadukar Perumakan and the context it occurs, it would appear that he ruled over an area, in a part of the present northern Mysore and the territory adjoining it. The road leading to the Vaduka country was referred to in ancient Tamil literature as Vadukar-munai, which means the outposts of the Tamil Country in the grand trunk road leading into the Vaduka land.

Vengadam is the name of the Hill according to the ancient Tamil grammar Tolkappiyam. The Sangam poet Mamulanar also gives the same name to the Hill. Mamulanar refers to fairs and festivals on the hill, which obviously indicate the existence of a temple, and which were occasions for exchange of certain commodities by barter. Both Tolkappiyam and Mamulanar do not refer to the name of the Deity or Tiruvengadamudaiyan or in any other manner or variant of the name, nor is the existence of any other temple for any other deity mentioned. But "Silappadikaram" another ancient Tamil work, gives a description of the deity on the Vengadam Hill, which shows that the deity is Vishnu.

(II) TIRUMALA IN EARLY CLASSICAL TAMIL SANGAM LITERATURE.

The ancient classical Tamil literature known as Sangam literature consists of a number of collections of poems, which at one time must have been more generally current in Tamilnadu. Popularly Sangams are divided into three Sangams each of which had its own patron poets. These poems as seen from their nature, seem to exhibit various modes of composition, displaying the poetic skill of the authors. The Sangam poetry is thus mostly a collection of anthologies, put together from some of the excellent pieces of the composition of these ancient poets, to give typical illustrations of the various modes of composition.

In ancient Tamil literature one particular author Perundevanar is reputed to have composed the Tamil poem Bharata, and who is therefore generally referred to as Perundavanar who composed ancient Tamil Bharata, as distinct from other Perundevanars which is a fairly common ancient Tamil name. This Perundevanar, who is a very early author, composed the well known 'eight collections,' and in addition, he also composed the verses in invocation, which relate to all the well known deities of the land at that time. The date of this is not correctly fixed but the consensus is that it belonged to the early years of the christian era. We can only surmise with some authority, based on a

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

late 10th century copper plate charter which refers to a Pandyan King, "the victor of Talaiyalanganam," that this literature must be deemed to have relation to the period before the Pandya, the victor of Talaiyalanganam.

There are references quoted in these various anthologies of Sangam literature, which mention Tirupati by the name of Vengadam. Generally Tirupati is referred in these as the northern border land of the Tamil speaking people, as is also the case with Tolkappiyam.

Among these early authors referring to Tirupati, we can distinguish two, who are contemporary with the Pandyan, victor of Talaiyalanganam already referred to, viz., Kalladanar and Nakkirar. The 83rd verse of the famous 'Ahananuru' refers to the chieftain Pulli of the region surrounding Vengadam. In this verse he is described as Ilaignar Perumakan. The use of the Tamil word Kalla in this context, would refer to uncultivated areas. In other words, this reference would appear to indicate to a state of things when extensive agricultural cultivation had not been resorted to. In poem 209 of the same anthology Ahananuru, the same author, mentions again Pulli and his Vengadam, and goes on to say that there was a narrow passage across the hill, described as a tunnel, through which one had to pass to emerge from the territory of the chieftain Pulli to the north.

Nakkirar who is a very famous and well known ancient Tamil poet, and who figures in very many well known legends, does not refer to Vengadam as such, but refers to the territory dominated by the Vengadam, when he speaks of Tiraiyan and his capital Pavattiri, Reddipalem, in the Gudur Taluq of Nellore District. In poem 253 Nakkirar again speaks of Vadukar Perumakan, Erumai. This chieftain Erumai is referred to in a number of other poems, and by various other authors as the chieftain of the Vadukars. Nakkirar indicates in his poem that the territory of the Vadukar chief lay in the region of the river called Ayiri, and passing which river, one passes from the Tamil land into the land of Vadukas. Ayiri seems to be the equivalent of the Hagari river in the present Karnataka State (near Adoni of Andhra Pradesh) and which was a well known frontier region in later history between the Tamils and the powers to the north of them.

Another ancient Tamil poet by name Kanakkayanar (probably the father of Nakkirar, since Nakkirar is often described as the son of Kanakkayanar) refers to northern Vengadam in Aham 27 and of the breed of elephants infesting its forests, in the course of a description of a Pandya and his famous port, the pearl producing Korkai. The other authors referring to Vengadam,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

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HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

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THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

are Tayam Kannan, known also as Tayangannan, who refers to Vengadam as belonging to Tondaiyar, and refers to the Country of Vadukar across the regions. Yet another poet, Kannan son of Kattur Kilar refers to Vengadam as belonging to Tiraiyan and describes a peculiar feature that the elephants of that region were being fed on the tender shoots of the bamboo.

The last and the most important poet of these ancient Tamil poets, and probably the oldest among them is Mamulanar. He has seven poems in his anthology, in which directly or indirectly Vengadam is referred to. In poem 61 he refers to Vengadam as belonging to Pulli, the chieftain of the Kalavar, and mentions another important feature that Vengadam was famous for its festivals. This reference to festivals is very significant, since this is the only reference in ancient Tamil literature from which we can directly infer the existence of the temple to which these festivals could have been attributed.

The passage actually occurs in poem 61 of the Ahananuru. Freely rendered the passage means that "the chieftain of the Kalavar who are in the habit of handing over elephant tusks, bartering them for liquor prepared from paddy, and who wear anklets characteristic of warriors, was Pulli famed for the conquest of the land of the Malavar, and for great gifts to those who went to him. (Your lover) it is rarely possible will reconcile himself to stay away even if he got thereby Vengadam, the capital of that Pulli which is prosperous because of the festivals celebrated in it." The actual sense of the passage is that an imaginary lover who had departed from his sweetheart and travelled away in quest of wealth to distant parts, has tarried a little longer than he promised, and the consolation is offered to the heart-broken damsel that he might have been delayed, but that he would not stay away under any circumstances. To add emphasis to this statement, it is stated that even if, in his desire for the acquisition of wealth, he got possession of such a prosperous city as Vengadam, he would not stay behind. The point for notice here is that the fame of Vengadam in the estimation of Mamular was due, at least in part, to the great festivals which were celebrated in the place from time to time, meaning obviously the annual festivals which are now a feature of the great temple-city.

In poem 115 and 281 the same author refers to Erumai of Kudanadu, and to Vadukars. During the course of a statement here about the invasion of the Mauryas to the south, the author says that they pressed the Vadukars forward before them, and passed through a tunnel in the hill, to which reference has already been made above. In poem 295 he refers to Tirupati as

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Pullikunram, the hill of the chieftain Pulli, and refers to his country as the region of the Vadugars entering which the spoken language changes. In poem 311 he refers to a good feature that the people of that area were accustomed to viz. to eat rice with the tamarind on the teak leaves. In poem 359 Pulli is referred to as one who is liberal in gifts. In verse 393 Pulli is again referred to as one the words of whose speech are long, which is a characteristic of some of these languages. There are other references by other authors which confirm one or other of these features, though they do not specifically refer to Vengadam as such.

(iii) TIRUPATI AND TIRUMALA NOT REFERRED TO AS HOLY SHRINE.

It is interesting to note that in these ancient references, a number of authors of eminence, refer to Vengadam and give details of features which were regarded in those days as characteristics of the hill and the region surrounding it, but no specific reference to the great shrine which now dominates the entire area is given. Reference has already been made to poem 61 of Mamulanar, in which the celebration of the festivals is clearly referred to. This leads to the unmistakable inference about the existence of the temple there and the series of festivals connected with it. During the period of the Sangam literature therefore the importance is more to the sanctity of the hill, rather than to the temple, and the temple as such, had not yet taken over the importance which the hill had in this early age.

However, references from Sangam literature to this area make clear three points. Firstly Tirupati is Vengadam and it lay in the borderland between the Tamil and Telugu speaking people. Secondly the language to the north of the hill was different. Thirdly the country was forest country, with elephants roaming about, and it was ruled by a chieftain by name Pulli ruling over a people who are described as Kalvar, possibly with a variant form as Kalvas and he subsequently seems to have come under the authority of a chieftain Tiraiyan, with his capital at Vengadam, and with perhaps an alternative capital at Pavattiri, a little further north.

(iv) TIRUMALA AND TIRUPATI IN THE PRABANDHAS OF

(THE EARLY) ALVARS.

(Circa 4th Century A.D. to Circa 9th Century A. D.)

The 'Prabandha Four Thousand,' the ancient Vaishnava piece of literature, is a collection of 4000 stanzas of Tamil poetry celebrating the 108 places of worship sacred to Lord Vishnu. These poems are attributed by tradition

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

to a certain number of devotees, generally counted as twelve and called as Alvars. This literature throws considerable light on the early history of Tirumala. The whole body of this literature can be said to refer roughly to the five centuries from 300 to 800 A.D. Three of these are known as the first Alvars, described as the singers in classical Tamil (Sen Tamil) by Tirumangai Alvar, viz., Poygai alvar, Bhutam alvar and Pey alvar. One other alvar who follows viz., Tirumalisai alvar is also generally counted as one of the early alvars.

From the internal evidence of their works, it is possible to come to some fairly definite conclusions with regard to their period of activity, and this, in itself, would throw a flood of light upon the history of a shrine like Tirumala, not to mention other general questions, such as the rise of the cult of Bhakti, and of the school of Vaishnava worship generally known as the Pancharatra, or Agamaic worship more generally. This latter class of literature lays down the norms of the life of a devotee, and prescribes the various forms in which worship should be conducted by differing classes of people, with a view to achieving the ends of existence here, and attaining to a permanent place hereafter.

(v) POYGAI ALVAR.

The first of these early alvars, Poygai Alvar is the author of the first centum of the last thousand of the Four Thousand in the prabhanda. He was notably a Vaishnava devotee but one who occupied a high place among the celebrities in Tamil literature. He has as many as twelve to fifteen direct references to Tirumala in the centum ascribed to him. He refers to this place as a sacred kshetra where Lord Vishnu had in his infinite grace manifested himself. Stanzas 5 and 74 clearly refer to the Lord and give description of the Lord's features and the weapons that he holds. Stanza 26 refers to Tirumala, the saving grace of which is enjoyed by the Gods themselves. In stanza 37 there is a more explicit reference to Vengadam as "a place acceptable to the God who blew the beautiful white conch, which receives constant worship from people of great learning who offer daily worship with incense, lamp, holy water etc., and who came from all directions to offer worship here." There is a similar reference to Vengadam in stanza 39. Stanza 40 gives reference only to the secular feature of the place, where elephants are referred to as if threatened by the falling stars, in the belief that they were torches held by the Kuravars of that place. There is yet another reference in stanza 68. Stanza 76 refers to Tiruvengadam and describes the God there as one who measured the earth (Vishnu-Trivikrama). Stanza 77 similarly refers to Vengadam where

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the Lord standing along with the other three places, Vinnagar, Vehka and Kovalur. The last reference to Tirumala is in stanza 99 where Lord Vishnu is spoken of as Eternal and being in the heart of everyone who is capable of thinking about him, and as habitually residing in the waters and on the hill of Vengadam.

That at this stage the temple at Tirumala was a Vaishnavite temple is clear beyond doubt in stanza 28, 58, 64 and 65 which give evidence that the Alvar is devoted to Vishnu and none else. In stanza 53 there is a reference to the close association of the serpent Sesha or Ananta and Vishnu, as almost body and soul, which is the relation in which the Supreme is held in relation to all individual souls. Here Ananta is referred to as an umbrella for the Lord when he walks, a throne when he sits, a wooden platform or sandal when he stands and the eternal bed when he sleeps on the sea. This perhaps explains the symbolism of the snake which is sometimes said to be seen in parts of the body of the image of Lord Venkatesa at Tirumala.

(vi) BHUTAM ALVAR.

Bhutam Alvar refers to Vengadam in eight places or stanzas directly. The first reference is in stanza 25 where the Lord is described as standing on the Hill at Tirumala. In stanzas 33, 45 and 46 there are general references to Tirumala and Vishnu. In stanza 70 reference is made to a number of Vishnu shrines, and in stanzas 72 and 75 also similar references are made. Stanza 28 equates the deity presiding in Vengadam to the deity presiding in Srirangam.

So it comes out clearly that Bhutam Alvar, no less than Poygai Alvar, was devoted to Tirumala as a Vishnu shrine to which he was extremely devoted. There are stanzas in this centum which could be picked out detailing the ordinary norms of worship of all the Vaishnavas. One feature in particular has to be noted in respect of this Alvar, which is also a common feature in others, that the best form of worship is the orthodox Vaidic way; but it is recognised simultaneously that it is not actually possible for all. It certainly is the best for those who can do it; but, for those who cannot, other forms of worship are prescribed as equally efficient in saving power; and, among these, the most efficient is the mere recital of the name of Lord as equally capable of saving all of us.

(vii) PEY ALVAR

The next of the early Alvars, namely, Pey Alvar also refers to Vengadam in his verses. The first reference to Vengadam occurs in stanzas 14. In stanzas 26, 30 and 32 there are general references to Vengadam. He takes up the



THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

reference to Vengadam in 58 again, and comes up in the last line to the same references that the God in Vengadam is, "He who recovered the earth by the use of his acute intelligence," referring to his having outwitted Mahabali and got him to grant the three feet of earth. In stanza 59, the Alvar gives expression to his satisfaction that he has attained to the correct way of gaining salvation, since he attaches himself in devotion to Vishnu. Similarly stanzas 69, 70, 71, 72, 73 and 75 have also general references to Vengadam. While 69 and 70 only refer to some general features, 71 repeats almost in the same terms incidents referred to in stanza 68. In 72 there is the specific statement that Vengadam is the residence of "the prince among the young" (Ilam-Kumarar-Koman). Stanza 73 has a reference to Vengadam but in general terms; 75 has similarly a general reference to Tirumalai as the hill of Vishnu-Krishna (Ayan, shepherd). Stanza 76 states definitely that, if one should offer flowers and fold his hands in worship before the God at Vehka, no consequences of evil deeds would come to him, and that one need not stand amidst hills, or dip into water, or otherwise perform penance by standing amidst the five fires. Stanzas 77 to 88 recommend single-minded devotion to Vishnu as the sole efficient way of getting rid of evil and attaining to salvation. 89 refers to Vengadam and states clearly "it is the hill of the One who applied his lips to the flute emitting sweet music" (meaning young Krishna). Stanzas 90 to 93 are general as usual, and 94 states that the Alvar succeeded in recapturing Him, who stands, sits or lies down (in various holy places) and in his own heart by the process of lighting the lamp of contemplation.

These three Alvars are called the first Alvars because they are considered to have been contemporary. Their hundred verses reveal such close similarity of features that on this ground alone one can hold that they were contemporaries and probably flourished at the same time. Being great devotees of Vishnu they refer to many places of Vishnu worship and among them Tirumala is referred to more frequently than any other. Hence these Alvars are regarded as having devoted their poems exclusively to Vengadam, by the commentators.

These Alvars refer to the efficacies of the Vaidic ceremonies as of the highest importance. In the first centum Poygai Alvar states "who will hereafter enter the gates of hell (Naraka)? Bolt its door without any compunction, because this land surrounded by the Jambu tree has now learned very well that the fact of Him who threw the calf to bring down the fruit of the wood-apple is the sole saviour." This seems intended to indicate the successful vogue this new teaching had attained to. That may give us an

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

idea also of the actual age of its popularity, and the circumstances under which this movement attained to the popularity, that it actually did.

(viii) TIRUMALA IN SILAPPADHIKARAM.

The Tamil classic Silappadhikaram, the author of which was not a Hindu refers in his work to Tirumala as a place of Vishnu shrine. Ilango Adigal, the author of this work describes Venkatesa on the Hill in the following terms in Book XI, lines 41 to 51:—

“ High on Vengadam’s towering crest, with flowing streams in flood,
Betwixt the effulgent glory, of shining Sun and Moon,
Like unto a blue cloud in lightning dresst
In all the brilliance of rainbow dight,
The Red-eyed great One, majestic stands
In dress of flowery brilliance with garland bright,
One lotus hand with fearsome disc adorned, and milk white conch
(the other held).”

The above description is put into the mouth of a brahman pilgrim, a native resident of Mangadu in Malainadu. This pilgrim was on his journey across the Pandya country and was staying for the night in the outer groves of the Chola capital, Uraiyur. During the course of this journey he meets Kovalan, the hero of Silappadhikaram, and during his talks the pilgrim mentions the Pandyan territory and says that he was going on a pilgrimage to visit the Vishnu shrine of Srirangam and Vengadam. The reference to Tirumala comes in this context.

It is clear from this statement that the shrine at Tirumala was considered in those ancient days as a very holy vaishnava centre. The terms in which the Vishnu shrine both at Srirangam and Tirumala, and the one at Tirumal Irumsolai are referred to, give clear evidence that the shrine at Tirumala had the reputation of being a famous Vishnu shrine, and that its reputation had reached so far out as the West Coast that people from there were in the habit of going on a pilgrimage to Tirumala as they do even now as one of the holy Vaishnava centres. A statement like that from an author who makes the statement no doubt in poetry, and in the course of a romantic epic, proves the general position that the temple at Tirumala was by common repute a temple dedicated to Vishnu.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(ix) TIRUMALISAI ALVAR.

This Alvar also had composed 100 verses in honour of Vishnu. In stanzas 42 and 43 he mentions that both Brahma and Siva were among the worshippers at Vengadam.

The first reference is in stanza 31. It is a bare reference to Vengadam along with the other Vaishnava place Kottiyur. There is a simple reference in stanza 39. There is a specific reference in 40 where it says that he was devoted to the God at Vengadam, who was constantly in his thought; "He is the beloved of Her who is described and quite extolled in the sciences, and I am inextricably caught in the net which is His feet." There is a very interesting reference in 41 where he refers again to the holy One at Vengadam having entered his mind by being in residence at Vengadam. In describing this hill at Vengadam there are two points that are brought out. The first is the mountain streams running down scattering pearls. By implication there is also the rattle of the running stream. Another kind of sound that is referred to as the normal feature of Vengadam is the sound that arises from the celebration of the festivals on Onam days. This asterism is of course sacred to Vishnu, and is, in some form, attached to Vishnu as almost the asterism of his birth (one that has no birth). But the festival on this asterism is, in some respects, peculiar to Tirumala, and is also usual in shrines where the deity installed is Srinivasa, (the abode of the Goddess Lakshmi), which is the ordinary familiar name of the God at Tirumala. The most sacred day in the year at Tirumala is this Sravana in the month of Purva-Bhadra. The next stanza has reference to Vengadam where the Alvar exhorts peoples to go and offer worship at Vengadam as it permanently destroys the evils of Karma, and offers as inducement the fact that the lotus-born Brahma and the three-eyed Siva alike placed lotus flowers at the feet of the God at Tirumala and worshipped Him. The next following stanza has a similar reference to the worship offered by the same two Gods. Stanza 44 is particularly interesting, as, in making a reference to Vengadam, he exhorts younger people particularly to go and offer worship at Vengadam.

The next reference to Vengadam is in stanza 90, although the reference is general. That is so far as this particular centum of this Alvar is concerned. It comes out again and again in the course of this work of the Alvar that Tirumala was a place sacred to Vishnu, and the God installed in the temple there is Vishnu and nobody else. Mention is made of the presence of other Gods particularly Siva and Brahma as forming part of his body, but none the less it is clearly stated that the object of worship is Vishnu.

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(x) TIRUMALA IN NAMMALVAR

Next after the early Alvars comes Nammalvar who is generally regarded by the Vaishnava Tradition as the best and greatest of them all. His works have come to be regarded as a faithful rendering of all that is of value in the teaching of the Veda. The Tiruvaymoli of Nammalvar is generally regarded as being a rendering of the Veda in Tamil. The earliest Tamils seem to have made a distinction between the Veda and Upanishads by calling the first as Vaymoli and the second as Marai though the latter term has now become more or less fashionable for the entire Vedic literature.

Nammalvar may be regarded as belonging to the period later than the first early Alvars and contemporary to the later group ending with Tirumangai Alvar. The first three Alvars have composed poems in Venba metre in Tamil whereas the fourth has also about 120 stanzas in Viruttam.

Unlike the early Alvars, Nammalvar's references to Tirumala are of a character to meet the requirements of a literary artist. He devotes ten poems of the Tiruvaymoli to Tirumala itself, and makes explicit reference to the great shrine there. There are one or two other groups of ten verses where references to Tirumala are not direct but there is substantial evidence that he had only this temple in mind.

There are seven references to Tirumala in the Tiruviruttam of this same Alvar. They are more or less of the form of address where he apostrophizes some of the flower gardens as being of the country of Tirupati, or of Tirupati which has beautiful gems all round the hill glowing in day light. The Tiruvasiriyam and the Periya Tiruvandadi do not contain any direct references to Tirumala as such, but stanza seven of the latter contains a reference to Lakshmi being on the chest of Vishnu, which is the exact meaning of the term Srinivasa, the name of the God at Tirumala.

(xi) OTHER ALVARS

From Nammalvar onwards, we have a group of seven Alvars who are later in time and these also make a reference to Tirumala in their literature.

Particular mention must be made of Nacchiyar Tirumoli of Andal who is generally worshipped in Vaishnavite temples and also of Alvar Kulasekhara who was a ruler of the Chera country. Coming to Tirumangai Alvar who is probably the latest Alvar, we have a dozen references to the God of Vengadam in his works.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

We may therefore conclude that to the Alvars whose period of life may be held to extend from the Sangam period from the 3rd century after Christ to the 8th century A.D. when Tirumangai Alvar flourished, there has been a continuous tradition that there is a shrine called Vengadam dedicated to Vishnu. These literary references from known historical times upto the 8th century A.D. clearly refer to Tirumala as a sacred place. From the 8th century A.D., we have epigraphical references to Tirumala.

II. Medieval period 9th to 17th century A D.

(Based on epigraphical evidence)

(xii) INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TEMPLES.

The Tirumala Temple like others bears several inscriptions of considerable interest giving us full details about the temple. These along with others from neighbouring temples in lower Tirupati and Tiruchanur making a total of well over 1,000 furnish a continuous and authentic record of the transactions of the temple and its neighbourhood for the last seven or eight centuries. For example, we have full and complete information on the buildings and endowments and the numerous visits to the temple by the Vijayanagar rulers, especially, the emperors Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya. Amongst the great rulers of South India, Raja Raja Chola, from a late and incorrect copy of the inscription of the 16th year of his reign, is known to have been directly connected with the shrine of Tirumala. From earlier records found in the neighbourhood, like those of Dantivarman in Tiruchanur, it is possible to surmise that many of the more ancient inscriptions have disappeared beyond recovery, as a result of the restorations undertaken in the 13th century and later. However, the present inscriptions which number over 1000 if properly analysed give us a fairly continuous account of the history of the temple, and an attempt in this direction is made below.

(xiii) EARLIEST EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE.

The earliest inscription found in the Tirumala temple mentions the birth of the Bana prince, named Vijayaditya, who flourished in the early half of the ninth century (429-T.T.). This prince is said to have made a gift to Lord Venkatesvara at Tiruchanur. (229-G.T.).

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xiv) TIRUMALA AND THE PALLAVAS.

Among the Pallavas only one later king, viz., Ko-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman is represented by two epigraphs from Tiruchanur, which give his regnal year 51 which approximates to 830 A.D. (219-T.T. and 223-G.T.). In the later inscriptions the date is missing. But both the inscriptions register the record of a gift of gold for a perpetual lamp in the temple.

The contemporary of Parantaka II, Sundara Chola, Ko-Parthivendra-varman, who probably belonged to the family of the Pallavas who were dispossessed of their kingdom of Tondamandalam by Aditya I, had a certain Kadava subordinate under him, by name Sakti-Vitankan. His queen Samavai was the donor of two records of the temple. The queen is said to be the daughter of a Pallavappergadaiyar. The Kadava chief Sakti-Vitankan had some sort of relationship to Danti-Sakti-Vitanki *alias* Lokamahadevi one of the queens of Rajaraja I.

Queen Samavai presented to Manavalapperumal many costly jewels like tirumudi, malas, udarabandham, tirumalai-pattikai, bahuvalayam, tiruchachandam, vadiyal, karai, padachayalam and prabha. She also arranged for the daily offering of a plate of cooked rice and holy bath on the occasion of the two ayana-Samkrantis and the two vishusamkrantis. The celebration of the Purattasi festival for nine days, beginning with ankurarpanam, the day of the Chitra star, and another festival of two days duration before it, was also instituted. (18-T.T.). Samavai also gifted land for the expenses of a festival to be conducted twice a day for seven days prior to Mukkotidvasadi for Manavalapperumal. (19-T.T.).

(xv) TIRUMALA UNDER THE CHOLAS.

One of the earliest Chola inscriptions of the temple is Madirai-konda Ko-Parakesarivarman *alias* Parantaka I, who ruled from 905 to 953 A.D. (232 and 234-G.T.). Both these register the gift of a lamp apiece in the 20th and 29th of the regnal year of the King. 232-G.T. also refer to an assembly or Sabhai in Tiruchchokunar (modern Tiruchanur) which shows that the divisions of the country were the same as those that existed in the time of the Pallavas. The Cholas on the conquest of Tondamandalam seemed to have maintained the administrative system of the Pallavas which was readily available to them.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Irungolakon *alias* Gunavanaparajitan arranged for the feeding of two brahmins through the deposit of some gold (220-G.T.). He was probably an officer serving under the same king Parantaka I.

Though there is no direct evidence of Parantaka II Sundara Chola, still one of the inscriptions (17 T.T.) re-engraved under the orders of Vira Narasimha Yadavaraya, on the renovation of the central shrine of Sri Venkatesvara temple at Tirumala, registers the presents made in the 16th year of Raja Raja I, of a pattam of gold set with precious stones by Parantaka-devi-amman, described as the queen of Pon-maligai-tunjinan. It is known from other inscriptions that Parantaka II, Sundara Chola was the "King who slept at the Golden Hall". These two bits of evidences show that Parantaka-devi-amman, the donor of the pattam to Tirumala, was the queen of Sundara Chola.

Rajaraja I is represented by three epigraphs (17-T.T. 214 and 215-G.T.) The first has already been noted as that of the Parantakadevi-amman who presented to Sri Venkatesvara a pattam weighing 52 kalanju of gold and set with six rubies, four diamonds and 28 pearls. The other two epigraphs are fragmentary. The first registers a part of the prasasti, and the other mentions his name and registers the payment into the treasury of the temple by one Arulakki or Rajaraja Muvendavelan of 40 kalanjus of gold for a lamp to the Lord.

In the first year of the reign of Rajendra Chola, a local Officer held an enquiry regarding the non-performance of the duty of lighting 24 oil lamps and one light of camphor by the Sabhaiyar of Tirumundiyam and set matters right (20-T.T.). In this epigraph full details of the enquiry are available in which the chieftain called upon the administrative officers and the servants of Tiruvengadeva to state if any want or defect was observed in the matter of the nimandappadi, or the daily food-offerings made to the deity. They declared that the assembly of Tirumundiyam, a devadana village of the deity, which had received 23 pon (gold coins) and thereupon undertaken, in pursuance of a previous agreement engraved on stone, to light in the temple of Sri Venkatesvara 24 lamps including one of camphor, had failed in their trust by ceasing to burn 22 lights, and maintaining only 2, on the plea of the inability of the villagers. The enquiry impressed the Adhikari with the negligent behaviour and breach of trust on the part of the Tirumundiyam assembly and he ordered the transference to the temple funds of the 20 pon of the Tirumundiyam sabhaiyar available at Tiruchanur together with 3 pon standing to the credit of

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Tirumundiyaṁ assembly in the temple-treasury for their service rendered to the temple making up the original capital of 23 pan, and enjoined on the managers of the temple the duty of supplying ghee to, Tirumala for the lamps in conjunction with the supply from the stores at Tirumala of all other articles of daily use in the temple, and seeing to the maintenance of the 24 lights including the one of camphor.

Fragments of Kulottunga's historical introduction are preserved on a few detached slabs at Tirumala. The queen of Kulottunga I made arrangements for offerings of milks and curds to the temple (71-T.T.). No. 126-G.T. from Sri Govindaraja's temple in Tirupati dated in the 19th year of Rajaraja III throws light on the functions and powers of the local political assemblies and on the process of representation or petition to the king for grant of land to the temple. The periya-nattar of Tirukkudavur-nadu had instilled an image of Tirumangaiyalvar in the temple of Sri Govindaraja but had not provided for his daily propitiation. Sri Sathakopadasar-pillai and three others consulted together and placed the subject before the sabhiyar (assembly) of Tiruchanur who met in full numbers in the assembly-hall of the temple and resolved upon it. This resolution of the sabhiyar, which in effect would amount to no more than a commendatory endorsement, was fully approved by the king who ordered it to be given effect to. The Tirukkudavur-nattar executed the royal order by assigning within the limits of the village of Kudavur a piece of land yielding grain at the rate of 5 tumbu per patti as measured with the measure known as the Chalukki. The want of daily provision was thus met by the Periya-nattar themselves who had previously installed the Alvar, and the document was attested by the Periya-nattuvelal on the consent of the men of Tirukkudavur being signified and the approval of the Periya-nattar being given to it.

(xvi) TIRUMALA UNDER THE PANDYAS

Only one Pandya king is represented by few inscriptions recorded in prasasti in Sanskrit which pertain to Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I.

His prasasti as given in No. 175-T.T. represents him as the ornament of the lunar-race (Somakula-tilaka), the ruler of the town of Madhura (Madhurapuri Madhava), the destroyer of the family of the Keralas (Keralavamsa-nirmulana), the second Rama in shattering Lankapuri (Lankapuri-luthana-dvitiya-Rama), the thunderbolt to the mountain which is the Chola family (Cholakulasaila-kulisa), one who put to flight the Karnata king (Karnataraja-vidravana), the destroyer of the forts of the several enemy kings (Vividharipu-durga-mardana),

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the kindler of the fire to the forest which is Vira-Gandagopala (Vira-Gandagopala-vipina-davadahana), the lord of Kanchi the best of cities (Kanchipuravaradhisvara), the tiger to the deer which is Ganapati (Ganapati-harina-sardula), the establisher of the suppliant kings (Pranata-raja-pratishthapaka), the lord paramount over the maharajas and adhirajas (Maharajadhiraja-paramesvara) and the sovereign over the three worlds (Tribhuvanachakravarti). He is therein called Sri Sundara-Pandyadevapperumal. There are several other records of this king in Tirumala Temple (127, 140, 164, 172, 175, 230, 241 T.T. and 11 G.T.) though they have no other useful information.

(xvii) TIRUMALA UNDER PANDYA SUBORDINATES THE YADAVARAYAS.

The chieftains of this family, who governed part of Tondamandalam first as Chola subordinates, then as Pandya feudatories and subsequently as independent rulers, were ardent devotees and patrons of Sri Venkatesvara. Vira-Narasingadeva is the earliest member of this family to be connected with the temple of Tirumala. This Chieftain gifted a village to the temple for the supply of rice, vegetables and ghee every day (164-TT). Tirukalattideva, another member, assigned some land in the village of Avilala to the temple (170-TT). Virarakshasa Yadavaraya also granted some land (293-TT). The queen of Viranarasinga presented 64 cows and two bulls for setting up two perpetual lamps (381-TT). In the 40th year of the rule of Viranarasinga, a certain Tiruppullanidasar, a visiting pilgrim, obtained the ruler's permission and renovated the shrine of Sri Venkatesvara (17-TT). This chieftain performed the Tulabhara ceremony at Tirumala and made Venkatagiri equal to mount Meru (371-TT). Another chieftain of this family, Tiruvenkatanatha, gifted a village as sarvamanya for conducting the Adi-tirunal for the god (189-TT). His father-in-law and mahapradhani Singaya-dannayaka, instituted an offering named Sitakara-sandhi in the temple (195-TT). A record dated in the third year of the rule of another member of this family, Sriranganatha, refers to flower gardens, mathams etc., on the hill and mentions the Hunting festival of Sri Venkatesvara (354-TT). Another record dated sixteen years later, mentions the metallic image, Malaikuniyaninra-perumal and his Nachimar (I-106). One more record mentions of Vasanta festival (I-113). Hobala Yadavaraya presented to the god an ornament for his hand, obviously to the lower right hand which is in the varada pose (56,A-TT).

From these epigraphs some interesting details regarding the procedure for grants is known:

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

No. 165-T.T. indicates the method of making grants of lands or villages by the kings. The Sthanattar of the temple submitted a petition for the grant of land probably in Agarapparru, which was considered by the nadavar of Kudavur-nadu and Tondapadiparr and latterly endorsed by the Variyavimannattan. The king was pleased to grant the request exactly as it was made in the petition, and his order issued orally was communicated by the Yadavaraya. This confirms the procedure observed during the Chola administration, particularly under Rajaraja III (No. 126-G. T.).

(xviii) TIRUMALA UNDER VIJAYANAGAR EMPERORS.

The establishment of the Vijayanagara empire in 1336 A.D. was a turning point in the religious and cultural history of South India. The temples and gods of this region passed through critical days during the first three decades of the fourteenth century on account of frequent Muslim invasions. The new Hindú empire offered them all the needed protection and extended to them zealous patronage. The Sri Venkatesvara temple of Tirumala received the devoted attention of the various royal families that ruled over the empire and entered upon a phase of unprecedented glory.

(xix) TIRUMALA UNDER THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

The first ruler of the First or Sangama dynasty who can be easily recognised in the temple epigraphs is Harihara II, mentioned in No. 103-TT. dated in Saka 1309, Prabhava. But there are three earlier records belonging to the reign of Bukka I (Nos. 487, 237 and 238, and 485-TT.) though the king is not mentioned in any of them, No. 487-TT. which is undated and fragmentary, registers the grant of a village to the temple for a sandhi (offerings) twice a day in the name of Bukkarayan and this Bukkarayan-Sandhi is again referred to in No. 44 TT. dated in Saka 1379.

Mahamandalesvara Mangideva, a prominent feudatory, set up a golden kalasa on the sikhara of the vimana of the temple in 1369 A.D. (237-TT.) after gilding the sanctum (238-TT). A minister of Kumara Kampa gifted 28 cows and a bull. (373 and 485 T.T.) In 1388 A.D. a certain Mullai Tiruvengkata Jiyar instituted the Masi-tirunal in the temple in the name of Harihara Raya, the then reigning King (103-TT). A record of 1390 A.D. mentions the Tiruppavai or the festival during which psalms were sung within the hearing of the processional image and his consort (57-TT.) Another record, dated

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

three years later, refers to the Vidayyarri day of each of the festivals celebrated at Tirumala (43-TT.). The Kodai-tirunal is referred to in an inscription of 1404 A.D. (340-TT.).

No. 103 TT. belonging to Harihara II, records the institution of a festival for Sri Venkatesvara in his name in the month of Masi and an arrangement for its conduct by the head of a Srivaishnava Matha through the payment by him of 100 panam each year, being the income of the village of Pungodu. Probably the agent was given possession of the village also. This agency of a religious head would seem to indicate the slow pervasion among the kings of the First Vijayanagara dynasty of Vaishnava influence which bore its first fruits in this temple in the resuscitation of the Vedaparayanam during the reign of Devaraya II through the efforts of Mudaliyar Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappiranar and in the construction of mantapams and gopurams and the establishment of feeding-houses, flower-gardens, festivals and other services and charities together with the grant of villages towards their expenses by Saluva Narasimha at the instance of Kandadai Ramanujayangar.

Devaraya II is represented by half a dozen inscriptions. In Saka 1351, Saumya (5-12-1429 A.D.) he made a grant of three villages and a gift of 1200 pon for certain daily offerings (188-TT.), while in Saka 1355, Pramadicha (22-11-1433 A.D.), he granted, on the recommendation of Udaiyar Devanna-Udaiyar, the half share of the Raja-Bhandaram (Royal treasury), in the village of Siddhakuttai *alias* Srinivasapuram, yielding probably 200 panam annually as in the case of the other half belonging to the Sri-Bhandaram (temple-treasury), to the 24 brahmins engaged for the Vedaparayanam during its rehabilitation in that year after a temporary abeyance (Nos. 89 and 149-TT). This village is said to have been situated in Kottalasthalam, a sub-division of Vaikunda-valanadu. Though the Kottam (district) is not mentioned, it is known that both the Vaikundavalanadu and the Tirukudavur-nadu were comprised within the Tiruvenkatakkottam, a district of the Chandragiri-rajya.

In addition to Devanna-Udaiyar, another Officer of Devaraya II Mallanna is referred to in an inscription of Saka 1330 Sarvadhari (13-3-1409 A.D.). He seems to have been originally appointed to administer the Mysore country, and later on transferred to the governorship of Chandragiri. Saka 1330 mentioned above, is probably the year of his taking over charge of the Chandragiri Rajya. He made arrangements for a naivedyam and nityadipam to Sri Venkatesvara.

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The next date that occurs for him is Saka 1339, Hevilambi (25-8-1417 A.D.) (No. 88-TT.), and at this time he completed the construction of the Tirumamani-mantapam in front of the central shrine, from the stone basement to the roof and the eaves, and probably the renovation also of the Ananda-vimana over the Sanctum (No. 235-TT.). His latest known date is Saka 1366 Raktakshi (2-10-1444 A.D.) (No. 64-TT.), which takes us to within half a dozen years towards the close of Devaraya II's reign. Probably he was transferred in Saka 1367, in succession to Irugapa-Odeya (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 248, foot-note 10).

No. 92-TT., a Sanskrit verse in the Sardula-vikrīḍita metre calls him "amatyasekhara," and this rank is the same as that of the Mahapradhana which was conferred upon the ministers, governors and viceroys of Vijayanagara, and which Mallanna is seen to have been honoured with, as early as Saka 1309 during the time of Harihara II. From the uniform mention of his residence in Chandragiri in all the three inscriptions separated by long intervals of time, it may be inferred that he governed the Chandragiri-rajya continuously from Saka 1330 to 1366. But what position Devanna-Udaiyar held in Saka year 1355, whether he was serving in the Chandragiri-rajya or the Sadaliyarajya, is not known.

Mallanna was the son of Devarasar, and the disciple of Gopinathayyan. From the mention of his discipleship and the assumption of the cognomen Sri-Madhavadasar, he appears to have been of a highly religious turn of mind.

(xx) TIRUMALA UNDER THE SALUVA DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR.

Even during the last years of Devaraya II, the Saluvas appear to have been rising to power. Saluva Peri-Mallayadeva Maharaja, son of Errakampayadeva Maharaja, comes to notice from No. 13-TT. dated in Saka 1368, Kshaya (10-10-1446 A.D.).

No. 100-TT. dated in Saka 1364, Dundubhi, registers the payment of 3000 honnu as kanike for the God by Tippada Nageya-Nayakkar, son of Muddiya-Nayara. Probably he was a general (Nayaka) under Devaraya II and belonged to the Vijayanagara forces stationed at Chandragiri.

Srigiri, who presented a golden pattam (No. 99-TT.) in the cyclic year Sadharana corresponding to the Saka year 1352, expressed by "the eyes (2), the arrows (5), Rama (3), and the Moon (1)," (1-7-1430 A.D.), must be identical with Srigiri-Bhupala, surnamed Pratapa Devaraya, the son of Vijaya and the younger brother of Devaraya II "who witnessed the elephant-hunt"

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, page 306; and Mad. Ep. rep. for 1905-06, page 82). He is said to have been ruling over the Marakatanagara-pranta, somewhere in the North Arcot district, in Saka year 1346 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 248, foot-note 5).

Only one date is available for Mallikarjuna, viz., Saka 1371, Sukla (4-3-1450 A.D.) (No. 199-GT.), which is about the second year of his reign. This record registers the sale of a house and house-site by two Srivaishnavas of Tirupati in favour of one Rajamalikam Chennappa Udaiyar belonging to the Niyogi sect of Brahmanas and residing in Chandragiri. Probably this Chennappa Udaiyar was a state official engaged in offering garlands of flowers to the kings and nobles on auspicious and ceremonious occasions (raja malikam).

Tirupati and Chandragiri which are only seven miles apart, the latter being situated to the south-west of the former, are stated in this epigraph to have been comprised in the two different sub-districts of the Tiruvenkata-kottam, Tirupati being in the Tirukkudavur-nadu and Chandragiri in the Vaikunda-valanadu (Vaikuntha-valanadu).

The following information about the temple is gathered from the inscriptions of Saluva Dynasty:

<i>Insc. No.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
3-TT.	A sandhi was instituted in the name of Saluva Narasimha in return for the gift of the Svarnadaya tax from a village.
361-TT.	Provision was made by a donor in 1461 A.D. for burning a lamp on every Saturday.
157-TT.	Mention is made in a record of 1464 A.D. of the Tirupavitra-tirunal or Pavitrotsavam.
66-TT.	This inscription of 1468 A.D. states that Saluva Narasimha constructed a gopuram and arranged for feeding visitors in a choultry near it.
70-TT.	This record of the next year refers to the practice of offering Dadhyodanasandhi to Sri Venkatesvara after his feet are washed at the commencement of the daily Thomalaseva and to the practice of conducting Tirumanjnam on the days of Panguni-amavasya and Vasantapurnima to god Narasimha.

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

<i>Inac. No.,</i>	<i>Details</i>
197-TT.	It is known from this record that a choultry was maintained for ten days on the bund of the Narasingarayakoneri during the Purattasi-tirunal.
197-TT.	This inscription dated: 1473 A.D. mentions the Dolamahotsavam or Anna-unjal-tirunal instituted by Saluva Narasimha.
200-TT.	This record of 1476 A.D. refers to the practice of Malaikuniyaninra-perumal going to a mantapam in the Varaha temple, to the car procession during the Panguni and Purattasi festivals and to the custom of the Nachachimar receiving a bath after being smeared with turmeric on the occasion of Kanuppadi.
50-TT.	An offering, named the Alamelumangai-Nachiyar-Sandhi comes to notice in this record of 1477 A.D.
522-TT.	This fragmentary record mentions the Papavinasa festival.
248-TT.	This inscription dated 1482 A.D. states that Narasimha Raya gifted a village on the occasion of Uttana-dvadasi in 1472 A.D. and that he stipulated that the income from the village should be utilised for the construction of gopurams at Tirumala and Tirupati and the Narasimharaya mantapam at Tirumala.
193-TT.	This record of 1486 A.D. mentions the Tiruppallheluchchi or the Dhanurmasam festival conducted during the month of Margali.
564-TT.	The inscription here mentions a procession taken through the streets on the Uttana-dvadasi day and the Sri Jayanti festival.
250-TT.	This inscription in 1491 A.D., mentions the practice of decorating Sri Venkatesvara with two round garlands resembling the Sun and the Moon on the Yugadi and Deepavali days.
253-TT.	It is stated in this inscription of 1491 A.D. that the pathway leading to Akasaganga was being repaired on the day prior to that of Tiruvadhyayanam in the month of Margali.
283-TT.	This record of the same year refers to the practice of Malai-kuniyaninra-perumal and his consort having a galloping ride on the eight festival days.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

<i>Inac. No.</i>	<i>Details</i>
280-TT.	This is another record, dated two years later, which mentions the festival days of Sri Jayanti, Sri Ramanavami and Vasanta-panchami.
615-TT.	This mentions that Narasamma, wife of Kommaraja Periya-Timmaraja, rebuilt the Anandampillai mantapam in the same year.
337-TT.	The Tiruvadhyayanam festival conducted, during the month of Margali is mentioned in this Record of 1493 A.D.
307-TT.	The practice of conducting a car festival during the Tirukkoditirunal comes to notice in this inscription of the same year.
313-TT	Mention is made here of the Arpasi-tirunal in a record dated 1494 A.D.
617-TT	This is another record of the same year which mentions the Adi-ayanam and the practice of Sri Venkatesvara hearing the Kasikapuranam on the Uttana-ekadasi day during the Chaturmasyam.
628-TT.	This inscription of 1495 A.D. states that Narasimharaya issued an order authorising Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar to carry out necessary repairs to the temple jewels and gold and silver vessels and to be in hereditary charge of the jewellery store room.
626-TT.	This record of the next year refers to the procession taken to the Navalurru mantapam and refers to the temple staff which included the Tiruppanipillai, Lachchinaikkarar, reciters of the Prabandham, Kanganippan, bearers of the vahanams, the Adhikari, Pachachadikkarars, lamp lighters, Vinnapam-seyvars, supplier of fire wood, proclaimer, dance-master, time-keeper, dancers, drummers, pipers, songsters, potters, sculptors and watchmen.
336-TT.	This is a record of 1496 A.D. which mentions the practice of smearing Pulugu-kappu to the bodies of Sri Venkatesvara and Alarmelmangai Nachchimar during the Pulugukappu-murai on alternative Fridays.
271-TT.	This is yet another inscription dated 1504 A.D., which mentions the Rayar-mantapam in the Sampakachchurru.

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xxi) TIRUMALA UNDER THE TULUVA DYNASTY.

The Temples of Tirumala received royal patronage during the period of the rule of this dynasty. The most famous rulers of this line, namely, Sri Krishnadevaraya and Sri Achutaraya were ardent devotees of Sri Venkatesvara and gave the Lord many presents and offerings.

(a) TIRUMALA UNDER KRISHNADEVARAYA.

Krishnaraya is represented by nearly fifty inscriptions in the temple belonging to himself and his two queens Chinnajidevi and Tirumaladevi. They range in date between Saka 1434 (1513-A.D.) and Saka 1445 (1524 A.D.) and register personal offerings and direct gifts made during their frequent visits to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara on Tirumala, whom he venerated as his Patron-God, as well as the edicts of grants issued by him from his capital city of Vijayanagara. As in the case of his charities elsewhere, Krishnaraya's gifts in the Tirumala temple also are generally recorded in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese, as if indicating his sway over the entire Southern India in which they were spoken.

His First visit to God Tiruvengalanatha.

His first visit to Sri Venkatesvara's temple was made in company with his two queens on the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Phalguna in the cyclic year Angirasa, corresponding to the Saka year 1434, equivalent to the 10th February 1513 A.D., when he presented a kiritam (crown) of gold set with the nine kinds of gems, and 25 silver aratis (plates) for waving lights of camphor. This is recorded in eight epigraphs of which two are in Telugu (Nos. 2 and 582 TT.) three in Tamil (Nos. 84, 356 and 696 TT.) and two in Kanarese (Nos. 31 and 40 TT.) in their respective scripts, while No. 550-TT. in Kanarese language is written in Nandi-Nagari characters. Similarly the gifts of his two queens of a golden cup apiece for offering milk to the Lord is registered in two sets of three Kanarese (Nos. 8, 39, and 483, and 9, 34 and 484 TT.), three Tamil (Nos. 85, 359 and 694 and 86, 355 and 695 TT.) and two Telugu (Nos. 12 and 699, and 11 and 700 TT.) inscriptions in their proper scripts and two (Nos. 635 and 638 and 636 and 637 - TT.) in Kanarese language in Nandi-Nagari characters.

His Second Visit:

The second visit, without his queens this time, came close upon the first within the next three months, on Monday, the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Vaisakha in Saka 1435, Srimukha (2nd May 1513 A.D.), when he gave a number of ornaments for the Lord and three small kiritams for the processional images of Sri Venkatesvara, Sridevi and Bhudevi, which are

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

again recorded in three languages, No. 1-TT. in Telugu, No. 41-TT. in Tamil and Nos. 95 and 96—TT. in Kanarese.

His Third Visit:

The third visit of Krishnaraya to the temple was about a month and a half later and fell on Monday, the 11th lunar day of the bright half of the Ashada month in the same cyclic year Srimukha, Saka 1435 (13th June 1513 A.D.), when he granted five villages to God Venkatesa with libations of water to serve for the expenses of His nitya-naivedya, and the conduct of the vatsara-mahotsava in the Tamil month of Tai which he instituted for Sri Venkatesvara for the merit of his father Narasa-Nayaka-Vodayalu and his mother Nagajammamgaru, the grant to take effect from the first day of the Telugu month of Sravana (No. 459-TT.). From the nearness of the date to the previous occasion and from the visit that is reported to have been made by him to the Kalahasti temple on the same day (Nos. 151 and 162 of 1924), it is possible that the grant was made by Krishnaraya at Tirumala in the presence of God Venkatesa.

His Fourth Visit:

Another opportunity was availed of by Krishnaraya to pay his obeisance for the fourth time to God Venkatesa, during his return to his capital city of Vijayanagara after pursuing Prataparudra Gajapati as far as Kondavidu and capturing the Udayagiri fortress during his first campaign against the Gajapati in Saka 1436, Bhava, on Thursday, the full moon day in the month of Ashada (6-7-1514 A.D.). This time he had a kanakabhishekam performed for God Tiruvengalanatha with 30,000 varahas, presented some ornaments to Him, and arranged for His daily offerings for which he granted Talapaka village in the Pottapinanti-sima. From the donor's share of a quarter of the prasadam offered daily in his name, he stipulated for the issue of a portion to Ranga-Dikshitulu, Siva-Dikshitulu and Tiruppanipillai and the balance to the latter for being utilised for feeding Brahmanas in the satram (Nos. 201, 254, and 256-TT.).

Of his two queens who accompanied him to Tirumala from the military campaign, Chinnadevi presented a padakam (pendent) and a kanthamala (necklace) and gave Mudiur village in Tonda-mandalam to serve for the daily offerings instituted by her with a similar provision for issue of the donor's share to Tiruppanipillai, a quarter for himself and three-quarters for the same satram (Nos. 202, 257 and 262 TT.), while Tirumaladevi presented a padakam and arranged for similar offerings and distribution from the produce

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

derived in grain and coin from the village of Piratikulattur in Cholingavarapattu (Nos. 203, 255, and 261-T.T.). One of the above donees, Ranga-Dikshitulu, was the father of Krishnaraya's purohita Yagnanarayana-Dikshita who also appears to have followed the royal party to Tirumala and offered 10,000 chakrams to the temple for certain services only four days later, *i.e.*, on the 10th July, 1514 A.D. (Nos. 192 and 254-T.T.). The father must have also followed the king so as to be the recipient of the granted prasadam.

A set of four epigraphs in four languages, Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil and Sanskrit (Nos. 579, 580, 619 and 620-TT. respectively), introduces us to Krishnaraya's halt at Vijayanagara, on Thursday, the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of Kartika in Saka 1437, Yuva (25th October 1515 A.D.) and the presentation of a navaratna-prabhavali or makaratorana for God Tiru-vengalanatha.

His Fifth Visit:

For the fifth time Krishnaraya visited Tirupati and paid his respects to God Venkatesa on Friday, the 10th day of Pushya in the cyclic year Dhatu, Saka year 1438 (2-1-1517 A.D.) (No. 578 TT.), which happened at the end of his wars against the Gajapati king. This epigraph narrates the events of his campaigns up to the performing of the Tulapurusha-mahadana at Amaresvara and returning thence to Vijayanagara, and then continues that Krishnaraya, while ruling, started on a conquering expedition against Kalinga proceeded to Bejavada, seized Kondapalli fortress, captured alive Prahararaja-Siraschandra-Mahapatra, Bodajana-Mahapatra, Bijilikhan and others who were in the fortress, gave them assurance of safety for their lives, and, after reducing Anantagiri, Undrakonda, Urlagonda, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kondikonda, Kappuluvayi, Nallagonda, Kambhammettu, Kanakagiri, Sankaragiri, and other forts, in the Telugu-rajya in a single campaign (in one assault), reached Simhadri-Potnur planted a pillar of victory and performed a mahadana there, thence returned to Rajamahendravara, had mahadanas performed at the hands of his queens Chinnadevamma and Tirumaladevamma and then went back to Vijayanagara. He was present at Tirumala on the above date, paid his homage to God Tiruvengalanatha and gave a kanthamala (necklace) and a padakam (pendant) for Him, and also 30,000 varahas for gilding the vimanam over the sanctum, together with the grant of tolls (sumkamu) from Tirupati relating to Godagar-nadu (Kudavur-nadu) amounting to 1000 varahas to serve for the expenses of conducting the weekly ablutions (pulikapu) and the taxes known as nityamulavisannadu and talarikammadarikam from Tirupati relating to Godagar-nadu amounting to 500 varahas for the morning

THE TIRUMALĀ TEMPLE.

offerings of God. Krishnaraya then returned to Vijayanagara and was ruling there.

The next record No. 576-T.T. of Krishnaraya's offering at Tirumala is dated on Thursday combined with Svati being the 5th lunar day in the bright fortnight of the Tamil month of Kanya in the cyclic year Bahudhanya, Saka 1440 (9-9-1518 A.D.). and registers that he had the Divya-vimana of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan gilded with gold after returning to Vijayanagara from Rajahmundry. This inscription (No. 576-T.T.) is preceded by an introduction in Tamil which recapitulates the events of his campaigns against the Gajapati in terms identical with those of No. 578 noticed above. During his last visit on 2—1—1517 A.D. Krishnaraya paid 30,000 varahas for gliding the vimanam and the gliding was completed by 9—9—1518 A.D. This gliding is also recorded in Telugu (No. 577 T.T.) which purports to be a summary of the inscription (No. 576 T.T.) in Tamil.

His Sixth Visit.

Inscription No. 697 of 1922 from Kamalapuram in the Bellary district states that Krishnaraya visited the temple of Tiruvengalanatha with his senior queen Tirumaladevi in Saka 1440, Bahudhanya, *i.e.*, on 16th October 1518 A.D. only within five weeks after the gilding of the vimanam, and granted some land for the merit of (Prince) Tirumalaraya Maharaya, that is, for the prosperity of his new born son in the very year of his birth (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 79, page 119). He must have felt himself greatly blest on the birth of the son, and so hastened to offer his adoration at the feet of his Patron-God Tiruvengalanatha and invoke His blessings for the health and prosperity of the baby. But unfortunately his happiness in this respect was cut off after six years only when this Prince Tirumalaraya breathed his last (S.I.I., Vol. V, p. 383, No. 1004).

His Seventh Visit.

For the seventh and last time, Krishnaraya visited Tirumala and paid his obeisance to God Tiruvengalanatha on Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of the Telugu month of Phalguna in the Vikrama year, Saka 1442 (—17-2-1521 M.D.), and himself presented a pitambaram set with the nine kinds of gems, a cap (kullavu) with pearls, diamonds, emeralds and sapphires embedded into it, two fly-whisks set with the nine kinds of gems, a padakam and 10,000 varahas. He also presented a navaratna-padakam through his queen Tirumaladevamma. These gifts of Krishnaraya and his queen are also recorded in No. 578-T.T., as their offering subsequent to his gift of 30,000

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

varahas towards the gilding of the vimanam. There are four other epigraphs registering these gifts of the king and the queen on this date, Nos. 301 and 594-T.T. in Kanarese, No. 302 - T.T. in Tamil and No. 586-T.T. in Telugu and Nandi-Nagari characters, but all these four do not give the detailed narration of the wars with the Gajapati which No. 578 gives us.

The last time that we come across Krishnaraya's offerings at Tirumala is in Saka 1445, Svabhanu, on Tuesday combined with the star Asvini, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the Tamil month Makara (12th January 1524 A.D.) (No. 246-T.T.). This inscription registers the transference of two houses and house-sites at Tirumala and Tirupati by the Sthanattar of Tirumala to the Madhva teacher Srimat Vyasatirtha-Sripada-Udaiyar, together with the issue of certain prasadams from the temple which Krishnaraya arranged for being offered through the grant of the perayam of the 'Purattasi-tirunal and the proceeds of half of the village Kadaikuttanpadi situated in Ul-mandalam and of the full villages of Tallapakkam, Piratam, Darattur, Mudiyyur, Chatravadi, and Turaiyur, all situated in Pura-mandalam. It appears from this inscription that with the donor's quarter share of the offered prasadam, was maintained a satram where Brahmanas were fed and that later on Krishnaraya ordered the issue of a part of the donor's share to Vyasatirtha for distribution in his Mathas, which were required to be constructed on the site of the houses now granted to him. A portion of the site now granted to the spiritual teacher was originally the property of one Nambi (temple-priest) Sirrappayan on whose misappropriation of some temple-jewels the house was confiscated to the temple-treasury by Narasimharaya Maharayari *i.e.*, Saluva Narasimha. Of the villages mentioned above, Darattur, Chatravadi, and Turaiyur are observed to have been granted by Krishnaraya on 13-6-1513 A.D. (Nos. 330 and 459 T.T.), Talapakam on 6-7-1514 A.D. (Nos. 201, 254 and 256 T.T.), Mudiyyur on the latter date by Chinnajidevi (Nos. 202, 257 and 262-T.T.) and Piratam, possibly Piratikulattur, by Tirumaladevi (Nos. 203, 255 and 261 - T.T.). Kadaikuttanpadi occurs in no other inscription, while Karakampevati or Karakanambadu noticed in Nos. 330 and 459-T.T. is not included in the above list in No. 246-T.T. Probably these terms are variants of Kadaikuttanpadi of No. 246-T.T.

B. TIRUMALA UNDER ACHYUTARAYA.

Achyutaraya, the half-brother and successor of Krishnaraya on the throne of Vijayanagar, is represented by a large number of inscriptions of this collection. His earliest mention occurs in No. 318-G.T. which registers the construction of a wooden car for Raghunatha, *i.e.*, Sri Rama or Sri Kodanda

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Rama of Tirupati, by Kumara-Ramanujayyengar for the merit of Achyutaraya Maharaya. The record is dated on the 18th day of Tai in the cyclic year Virodhi, corresponding to the Saka year 1451 (equivalent to Friday, 14th January 1530 A.D.); but Achyutaraya had already begun to rule when his coronation was first celebrated at Tirupati where he was bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of Lord Venkatesa.

His First Visit to Tirumala:

As in the case of Krishnaraya, we do not come across any frequent visits of Achyutaraya paid to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara, notwithstanding his rich presents and gifts to it and other charities at Tirupati. One definite occasion is however noticed, viz., the solar month of Kumbha in the cyclic year Nandana, current with the Saka year 1454, equivalent to 31st January 1533 A.D. On this occasion of his visit to Tiruvenkatamudaiyan he was accompanied by his queen Varadaji-amman and his son Kumara-Venkatadri, and he performed the mahadanams Kapila pasu (Kapila-dhenu) and Svarnavarsham (Suvarnameru, Kanchanameru or Mahameru), and presented to God Venkatesvara a big kapha (garment for the body) fully decked with pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds; four pon valaiyam (bahu-valaiyam), a pair of uchchippu set with gems for the head; a kuttam ornamented with diamonds for the top of the crown; a long string of pearls and other jewels consisting of differently shaped gold beads and nuts. At that time he also conducted the Archana himself to Sri Venkatesvara, while the Archaka recited the Srinivasa-sahasranama (No. 453-T.T.). This visit of Achyutaraya to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara on the 31st January 1533 A.D. took place more than a year since he went on a war with Tiruvadi (Travancore), and levied tribute from him, brought under subjection Tumbichichi-Nayaka and Saluva-Nayaka, and planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tamraparni after marrying the daughter of the Pandya sovereign, and had in conjunction with his queen Varadambika and (his son) Chika-venkatadri severally performed the Mukta-Tulabhara ceremony in the presence of Lord Hari at Kanchi in Saka 1455, Nandana (14-7-1532 A.D.), in commemoration of his victory (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924, para 45; and No. 178 of 1924).

His Second Visit:

A second visit of Achyutaraya to God Venkatesa may be inferred from his two records, Nos. 544 and 546 - T.T. dated in Saka 1457, Manmatha (—26th December, 1535 A.D.). On this occasion he instituted two new festivals, viz., the Lakshmidēvi-mahotsavam to be celebrated for Tiruvenkatamudaiyan and Alaimelmangai-Nachchiyar for five days, and the Punarvasu-tirunal for

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Raghunatham (Sri Rama), Nachchiyar (Sitadevi) and Ilaiya-Perumal (Lakshmana) on each of the 13 days of the Punarvasu star occurring in the year. Towards the expenses of the festivals, Achyutaraya granted to the temple the uttarayam of 300 rekhai-pon and 60 rekhai-pon respectively from the villages situated in the Kondavidu-sirmai and stipulated for the supply of all articles from the Sri Bhandaram.

His Third Visit:

The third visit of Achyutaraya to Sri Venkatesvara's temple at Tirumala is indicated from the personal gifts made by some of his officers, viz., Bachcharasayya, Rama-Bhatlu, Adaippam Visvanatha-Nayaka, Salakaraja Singaraja, Immadi Ellappayya and Krishnappa-Nayaka in Saka 1458, Durmukhi (12.1.1537 A.D.), when each of them made a donation of 15,000 narpanam to the Sri-Bhandaram for the propitiation of the deity with 300 appa-padis yearly on behalf of each one of them. No. 396-T.T. records the grant of the village Mallapuram on the above date by an officer of Achyutaraya whose name is lost, made on the suggestion of Achyutaraya Maharaya himself, for the propitiation of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan on the seventh days in each of the eight Tirukkodi-tirunal held at Tirumala, with the stipulation that the donor's quarter share of the offered prasadam might be delivered to a certain Appayyan.

About a year and a half prior to his first visit to Tirumala in Saka 1454, Nandana, Achyutaraya had provided with steps of granite stone the Kapila-tirtham which he renamed "chakratirtham" as being sacred to God Tiru-vengalanatha, and also constructed Sandhya-vandana-mantapams on the east and west sides, and planted stones bearing the discus of Vishnu (Sudarsana-sila or Tiruvalikkal) at the four corners of the pond excavated in rock. Three of these inscribed stones are visible, while the fourth is built into a parapet wall of a later building. They are dated in Saka 1453, Khara (25th June 1531 A.D.) and record, in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil, this charitable service rendered by Achyutaraya through the laying of the stone steps and the construction of the mantapams for the attainment of the four human ends (chaturvidha-purusharthasiddhi). (Nos. 206, 207 and 208—G.T.).

Besides these charities, Achyutaraya had also built a temple in Tirupati for Achyuta-Perumal in the land belonging to the village of Kottur which was a tiruvidayattam of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan and established an agraharam of 120 houses built round the temple, after paying 2400 narpanam into the Sri-Bhandaram (temple-treasury) of Sri Venkatesvara as compensation for

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the site taken up. To facilitate the daily worship of this deity, he granted the village of Parittiputtur dividing it into 20 shares assigned to this new temple. In Saka 1460, Vilambi (8-2-1539 A.D.) he made a gift of 100 out of 120 houses in the agraharam to the Brahmanas who occupied them at the time with all rights of possession, succession, sale, mortgage, transfer gift, etc., but reserved the 20 houses the occupants of which had also enjoyed the 20 shares of the village of Parittiputtur assigned to the temple of Achyutapperumal (No. 355 - G.T.). The reservation must have been occasioned by the suspicion of a prospective evacuation of the houses by their inmates who, probably being archakas, paricharakas and other servants of the temple, were responsible for the conduct of the daily worship, and the fear therefore of an eventual cessation of the puja of the deity in the case of such an evacuation.

This agraharam of Achyutarayapuram must have formed the northern suburb of Tirupathi situated at the foot of the hill in which a ruined tower now stands with raised grounds of concrete and debris and broken idols and stones to its immediate west indicating the existence of a temple in the past there.

In addition to these services of Achyutaraya in the cause of Hindu religion, he had also sent a number of damsels to Tirupati from his capital City of Vijayanagara to serve God Venkatesa in their humble way and live on the prasadam granted to them from the temple. Muddu-Kuppayi, daughter of Kuppayi and grand-daughter of Srirangaraja, with the biruda Vidvat-sabharaya-Ranjakam, was one of these Emperumanadiyars and she was deputed by the king in Saka 1453, Khara (6-6-1531 A.D.), for service in the temple (No. 1 G.T.) She was enjoined to reside permanently in Tirupati and maintain herself with the one plateful of prasadam ordered to be issued to her every day from the temple of Sri Govindaraja. She was further required to see to the continuance of this peculiar service through her descendants.

Hanumasani, daughter of Uttida Timmayan, was another such damsel. The epigraph No. 422 T.T., which registers her gift of 820 narpanam to the temple in Saka 1461, Vikari (21-1-1540 A.D.), for providing certain offerings to God, states that she was one among the damsels resident in Tirupati who had been assigned to the temple by Achyutaraya.

An inscription of 1561 A.D. states that Aravidu Tirumalaraya constructed an Unjal-mantapam in the Sampangi-Pradakshinam and that Saluva Narasimha instituted the Unjal-festival (633 - T.T.). This record enumerates the festivals celebrated in the temple at this time viz., Pavitrotsavam, Sahasra namarchanam, Sahasrakalasabhishekam, Adhyayanotsavam, Vasantotsavam, -

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Damanarohanam, Unjal festival, Pendli-tirunal, Lakshmi-devi festival, Kodai tirunal, Floating festival, Pallavotsavam, Phalotsavam, Mesha-samkramanam, festival conducted on Amavasya, Purnima, Dasami, Ekadasi, Dvadasi, Rohini, Mrigasirsha, Punarvasu, Uttara, Mula, Purvashadha, Uttarabhadra, Sri Jayanti, Urai-adi, and Uttana-dvadasi, Arpasi-puradham, Deepavali, Yugadi, Kartikam, Makara-samkramanam, Padiyavettai, Tai-pusam and Tanniramudu, (633 - T.T.). One record of 1564 A.D. mentions the Rathasaptami festival (376 - G.T.).

It is known from an inscription dated 1586 A.D. that a certain Avasaram Chennappa constructed the Kalyanamantapa (150 - T.T.). A record of 1614 A.D. mentions the Ramapattabhishekam festival at Tirumala celebrated in the Venrumalaiyittan-mantapam on the day next to the Sriramanavami day and the practice of reading the Vayupuranam during the festival (686-T.T.). Two records of 1623 A.D. state that Matla Anantaraja presented several vehicles like the Svarnasva, Gaja, Samarabhu-palavahana, Padmapitha and Unna-tukkelimantapa, and that he built the Galigopuram on the stepped pathway (VI-25-26). The same chieftain is said to have built the Kottagopuram near Alipiri (279-G.T.).

(xxiii) TIRUMALA UNDER SADASIVARAYA.

Sadasivaraya the next king has in the walls of Tirumala temple engraved nearly a hundred and fifty inscriptions most of which begin with his introduction. A peculiar feature of this prasasti is that to the king is ascribed not only the lordship of the eastern, southern and western oceans which fringe the Peninsula, but also that of the northern ocean that is non-existent in the case of India itself. The earliest date that is available for him in these epigraphs viz., Thursday combined with the star Punarvasu, the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the Karkataka month in the cyclic year Plava, current with the Saka year 1463, corresponding to the 21st July 1541 A.D., which occurs in 659 - T.T. registering the gift of Muttur and another village to the temple by Srirama-Bhattar, son of Yandalur Tirumalai-Josyar, is about eight months anterior to the latest date furnished for his predecessor Achyutaraya in No. 504-T.T. viz., Thursday combined with the Star Ardra, being the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the Mina month in Plava, current with Saka 1463, corresponding to the 23rd March 1542 A.D. It has been stated that Sadasivaraya had been chosen crown prince already in Saka 1459, Hevilambi (1537 A.D.), nearly five years earlier (Ar. Sur. Sept. for 1908-09, page 193), and this statement seems to be supported by the surname "Sadasivapura" found to have been

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

given to Devarayapura in No. 89 of 1912 from Lepakshi dated in Saka 1460 Vilambi *i.e.*, one year later.

The latest date available for Sadasiva is Saka 1495, Srimukha, Kumbha (20th January 1574 A.D.), furnished by No. 133 - G.T. which registers the gift of a certain Aravidu chief. But the latest date found for him elsewhere is Saka 1497, Yuva, Rishabha, corresponding to 9th day 1575 A.D., and it is surmised that this later date only suggests the continuance of the nominal rule of Sadasiva even after Tirumala I had practically assumed the reigns of government in Saka 1493, as indicated by the imperial titles that are attributed to the latter in his records dated in the same Saka year 1493, in place of the Mahamandalesvara-biruda given for him in the records dated upto Saka 1492 (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, para 45; and Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 180). Sadasiva's reign therefore extended over a period of about 40 years from Saka 1459 to Saka 1497, including his co-regency during the last years of Achyutaraya.

Two visits of Sadasiva to Sri Venkatesvara's temple are indicated. The first one occurred in the month of Kumbha in Saka 1475, Pramadicha (3-2-1554 A.D.), when he granted with libations of water a portion of the prasadams, arranged by Achyutaraya Maharaya for Tiruvenkatamudaiyan and utilised for his satram till then, to a certain Srinivasan and others; and the grant was executed by Aliya-Ramarajyadeva Maharajayya (No. 393-T.T.). The other visit is mentioned to have taken place on the auspicious occasion of the Makara-Sankramam which occurred prior to the Karkataka month of Saka 1476, Ananda, *i.e.*, in the year Pramadicha on the 28th December 1553 A.D. (No. 417 G.T.). It is recorded that Sadasivaraya Maharaya then granted with libations of water, as a sarvamanya gift, the taxes ullayam, perayam, makamai, mulaivisam and taraku on all loads except on those of teppattu, pachchaivadam, ney and ennai, brought to Tirupati on 200 pack-bullocks impressed with the hamsa-mudra (swan-mark), together with the melakai, makamai, kodai and other taxes from the Padaivittu-rajyam, Senji, Tiruvadi, Ponagri (Bhuvanagiri), Pattanam (Kaveripattanam), Solamandalam, Tiruvannamalai, Kanchipuram, Chandragiri-rajyam, Palaiyam, Palaverkadu, Mudupanakarai, Pattanam and Perunkondai-Sirmai, as well as the ayam, arupu, ullayam, perayam, mokamai, mulaivisam and taraku from the remaining sirmas, for the benefit of the Nammalvar-Ramanujakutam built by Sriman Mahamandalesvara Kondaraja, son of Ramaraja-Konetiayya of the Atreya-gotra, Apastamba-sutra and Yajus-Sakha. It is also stated that the rayasam (royal writ) was communicated to the chiefs of all the sirmas concerned as also the Sthanattar of Tirupati. These sirmas and rajas roughly composed

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the middle portion of the Vijayanagara empire which comprised of further territory in the north extending upto the Krishna river and in the south bordering the ocean.

A few grants of the king to private individuals also come to notice. It is mentioned in No. 651 - T.T. that he granted a village near Perunkondai (Penugonda) to one Padandayar, son of Timmarasa-Padandayar, who made a gift of half of the village to the temple in Saka 1468, Prabhava Simha (19-8-1546 A.D.), for daily offerings for Sri Venkatesvara. The half village was accounted to yield 100 gatti-varahan annually. A similar gift of the village Periya-Ekkalur in Jagadapi-Gutti-Sirmai, together with a deed of grant executed on a copper-plate, to Srinivasayyengar, son of Sottai Ettur Tirumalanambi Kumara-Tatayyengar of Sathammarshana-gotra, Apastambha-sutra and Yajus-sakha is registered in No. 415 - G.T., dated in Saka 1469, Plavanga, Mithuna (3-6-1547 A.D.), when it was handed over to the temple by the donee for providing for offerings daily and on festive occasions, and for conducting Pallavotsavam started by him at the time. The yearly income from the village is said to have been 2000 chakram-pon; and to yield such a large income the village must have been very extensive and highly fertile. A third case relates to an exemption of taxes from the village Mutyalapattu for which Tallapakam Tirumalayyengar, son of Annamayyengar, secured a rayasam from Sadasivaraya Maharaya, and tirumukam from Ramarajayya. In spite of irrigation facilities provided for this village through a tank which was improved by Tirumalayyengar at a cost of 100 pon, its soil appears to have been so poor as to yield a return of only 280 rekhais annually at the time when Tirumalayyengar endowed it to the temple in Saka 1467, Visvavasu, Karkataka (3-7-1545 A.D.) for the conduct of the festival started by him (No. 681 - T.T.).

(xxiv) TIRUMALA UNDER ARAVIDU.

The ruling line of the Aravidu family commenced with Tirumala, who, acquiring power as the chief minister of Sadasivaraya in 1565 A.D. after the death of his elder brother Aliya-Ramaraya in the battle of Talikota, ascended the Vijayanagara throne ten years later in about 1575 A.D. having at the same time changed his capital to Penugonda. His was a brief reign lasting for two or three years during which his second son Srirangaraya or Ranga II ruled as co-regent with him. His Unjal-mantapam, generally called the Tirumalaraya-mantapam, with its exquisitely sculptured high pillars bearing the figures of a warrior riding a horse standing erect over an elephant with

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

another elephant higher up, stands in tact to this day as a memorial of his service in the temple, and forms the seat of the asthanam of the processional image of Sri Venkatesvara during the annual Brahmotsavams in the temple.

Srirangadeva Maharaya II: The next reign, that is, that of Srirangadeva Maharaya, is represented by half a dozen inscriptions ranging in date between Saka 1501 (1579 A.D.) and Saka 1508 (1586 A.D.).

Venkatapatiraya, generally known as Venkata I, is represented in the temple by about a dozen inscriptions extending in date from Saka 1514 (1592 A.D.) to Saka 1538 (1616 A.D.). He was the fourth son of Tirumala and the youngest brother of Sriranga II. From a record from Markapur in the Kurnool district, he is seen to have been a subordinate of Sadasivaraya in Saka 1489 (1567 A.D.). In two epigraphs from the Salem and North Arcot districts he is stated to be referred by his title alone, viz., "Viravasantaraya" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 187). During the reign of his father Tirumala and his elder brother Sriranga II, he governed the Chandragiri-rajya as its viceroy, as indicated in the Telugu-kavya "Vasucharitramu" (Canto I, Introduction, verse 81) and in No. 185 of 1922 dated in Saka 1494, Angirasa, Ashada (9-7-1572 A.D.) during the reign of Sriranga, and next held charge of the Udayagiri, Kondavidu, and other outlying hill fortresses. He had married five queens out of whom Krishnamamba or Krishnajjamman mentioned in No. 97 - T.T. was one.

His coronation was performed by Ettur Tirumalai Kumara-Tatacharya, who was his family priest as mentioned in No. 671 - T.T. of Saka 1505, falling into the reign of Sriranga II.

Kumara-Venkatapatirayadeva Maharaya is known from the temple by two records Nos. 328 and 63 - G.T. dated respectively in Saka 1553 (1631 A.D.) and Saka 1557 (1636 A.D.). This Kumara-Venkata, also known as Peda-Venkata II, was the son of Ranga IV who was a son of Aliya-Ramaraja. He was chosen crown-prince along with his successor Ranga VI by Rama IV in Saka 1544 (1622 A.D.). He is stated to have been crowned king in Saka 1552 (1630 A.D.) by Tirumala Tatacharya.

No. 328 - G.T. registers the provision made by a certain Ramachandrayya for offerings for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja in Saka 1553, Prajotpatti, Kanya (29-9-1631 A.D.), and the construction of a mantapam by him to the west of the Matham of the Ilan-Kelvi-Jiyar on the south side of the street adjoining the Sannidhi-vidhi to the south. He excavated afresh the irrigation channel in Varadarajapuram which was at the time in disrepair. No. 63 - G.T.

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

also refers to the excavation of an old damaged irrigation channel in the tiruvudaiyattam village Avilali by Alagarayyanga of Srivatsa-gotra, Apastamba-sutra and Yajus-sakha, and his gift of some lands therein. The measuring rod of 32 feet is mentioned in it.

Srirangadeva Maharaya, generally known as Ranga VI, was the son of Pina-Venkata III, the younger brother of king Venkata II. He was crown-prince during the reigns of both Rama IV and Venkata II and ascended the Karnata throne on 29th October 1642 A.D. His reign lasted for a period of about 23 years upto Saka 1587 (1665 A.D.). During his reign, the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur invaded the Karnata kingdom and conquered it and "the able general Mir Zumla finally became its Nawab. King Ranga fled southwards and found refuge with one of his subordinates, a chief of Keladi" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 193).

Srirangaraya is represented in the temple by two epigraphs of which only one is dated, viz , Saka 1560, Bahudhanya, Mithuna (15-6-638 A. D.). On this date a certain Brahmana of the Kasyapa-gotra and Apastamba-sutra, born under the ascendancy of the star Mula, provided for offerings costing 95 rekhai for which he made over to the temple two irrigation channels, from one of which was derived 160 pattu of paddy, as measured with the Kadamaikkal (No. 5 - G.T.). The other channel is said to have been situated in Maniyak-konpattu, one of the villages comprised in the Tiruvudai-yattam-UI-Mandalam. The second inscription No. 436 - T.T. merely records the eternal obeisance of a certain Ramudu of Tirupati, a servant of Srirangaraja, at the feet on Raghunatha

Two later inscriptions, one dated in the cyclic year Rudhīrodgari (1683 A.D.) and another in Saka year 1606, Raktakshi (1684 A.D.), do not mention the reigning king, but they are referable to the reign of Venkata IV, the successor of Ranga VI (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, page 91). These two epigraphs, together with a third No. 290 - G.T., are written in Telugu, which was the main local language of this area. No. 291 - G.T. dated in Rudhīrodgari, Vaisakha (Saka 1605—16.5.1683 A.D.), registers the Ubhayam (service) of a certain Timma, son of Tuvaram Konda Pandita and the obeisance of his younger brother, while No. 290 - G.T. merely registers, as an extract, the Ubhayam of Rajasri Siddaluri Ramaji-Madarasu-Pantulungaru. No 263 - T.T. of Saka 1606, Raktakshi, Chaitra (—20-3-1684 A.D.), records the gift of a Kanthe (necklace) of pure gold valued at 575 srirangaraya-varahas as the capital for offerings for Tiruvengalanathasvami and Varahasvami, following those of Maharajasri Shubabanuja-Pantulu by Rajasri Sivaraja-Ramachandra-

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Yetamataravu-Dabirusayi of Srivatsa-gotra, Asvalayana-sutra and Rik-sakha, and Timmanayyangu.

III. Modern period (Circa 18th Century A.D. upto date).

(xxv) TIRUMALA UNDER THE MAHANTS OF TIRUPATI.

With the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire, there is a dearth of inscriptions in the Temple. When the British established themselves in South India, they took over the management of all the temples within their territorial jurisdiction in 1801 A.D., and credited the income under the general revenues of the State. Later on, during the middle of the 19th century, when they desired to relinquish their connection with the religious institutions, they conferred the administration of the temple of Sri Venkatesvara, together with those of Tirupati and Tiruchanur to the then Mahant Sri Sevadasuji of Sri Hathiramji Muth in 1843 A.D. through a sanad from the Collector of the North Arcot District.

When the management of these temples thus passed into the hands of the Mahants of Sri Hathiramji-Matha, they as Vicharanakartas thereof undertook the renovation of the temples and other ancient structures and added to them from time to time. No. 350 - T.T. records such a renovation of the Svami-Pushkarini, stated to contain nine tirthas in it, by Maharaja-raja—Sri Sevadasu, Sri Mahant of Hathiramji Matha, in Saka 1771, Saumya, Bhādrapada (=31-8-1849 A.D.), and his renewing the Jalakeli-Mantapotsava. Another inscription in Telugu engraved in mortar over the Mukha-mantapam of Sri Venkatesvara's temple mentions the repairs effected to certain portions of the temple by the same Mahant Sevadasuji. No. 283—G.T. is a tablet put upon the brindavanam raised over the remains of this Mahant who is stated to have been the sishya of Sri Anabhihananda, by his own disciple and successor Sri Mahant Dharmadasuji in the cyclic year Raktakshi, Magha (=2-2-1865 A.D.). The same Mahant Dharmadasuji is reported in No. 209 - G.T. to have renovated the Pushkarini known as Kapila-tirtham and its surrounding mantapams in the same month Magha (10-2-1865 A.D.), and to have constructed the outer gopura of the temple at Ritumala called the Padikavali-gopuram, as also certain other mantapams so as to please Seshagirisa (Venkatesa abiding on the serpent-like hill), in Bahudhanya, Bhādrapada (11-9-1878 A.D.) (No. 382 - T.T.). The latest record of the temple epigraphs is No. 242 - T.T. which registers the fixing of the kanaka-kalasa (golden vase) over the vimana of Sri Venkatesvara's central shrine by Ramalakshmanadasa, a brother-disciple of Sri Mahanta Prayagadasa, the then Vicharanakarta of the Devasthanams in Kilaka, Asvayuja (30-9-1908 A.D.).

HISTORY OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xxvi) TIRUPATI IN MODERN TIMES.

Subsequently the administration by the Mutt came to an end in 1933 when the Committee system of management replaced the Vicharana Karta Mahants. Later on by the Hindu Religious Endowments Act of 1951 and the Andhra Pradesh Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act of 1966, were enacted, made the administration of the temple had been handed over to a Board of Trustees representing all shades of public opinion. In 1979 the Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam bill was passed, under which the management of the temple became autonomous with a committee of management and also a Board. This self contained legislation has enabled the administration of the temple to be run on efficient lines.

Thus, the epigraphs of Tirupati Temple constitute the main source of our knowledge of the history of the Temple. Coupled with the literary evidence upto 9th century A.D., the history of the Temple could be viewed together from the beginnings of the Christian era upto modern times.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

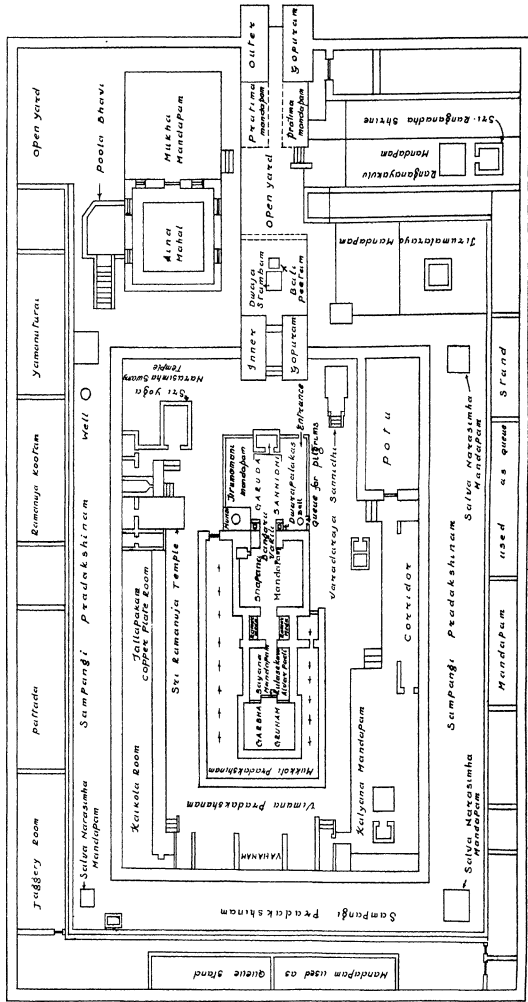
(i) General

The Sri Venkatesvara temple of Tirumala has been undergoing several additions and changes during the centuries. Perhaps at the time it was originally constructed, it must have been simple structure with a Garbhagriha and a Mukhamandapa together with an Antrala and pradakshina surrounding it. Inscriptions found in the temple give plenty of references to its renovation and rebuilding and addition of later structures. Curiously the earliest mention of Sri Venkatesvara in the epigraphs is found in Tiruchokinur or modern Tiruchanur and not in association with the Tirumala temple on top of the Venkatadri hill, till we reach the date of the consecration of the Manavalaperumal in the Tiruvengadam temple itself. This earliest inscription found in Tiruchchokinur was made in the 51st regnal year of Ko-Vijaya Dantivikraman (826 A.D.) and tells in distinct terms that a proxy or Tiruvengadatupperumanadigal existed in Tiruvilan Koil of Tiruchokinur. The praseology of the inscription makes it clear that he was another Lord in Tiruchokinur representing the Lord at Tiruvengadam, as we have now a number of Venkatesvara temples in various places. The renovation made in the 13th century at Tirumala was so done as to overlap the walls of the original sanctum. It is therefore not possible now to examine the outside of the original walls of the garbhagriha and determine how the temple might have stood originally.

GROUND PLAN OF LORD VENKATĒSWARA TEMPLE TIRUMALA

THEERTHAKATTA STREET

STREET



THEERTHAKATTA STREET

SOUTH MADA STREET

EAST MADA STREET

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The present temple is composed of a number of structures, gopurams and prakarams and it is essential for a proper study of the temple, to understand the details of the general layout of the temple and the distribution of the structures and sculptures within.

This temple as already mentioned sprawls over an area of a few acres, and is 415 ft. long and 263 ft. wide. It has three prakaras or enclosures centering around the holy sanctum of Lord Venkatesvara. The inner-most prakara called Mukkoti pradakshina has got passages on the south, west and north only and is also open to the public only on Vaikunta Ekadasi or Mukkoti Ekadasi day, which generally falls in the month of January.

(ii) Structures outside the temple

When one ascends to the temple on top of the hill by foot, by the old pathway, there is an old unfinished or mundi Gopuram facing south. The short paved roadway towards north leads to another small gopuram and portal which is a rather older construction. After crossing this gate-way, one arrives at the Sannadhi street running east to west straight to the main gate-way and gopuram of the Tirumala temple. This gopuram is known as the 'Mukhadwara' or the "Periya Tiruvasal" and is now called "Padikavali gopuram." At the eastern end of this street is the temple of Hanuman and to the left is the thousand pillared mantapa. To the north of the road lies the periyajiyar Matam and at the western end and in front of the gopuram is a small but tall four pillared mantapam, which was being used during festivals in olden times. From this mantapa there is a flight of steps to the full width of the street, descending to meet the east mada street running north to south in front of the main gate-way of the temple.

As one faces the temple, enclosed to the north prakaram wall of the temple, is a small pond called "Swami Pushkarani" or "Tirukoneri" in Tamil. On the north-western shore of this pushkarni and near the middle of the north mada street, is the temple of Sri Varahaswamy.

The north and south mada streets measure about 800 ft. each in length and the west is about 900 feet. The east mada street running in front of the main temple and along the east side of the pushkarni, is about 750 feet. The ground slopes from west to east and the entire area bounded by these streets is much lower in level than the outlying country.

Out of the total area of 16 acres bounded by the mada streets, the temple proper covers 2.2 acres, the swamy pushkarni 1.5 acres, and the patha pushkarni

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

which is now a flower garden 2.5 acres. The remaining 10 acres are covered by a number of houses, matams etc. In the mada streets are matams and choultries that were built during the centuries by royal patrons.

(iii) The Thousand Pillar Mantapam

The Thousand Pillar Mantapam is rectangular in shape and is bounded on the west by the east mada street, on the north by the Sannadhi street, on the east by a pathway from a newly renovated gopuram and on the south by the street in front of Sri Hathiramji Matam. This Mantapam was built out of the annual income of village of Durgasamudram which Saluva Narasimha of Vijayanagara endowed to the Lord in 1472 A.D. for the specific purpose of building gopurams, mantapam and prakarams to the temple. This mantapam is now partly used as a 'Sadas hall' and partly as 'Kalyana-katta' where offering of hair is made to the Lord.

(iv) Sri Hathiramji matam

This matam is still an important landmark in the Tirumala temple precincts. This contains the Samadhi of the various Pithadipathis of this matam and also some shrines where exquisite sculptures of Dasavatara etc., are displayed. There is here also an antique painting showing the playing of chess by Lord Venkatesvara with one of the persons connected with the matam.

(v) Prakarams and Pradakshinas

The temple is surrounded on all sides by three compound walls known as prakarams or avaranams. The narrowest of these three is the one between the Garbhagriha wall and the first prakaram and the widest is between the outer and middle-prakarams. These pradakshinas are known as:

- (a) Mukkotu pradakshina, nearest to the Garbhagriha (which is open only on the three sides excepting the east and to which access to the public is given only on Vaikunta Ekadasi day).
- (b) Vimana pradakshina which is now the main pradakshina, used by the pilgrims and from the northern side of which vimana darshana is had, and
- (c) Sampangi pradakshina, which is generally not used by the public. The place is now being used mainly as a store room etc.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The space enclosed between each set of prakarams is called a pradakshinam or antarmandalam.

From the maha Pradakshina outside the temples, one arrives at the main gateway of the temple or periya gopura vasal or padikavali. At a distance of about 120 feet from this gateway is the inner gopuram. From these gopurams project high compound walls about four feet in thickness, which completely enclose the ground covered by the temple.

(vi) The Outer Gopuram

The outer gopuram stands on a quadrangular base, 38 feet south to north and 32 feet east to west. The mukhadwara or tiruvasal in the middle of it is 11 feet wide. There are two cut stone door frames symmetrically placed from either end. The door jambs, the sills and soffits of these are made of thick cut stone. The front door-way has folding doors hung on pivots and made of stout lattice wood work, backed with thick battens, and fastened together by stout iron nails having artistic heads. There is a trap door on the left side door. The compound walls emanating from the outer gopuram measure 414 feet east to west and 263 feet west to north.

There is fine architectural work in the plinth and pilaster of the gopurams. The plinth mouldings of the gopura and the style of the pilasters on its outer wall indicate a clear later Chola time of architecture. There is an inscription on the right side front of the door jamb wall of the pradakshina dated the 12th regnal year of Tribhuvana Chakravarthigal Sri Yadava Raya Vira Narasingadeva, whose queen Yadavaraya Nachchiyar had gifted 62 cows and two breeding bulls for daily supply of ghee for lighting two perpetual lamps or nandavilakku. The date will correspond to 1217 A.D. There are a few more inscriptions on the gopuram basement belonging to the 13th century.

The adhishtana of the gopura is built in two bhumis each supported by a cluster of pilasters with no devakoshtas or sculptures on the walls. The corbels on the capitals are bell shaped which is the style prevalent in the 12th-13th century A.D. The super-structure of the gopura is of brick and mortar and rises to 50 feet above ground level. It has five talas each having a small doorway flanked by the dwarapalakas. Each side of the gopura has a number of miniature shrines like the shalas and panjaras. The top of the gopura is covered by a large shala roof with kirthimukha ends.

There are quite a number of stucco figures of Vaishnava gods like Hanuman, Kevale Narasimha, Laxmi Narasimha etc. etc., on the gopura

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

This gopuram has been renovated in recent years by the T.T.D. authorities and the figures are covered by white cement and now look crude with ugly modern colour paintings on them.

(vii) The Outer pradakshina or the Sampangi pradakshina

Passing through the entrance of the main gopura one enters the outer court-yard of the temple. Immediately adjacent to and touching the gopura is a small mantapa with two wings one on each side and a pathway in the centre. This is the outer prakara within the temple complex. This enclosure has a large number of mantapas meant for various rituals and other functions connected with the temple.

(viii) Pratima Mantapa or Krishnaraya Mantapa

Immediately adjacent to the gopura is a small mantapa with two wings one on each side. Each wing has two rows of four pillars. The pillars in the outer row are plain and contain a salakoshta at the base. The pillars in the inner row contain an animal bracket having a lion with a rider on, standing with its hind legs resting on a makara.

This is commonly referred to as the pratima mantapa because the pratimas or portrait bronzes of the Vijayanagara Emperor Krishnadevaraya and his two consorts Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi and also those of Venkatapat. etc., are kept here.

From the style of the pillars this mantapa may be taken to have been built in later Vijayanagara times say about the early half of the 16th century. This mantapa is in exquisite style and is full of beautiful sculptures of the Vijayanagara period like, Rama breaking the bow, Rama Pattabhisekha, Hanuman meeting Sita in the Asokavana, Krishna leela scenes etc. On the top of two pillars, the Sri Vaishnava symbols or the Urdhvapundras flanked by shankha and Chakra are carved. The tall pillars of this mantapa show interesting variety in corbel design, some showing vyali, some showing simha, and some others with ganas looking at the onlooker.

(ix) Rangamantapa

In the south-east corner of the court-yard is a big mantapa popularly known as the Rangamandapa. This stands on a high basement, and measures about 60 feet east to west and 108 feet north to south. At its southern end, is a small shrine about 12 feet square which has been kept permanently locked.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

This is also called the Ranganayakula mandapa because the shrine within it is supposed to be the place where the utsavamurty of Lord Ranganadha of Srirangam was kept during the 14th century when Srirangam was occupied by the Muslim army of Malik Kafur.

This mandapa is said to have been constructed between 1320 and 1360 A.D. by the Yadava ruler Sri Ranganadha Yadava Raya though there is no direct epigraphical evidence in support of it. However, stylistically the mandapa does not belong to the 14th century but appears to be later as it is clearly in typical Vijayanagara style. The composite pillars in bold dimensions with fine sculptures of galloping horses, lions and vyalis and a pumunai corbel in the pillar capitals would clearly indicate a Vijayanagara period of architecture. The Vijayanagara royal crest of Varaha is also found carved on the pillars, which leaves no doubt in the matter. In the ceiling are some panels depicting the Rama Ravana fight etc. Some good pieces of sculptures in miniatures like those of Mahabali, Vamana, Rama and Laxmana are also found. The Ranga mandapa both architecturally and sculpturally belongs to mature Vijayanagara period of temple architecture say the middle 15th-16th century A.D

The entablature above the pillars is interrupted at intervals by a second capital. The intervening spaces contain two pattas with a kapota or cornice above. Above the kapota are two rows of fine sculptures depicting dances and scenes from Vaishnava mythology.

At the southern end of the mandapa is a shrine and a pavilion. The pavilion is of black granite but is now coloured all over and is now used to house a vahana. The shrine is a fine structure with a garbhagriha and an antarala, with its walls on the sides being decorated with pilaster, kumbha panjara, salakoshta etc. The front portion of the shrine consists of an entrance flanked by a salakoshta on either side. A kapota decorated with nasikas surmounted by simhalalatas surmounts the entire front.

(x) The Tirumala Raya or Anna Unjal mantapam

Next to the Rangamantapam and at a distance of 12 feet of the east prakaram wall of the inner gopuram, is another mantapa measuring 40 feet east to west and about 80 feet north to south. This is known as Tirumala Raya mandapa or Anna Unjal mandapa. This consists of two parts constructed at different periods, the front part being at lower level and the back at a higher. The southern or inner portion measuring 10 ft. — 45 ft. has a more elevated basement than the front one and is traditionally attributed to Saluva Narasimha

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of 1473 A.D. for celebrating the Anna Unjal Tirunal instituted by him in that year. This structure was renovated and extended to its present size and shape by Araviti Bukkaraya Ramaraja, Sriranga Raja, Tirumala Raja in the last quarter of the 16th century. In this mandapa other festivals like the vasanta utsava were celebrated during the time of Tirumala raja. It is in this mandapa that the processional deity malayappan, holds his annual darbar of asthana on the hoisting of the garuda dhvaja on the top of the dhvajastambam to mark the commencement of the Brahmotsavam. In fact the prasadam distribution on this occasion is still called Tirumalarayan pongal, although the endowment made by that emperor has long ago disappeared. This mantapam practically touches the dhvajastamba mantapam.

Saluva Narasimha who constructed the southern portion of this mantapam and who saved the kingdom from anarchy soon after the assassination of Virupaksha-II and who gave stability to the kingdom for nearly 40 years, was a great warrior. As a devout Vaishnava he has given many important benefactions to the temple. He had the full assistance and support of Kandadi Ramanuja Ayyangar who figures frequently in the inscriptions of Saluva Narasimha, and who in addition to being a patron of poets like Ranganatha Dindima, was himself a well known author and has a book Ramabhyudaya to his credit. His queen Sriranga Devi and other members of the royal family also gave several endowments to the temple. In 1485 A.D. he built a shrine for Laxmi Narasimha on the pathway to the Seshadri hills (GT-273).

This mantapa has a typical Vijayanagara complex of pillars, with a central pillar surrounded by smaller pillarets, some of which emit musical sounds when struck with a stone. The main pillars have rearing horses with mounted warriors. Some of the best sculptures of the temple are found in bold relief in this mandapa.

The pillars in the two outer rows are plain while those in the interior have animal brackets. In the back part of the mandapa also there are two rows of four pillars each on each side. The pavilion in black granite in the middle of the mandapa has in the corners four pillars each with three pillarets projecting.

In one corner of the Tirumalaraya Mandapa are kept the bronze statues of Todaramalla, his mother Matha Mohana De and wife Pitha Bibi. As in the case of Krishnadevaraya bronzes, the names are inscribed on their shoulders. Todarmalla was in charge of the Karnatak area on behalf of the Nawabs of Golconda in the beginning years of the 18th century. He was a general under the Nawabs of Karnatak.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xi) Ainamahahal

On the northern side of the Tirumalaraya mandapa, there is another mantapa about 42 feet square with an enclosed room of about the same size in continuation. This room is called the ainamahahal, and is decidedly of later origin. This is in two parts, an open mantapa in the front consisting of six rows of six pillars each, and a shrine behind it consisting of an antarala and garbhagriha. It now has large mirrors which reflect images in an infinite series. There is an unjal in the middle of the room in which the Lord is seated and festivals conducted. This is about the only mandapam in the Tirumala temple, where the name is not found in any of the inscriptions. In an article contributed to the Asiatic Journal of 1831 by the highest revenue officer of the district, it is stated that addala festival was being celebrated, most likely in the room in this mantapa, the walls being lined with huge mirrors.

(xli) The Periphery of the Sampangi Prakara

Allround the periphery of the sampangi prakara, there are typical Vijayanagara carved pillars bearing sculptures of well known deities like devatas, Hanuman etc. The craftsmanship of the sculpture is not of good quality.

In the open court-yard of the Sampangi pradakshina there are four small but graceful mandapas in the four different corners meant for stationing the processional deity on festive occasions. These were constructed by Saluva Narasimha about 1470 A.D. in the name of himself, his queen and his two sons. It was arranged by him that on all festival occasions, the Utsavamurthy should be seated at each of these and prasadam offered and distributed to the pilgrims. Now they serve that purpose only during the 40 days of the vasantotsava soon after the Ugadi day. This pradakshinam is called in the epigraphs as Sambaga chchurra, the word sambagam being the Tamil equivalent of Sampangi or Champaka. Perhaps there might have been several champaka trees here, the fragrance of whose flowers is well known, and which were being offered to the deity in the Nitya puja.

Though at present these four mandapas are not particularly noted for their sculptures, they show good architectural designs and graceful finish.

The long corridor in the periphery of the Sampangi prakara has now been partitioned with ugly iron grills at various places to convert them into rooms for storing Ugrana articles like jaggery etc; for storing pattadi (the silk clothes of the Lord), for the Ramanujakutam where free food is distributed to the pilgrims; padipotu where sweets are prepared for the Lord; Yamunai-Turai

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

where flower garlands are made to the Lord according to the specifications etc. etc. The name Yamuna-Turai can be traced to the times of Sri Yamuna-charya or Sri Alavandar who is said to have given a start to this kind of work in his days. There is also another room now where the articles required for the Teppotsavam are stored. Originally these corridors might have been intended for the procession of Utsavamurty round the pradakshinas on rainy days, when street procession was impracticable and also to afford shelter to the pilgrims during inclement weather. Now these are being used as store rooms.

(xiii) Dhvajastamba mantapa

The next important structure in this prakara is the mantapa built around the Dhvajastamba. This is a narrow mandapa in the western part of the court-yard touching the second or inner gopura. It has on the north and south two rows of five pillars each, those in the inner row having one pillaret projecting. In the centre of the mandapa are the Dhvajastamba and the Balipita.

There are interesting sculptures in each of the pillars the most important being Yoga Narasimha, Matsya, Hanuman, Krishna killing bakasura, Srinivasa Kalyana scenes etc etc. On the Dhvajastamba itself small sculptures of Krishna as Kaliyamardana etc. can be seen.

There is one peculiar feature about these structures noted by Sri T.K.T. Viraraghavacharya namely that they are found outside the inner gopuram, and in the space known as the third avaranam, that is between the second and the third prakaras. The agama rule and the practice, is to locate, garuda, dhvajastamba, and balipita, in the first avaranam itself, with the garuda being close to the Vimanam, the dhvajastamba being the next (both in the second quarter of the first avarana) and the balipitam being in the third quarter. This is the practice if a temple has only one avaranam. If there is a second avaranam to the temple, the garuda would be placed in the second quarter of the avaranam, and the dhvajastamba and balipita would go to the third quarter. The second avaranam of Tirumala temple was built by about 1190 A.D. Garuda, the dhvajastamba and the balipita would therefore have been within the second avaranam at that time, till the Tirumamani mantapa was built in 1417 A.D. As there could have been little space left for the dhvajastamba and balipita then, they must have been shifted to the third avaranam. The Vaikhanasa Agama recognises such an arrangement also as a last resort, but the agamic rule is that they should be in the third quarter, and not in the first where we find them now.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xiv) Inner Gopuram

The inner or second enclosure has to be reached through an only entrance guarded by the second gopuram. The inner gopuram measures at its base 24 feet east to west and 36 feet south to north, the width of the gate-way being 9 feet. In design it is similar to the outer gopuram. The compound or prakaram walls emanating from this gopuram measure from outside 235 feet east to west and 160 feet north to south.

There are a number of inscriptions on the outer walls. The walls are otherwise plain with no sculptures except a prominent Sri Vaishnava mark at the top of the entrance door jamb. The sculptured balustrades at the entrance of the doorway are beautifully carved. The earliest inscription on the walls belongs to the 16th regnal year of Sri Ranganadha Yadava Raya (1354-55). Generally the older inscriptions are on the basement of walls of the gopurams, the next in point of time being those in the inner face of the prakaram walls. The Outer faces of these walls contain inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries.

(xv) Vimana Pradakshina

This is a quadrangular space enclosed between the walls of the second prakara, the inner gopuram, and the walls of the first prakaram which surround the sanctum. The open space of this pradakshina between the gateway of the inner gopuram and the Tirumamani mandapam to its west or Mukhamandapam, is hardly 18 feet. In addition to the structures composing the main Vimana, there are a number of large cut stone structures, shrines and mantapams within the Vimana pradakshina. These leave a comparatively narrow width of open space surrounding the main temple. It is this open space that is now known as Vimana pradakshina. Pilgrims who have taken a vow of anga pradakshina perform it only in this court-yard.

The polished corridor which runs along the periphery of the Vimana pradakshina contains typical Vijayanagara pillars and has some interesting sculptures like monkey and snake, lady with the bow, Kamsa, puthaki, Krishna tied to a stone, Ranganadha etc. On the western verandah of this corridor veda parayana is carried on every day. This verandah is also divided into a number of rooms like deepala room (room of lights), gammikar's room (works), kaikolas room, pallaki room etc. Particularly interesting is a room in the northern wing called the Sangita Bhandaram where hundreds of copper plates on which were inscribed the songs of the famous music composer Annamacharya were kept. A fine portrait sculpture of this great music composer is also carved on the walls.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xvi) Sri Varadaraja shrine

Immediately to the left of the gopuram entrance, there is a small shrine dedicated to Varadaraja, at a distance of 7 feet to the south from the inner gopuram, and 2 feet from the east prakaram wall. It is 20 feet in length and 15 feet in width. It consists of a high adhishtana, an antarala, a garbhagriha and a vimana of the Vesara type. The walls of the garbhagriha are decorated with four pilasters; the doorway is flanked by a pilaster on either side and surmounted by a kapota decorated with nasika surmounted by simhalalata.

(xvii) Potu room

To the south of the Varadaraja shrine is the main kitchen known as Potu which is 61 ft. × 30 feet and standing on a basement 2½ feet high. The cooking of all naivedya article is done here. Even now only earthen pots are used for this. There is a small shrine inside enclosed to the doorway of the kitchen dedicated to Madapalli Nachiyar, also known as Vakuladevi. She is popularly believed to be the mother of Srinivasa and is supposed to keep a watchful eye over the doings of the cooks.

(xviii) Bangaru Bavi

In front of the potu and adjoining the corridor which runs to the west, is a well known as Bangaru Bavi from which all the water required for the temple and the kitchen is drawn through stone pipes. This well is considered to be a holy one. The site of it is as directed in the Agamas. The system of water supply here recalls a similar arrangement at Hampi city by the Vijayanagara kings. This is a very rare and interesting extant specimen of Vijayanagara style of well and method of drawing water from it.

(xix) Kalyana Mandapam

On the south-western corner of the Vimana pradakshina is a spacious Kalyana Mandapam noted for its exquisite sculptures. It is 80 feet × 36 feet. Architecturally it is similar to the Tirumalaraya mandapam. At its western end is situated a small shrine of black granite containing four pillars each with three pillarets projecting. Behind this shrine is a raised portion called the Yagasala.

The pillars show a variety of patterns some with alternate square and octagonal sections and some with very intricately chiseled tops having heavy capitals. The four pillared central sub-mandapa built of polished black

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

granite has extremely beautiful florid workmanship. Its side walls are decorated with the series, pilaster, pilaster kumbha panjara, pilaster, salakoshta, pilaster, kumbha panjara and pilaster. The array of female dancers that crowd the inner fringes of the roof and the exquisite miniature sculptures that adorn all faces of the pillars lend a touch of delicacy and charm to the structure. Perhaps this intricate workmanship is taken over from the art of ivory carving for which the Hoyasala art is so famous.

The Kalyana mandapa and its sub-mandapa contain numerous has relief sculptures on their pillars like Trivikrama sudarshana, sixteen-armed Narasimha, Laxmi Narasimha, Hayagriva etc. etc.

From the day of the Dhvajarohanam of the Brahmotsavam, to the Dipavali day, Lord Malayappan resides here and not in the sanctum sanctorum. Similarly for a period of twenty three days, in December in connection with the adhyayanotsavam also the asthanams take place in this mandapa only.

(xx) Sri Ramanuja shrine

Next to the Sangita Bhandaram in the northern corridor of the Vimana pradakshina is a shrine of Sri Ramanuja the great Vaishnava Acharya. No independent puja is done to this acharya but a portion of all the prasadam offered to the Lord is first transmitted to this shrine to be offered to the great acharya. Special honours are also shown on certain festival occasions as Sri Ramanuja was mainly responsible for placing the worship and other affairs of this temple on a sound working basis

The shrine proper seems to have been built in the 13th century as can be guessed from its architectural design. The Pandyan emblem namely two fish and hook are craved on the wall next to the entrance door. Perhaps this shrine could have been built in the 13th century when Yadava Raya was serving under the authority of the Pandyas. The mukha mantapa in front of the shrine however would appear to have been added a couple of centuries later during the Vijayanagara times. The deification of Ramanuja and construction of a separate shrine for him in the temple was done in recognition of his great services to Tirumala and Tirupati. According to tradition, the shrine of Ramanuja in Tirumala and Tirupati were constructed more or less at the same time soon after the passing away of the great teacher. Ramanuja's Pancharatra form of worship did not stand in the way of the recognition of his shrine by the Vaikhanasa Archakas who serve him every day with holy tirtham and prasadam.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(xxi) Sri Narasimhaswamy temple

This shrine is in the north-east corner of the court-yard built in a pillared varandah touching the eastern wall of the prakara. This is surrounded by a polished mandapa and built probably in the 15th century. We see some interesting dance poses in the pillared sculptures.

The earliest reference to this god who is popularly known as alagiya-singar, is found in an inscription, dated 1469 A.D., which refers to an offering made to him (70-A T.T.). Another record mentions offerings made on the thirty days of the Dhanurmasa-puja, on Vasantapanchami and Sri Ramana-navami days and on the 7th day of each of the Tirukkodi-tirunal (280 T.T.). Another refers to offerings made on the Vasantapanchami day (599 T.T.). Kandadai Ramanuja-ayyengar provided for the tirumanjanam of this god and for offerings to be made to him on the Panguni-amavasya and Vasantapurnima days (T.T. 70).

Originally there were two other rooms like the Chandana room and the Parimala room where sandal paste and perfumery articles were being kept. But these have now been removed.

(xxii) The structural complex of the main shrine

The main shrine which contain the Garbhagriha is a complex of structures. It starts with the Tirumamani mandapa at the eastern end and goes on to the Bangaru Vakili, the Snapana mantapa, the Ramar Meda, the Sayana mandapa and the Garbhagriha in that order. Part of this area, ending with the northern and southern wings of the mukkoti pradakshinam inside, is enclosed by a thick stone wall which is plain. The northern wall of the mukkoti pradakshina is longer and covers a longer distance. The Tirumamani mandapa and the Snapana mandapa project to the east from the front wall between the two side wings of the pradakshinam. Thus the main shrine appears to be in three sections if looked at from the north.

(xxiii) Tirumamani mandapa

This is an open pillared hall whose northern and southern walls are in three sections, the central section being wider than the other two. The front and back sections stand on an adhishtana which contains upana, a broad and a narrow patta, padma, gala, tripatta, fluted horizontal all over, another gala cut into compartments by short pilasters, and kapota decorated with

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

nasikas surmounted by simhalalatas. In the central section an alingapattika and a row of makaras are found above the kapota. The walls of the central section are adorned by a salakoshta between two pilasters.

At the eastern extremity of this mandapa is the garuda shrine (facing the Lord. On the outer wall of this shrine is the figure of Lord Vishnu in the Sayana pose. The garuda shrine is a crudely built structure opposite the Bangaru Vakili of the gate of gold which forms the western end of the Tirumamani mandapam.

The mandapa is 43 ft. × 40 ft. and contains 16 pillars with an overhanging kapota. The Hundi is kept at the north-west corner of this mandapa. At the south-west corner are located two huge bells of the temple which are inscribed and which give the name Tirumamani to the mandapa. The pillars of the mandapa on the outer edge are of the complex type resting on lions. A unique bas relief on one of the pictures is the figure of Vishnu with four arms seated on an elephant. This is a rare sculpture of Vishnu as seated on a Gajavahana.

This 16 pillared mandapa was built by one Mallanna also called Madhavadasa of Chandragiri in 1417 A.D. The mandapa with its graceful pillars and their stylish corbels and kodungus (eaves) and sculptures is a very elegant example of early Vijayanagara style.

(xxiv) Bangaru Vakili

From Tirumamani mandapa one enters the Bangaru Vakili to go to the inner sanctum sanctorum. We find two tall images of dvarapalakas Jaya and Vijaya on either side made of copper. The door which is covered by a resplendent gold plate, from which the name Bangaru Vakili is derived displays small figures of Vishnu in different forms. It is significant to note here that the suprabhatam is sung in front of this golden door in which Vishnu is depicted in his five forms para, vyuha, vibhava, antaryami and archa, and not before the archa form only obtaining in the Garbhagriha.

(xxv) Snapana mandapa

Crossing the Bangaru Vakili one enters a semi dark room called Snapana mandapa or Tiruvilankovil. This contains four central pillars. The front part of this mandapa has been converted into two rooms one on either side. The Snapana mandapa in its present form can be ascribed to Vijayanagara times. The pillars have good bas reliefs and are in typical Vijayanagara

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

style. They bear sculptures like those of Bala Krishna, Yoga Narasimha, Kaliamardana etc. A particularly impressive bas relief is that of Maha Vishnu in the seated pose. He has four arms, the upper arms holding the Chakra and the Shankha. The Lord's consorts are also shown seated in the sukhasana pose on the right and left.

(xxvi) Ramar Meda

Crossing the Snapana mandapa we enter the Ramar Medai. Originally the Ramar Meda and the three pathways of the first pradakshina path, viz., the mukkoti pradakshina must have formed one continuous circumambulatory passage. This passage seems to have been closed by about 1262-1265 A.D. and the Ramar Meda converted into a closed room. The Ramar Meda now has two small platforms on which figures of Angada, Hanuma etc., are exhibited. There is also a figure of Paricharaka holding the lights. One particularly interesting bronze is that of a vanara god holding his right forefinger on the tip of his nose in a pose of complete wonderment. This has been correctly identified by Dr. C. Sivarama Murthy, the noted art historian as the image of Sugriva the brother of Vali and the king of the Vanara Sena. This bronze is identical in technique and style with the bronzes image of Hanuman from Vadakkupaniyur village of Thanjavur district which are now housed in the Madras Museum. This would take these bronzes to the early Chola period.

(xxvii) The Mukkoti Pradakshina

The Mukkoti pradakshina is the first circumambulatory path around the original central shrine comprising of the garbhagriha and its mukha mandapa called Sayana mandapa. This pradakshina is open in the temple only one day in a year that is on Vaikunta Ekadasi day. The pradakshina is open only at the north, south and western portions. This is a pillared varandah in three sections. The southern section has a row of six pillars, the western section four, and the northern two rows of seven pillars each. All the pillars are round and have Chola capitals with the broad faces fluted and with a circle in the centre. There is a shrine of Vishvaksetna (Senai Mudaliyar) on the northern side. The walls on the northern side have some sculptures and ornamental niches.

(xxviii) Sayana mandapam

Further to the west is the Sayana mandapa which must have been the original antarala. This is a room about 18'-6" square. This mandapa



Plate 1. Putaki Vajha

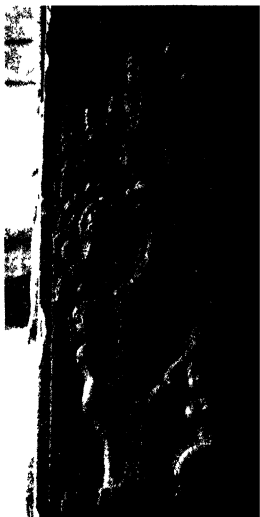


Plate 2. Gopi—Vastrapaharana Scene



3 The Adimurthi figure of Lord Vishnu.



Plate 4: A Pillar.



Plate 5 **Bronze of Krishnadeva Raya
and his Queens.**



Plate 6 **Bronze of Tirumalaraya and his Queen.**



Plate 7. Bronze of Venkata

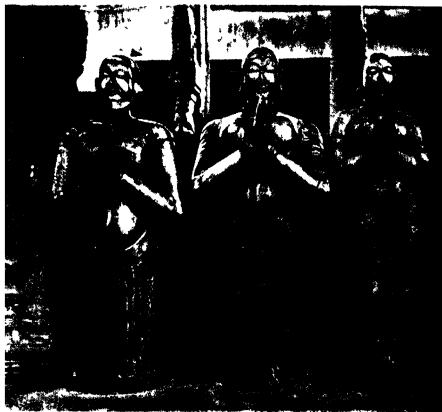


Plate 8 Bronze of
Raja Todarmal, his queen and
his mother.



Plate 9 Sita in Asoka Vana



Plate 10 Krishna stealing butter.



Plate 11: Vishnu on the shoulders of Hanuman.



Plate 12 (a)

Erotic Sculptures



Plate 12 (b)



Plate 12 (c)



Plate 12 (d)



Plate 12 (e)



Plate 12 (f)



Plate 12 (g)



Plate 12 (h)



Plate 12 (i)



Plate 12 (j)



Plate 12 (k)



Plate 13: Matsyavatar.



Plate 14: Kaliyamardana.



Plate 15: Chaturbhuja Venugopala.



Plate 16: Gajendra Moksha.





Plate 17: Lord Srinivasa's Kalyana scene.



Plate 18: Mohini.



Plate 19: Lord Vishnu on Garuda.



Plate 20: Gandabherunda.



Plate 21: Surya.



Plate 22: Narasimha.



Plate 23: A lay figure,



Plate 23 (b): Another lay figure,



Plate 24 (a): Hanuman carying Sanjeevi.



Plate 24 (b): Another pose of Hanuman.

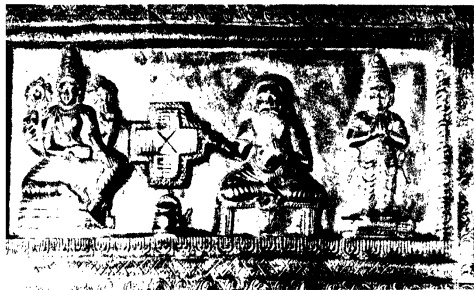


Plate 25: The Lord with Hatiramji.



Plate 26: Srirama pattabhishekam.



Plate 27: Vishnu as Varaha.



Plate 28: Kodanda Rama.



Plate 29: Astabhuja Venugopala.



Plate 30: Srinivasa.

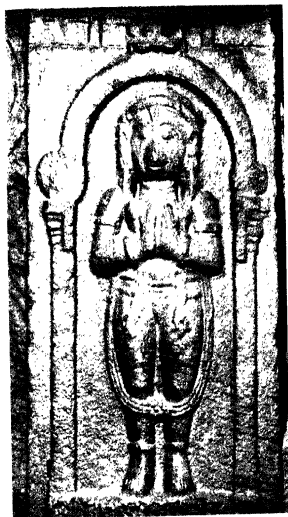


Plate 31: Hanuman in Anjali.



Plate 32: Gangagopala or Venugopala.



Plate 33 (a): Miniature Gopura inside the Tirumalaraya Mandapa and pillars.



Plate 33 (b): Miniature Mandapa which is inside the Tirumalaraya Mandapa

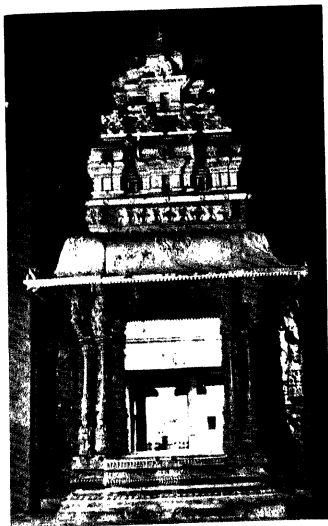


Plate 33 (c): present Kalyana Mandapa
inside the Tirumalaraya Mandapa.



Plate 34: Yoga Narasimha.



Plate 35: Lakshmi Narasimha.



Plate 36: Narasimha killing Hiranya.



Plate 37: Another Narasimha killing Hiranya



Plate 38: Narasimha on a lion.



Plate 39: Lord Vishnu as Trivikrama



Plate 40: Vishnu as Garudarudha.



Plate 41: Lord Vishnu as Seshasai



Plate 42: Sudarshana



Plate 43: Mithuna.



Plate 44: Mithuna pose



Plate 45 / 45 (a): Rustic figures:





Plate 46: A typical pillar with the Yali

Plate 47: Yali shaped balastrade.

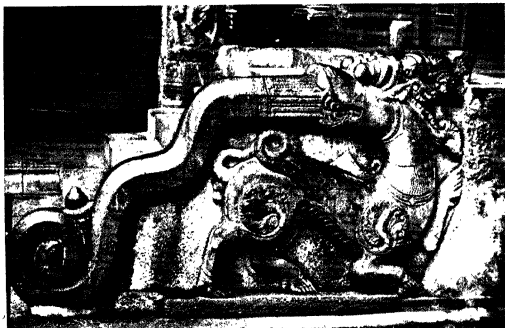




Plate 48; Kamadhenu



Plate 49: Floral designs.



Plate 50: Ornamentation design.



Plate 51 & 52: Ramayana Scenes



Plate 53: Hanuman and Sita.



Plate 54: Lord Vishnu.



Plate 55: Ranganatha.

Plate 56 Exquisite florish and design.





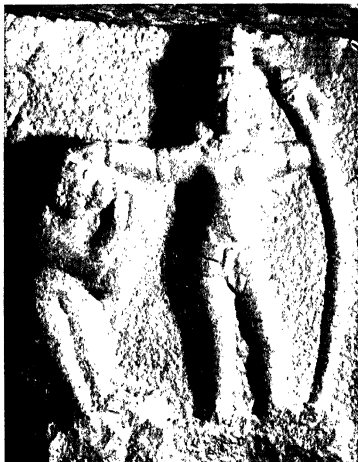
Plate No. 56 (a):



Plate No. 57: A Yaksha, probably Kubera



Plate 58 Vali Sugriva Yudha.



(a): Rama Sugriva or Hanuman



Plate 59: Cow and Calf.



Plate 60 (a): Kalpavruksha vahana.



Plate 60 (b): Hamsa vahana.



Plate 60 (c): Garuda vahana.



Plate 60 (d) Gaja vahana.



Plate 60 (e) Uchchaishrava vahana.



Plate 60 (f): Another garuda vahana.

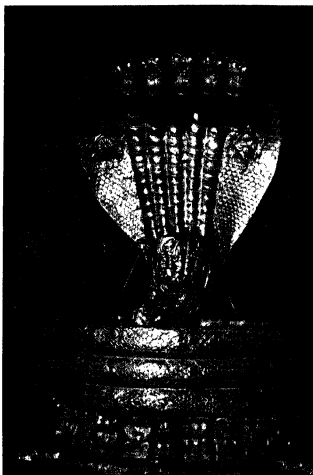


Plate 60 (g): Adishesha vahana.

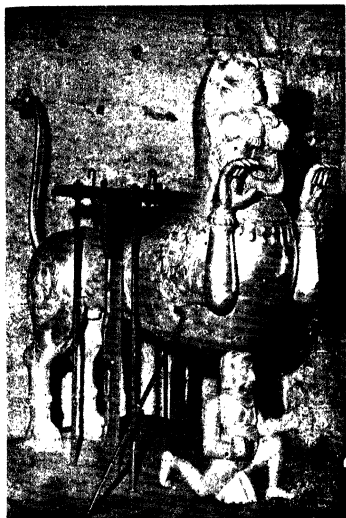


Plate 60 (h): Simha vahana.

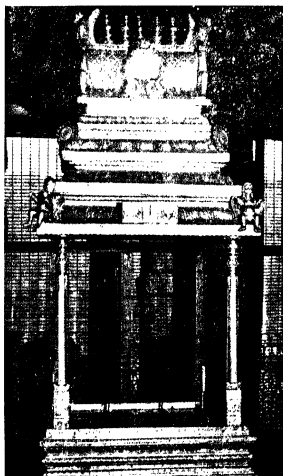


Plate 60 (i): Vimana vahana



Plate 60 (j): The Simhasana of the Lord.

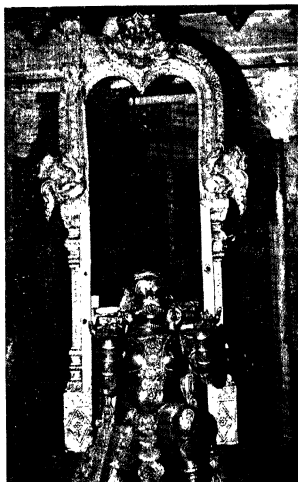


Plate 60 (k): Hanuman vahana.

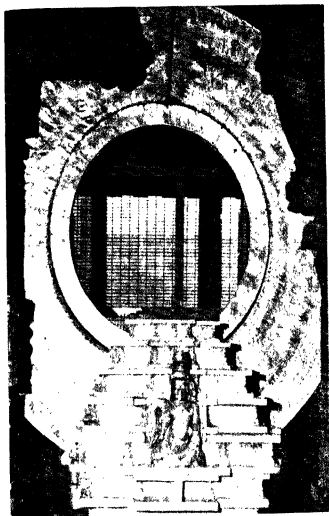


Plate 60 (I): Surya prabha.



Plate 61: Narasimha.



Plate 62: Lakshminarayana.



Plate 63: Vishnu



Plate 64: (a)

Krishna as a child

Plate 64 (b):





Plate 64 (c): Krishna with flute



Plate 64: (d)



Plate 65 (a): Dancer



Plate 65 (b): Dancing couple



Plate 65 (c): A seated figure

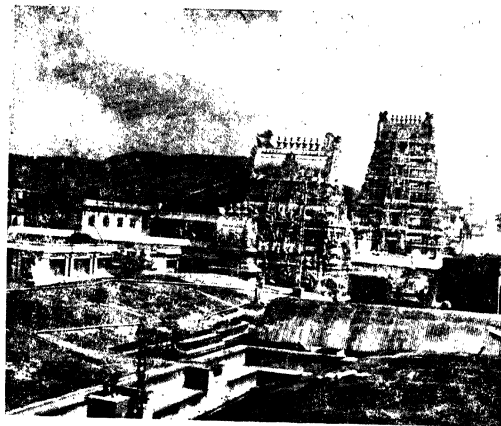


Plate 66: View of the shrine as a whole



Plate 67 (a): Vimana of Ramanuja shrine



Plate 67 (b): Garuda Mantapa

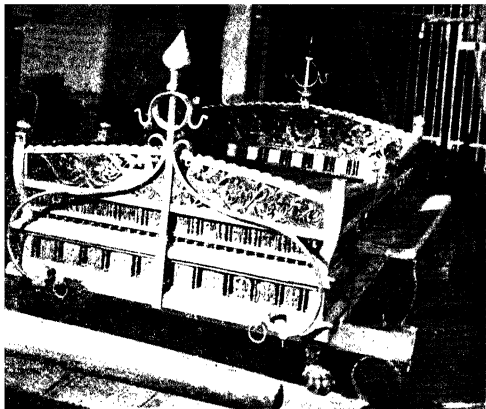


Plate 68: Pallaki

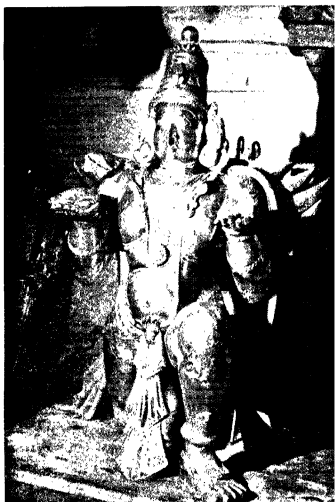


Plate 69: Garuda Vahana

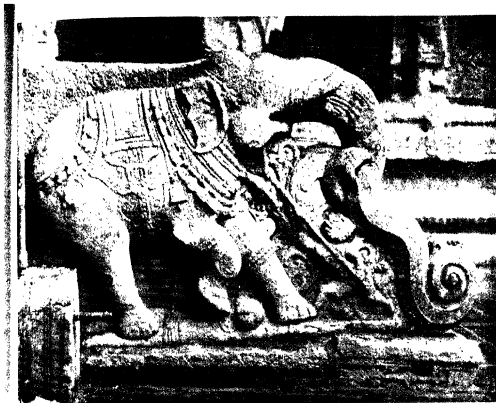


Plate 70: a step in the Vimana pradakshina



Plate 71: Vamana and Mahabali



Plate 72: Rama and Lakshmana



Plate 73: Lotus design,

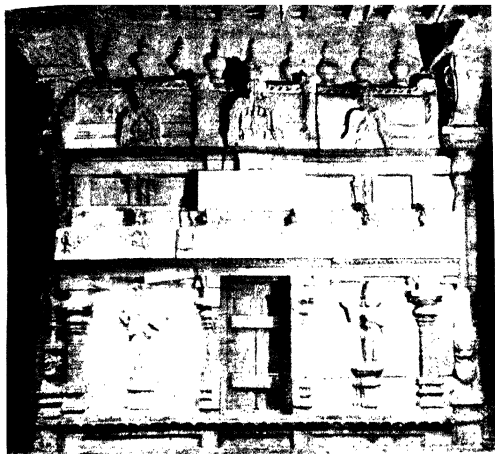


Plate 74: Annamacharya shrines



Plate 75: Bala Krishna.



Plate 76 (a): Tirumalacharya



Plate 76 (b): Annamacharya

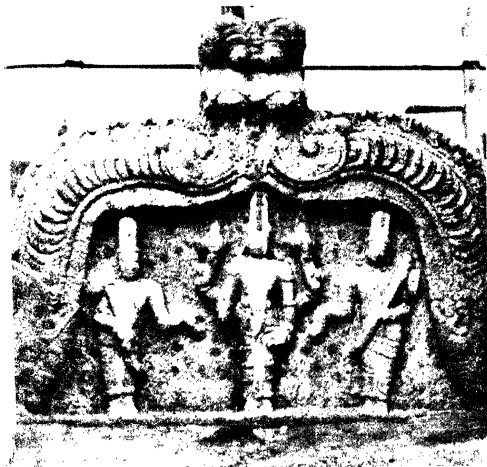


Plate 77: Another view of the tallapaka poets



Plate 78: Lakshmi Narasimha



Plate 79: Rama, Lakshmana, Sita.

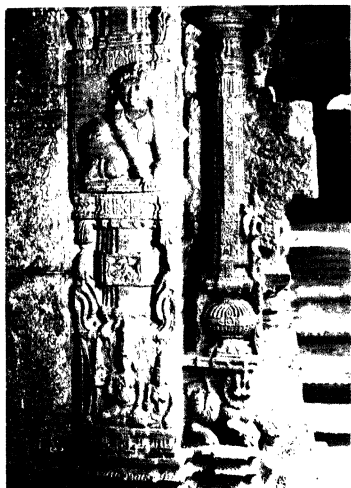


Plate 80: Rama



*Plate 81 (a) & Plate 81 (b) on back of Pillar
Scenes of Ramayana*



Plate 82 (a): dancing girl.



Plate 82 (b): dancing girl doing Kolattam



Plate 82 (c): shows a **drummer.**



Plate 82 (d) shows a lady mridangini.



Plate 83 (a): Saraswathi.



Plate 83 (b): Saraswathi,



Plate 83 (c): Saraswathi.



Plate 84: Bala Krishna.



Plate 85: Alvar.

Plate 86: Hamsa.



Plate 87: Vaikuntadwara Pillar.



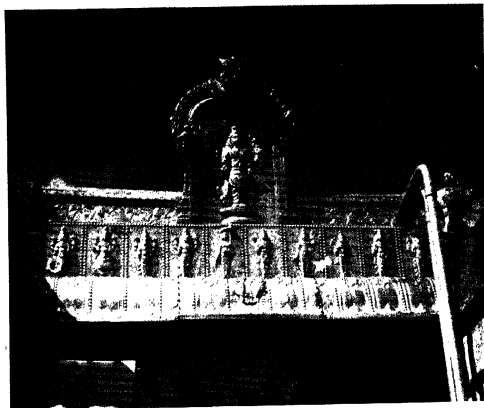


Plate 88: Dasavataras.



Plate 89: Hundi of the Lord



Plate: 90 (a)

Two Big Bells kept in the Tirumamani Mandapa



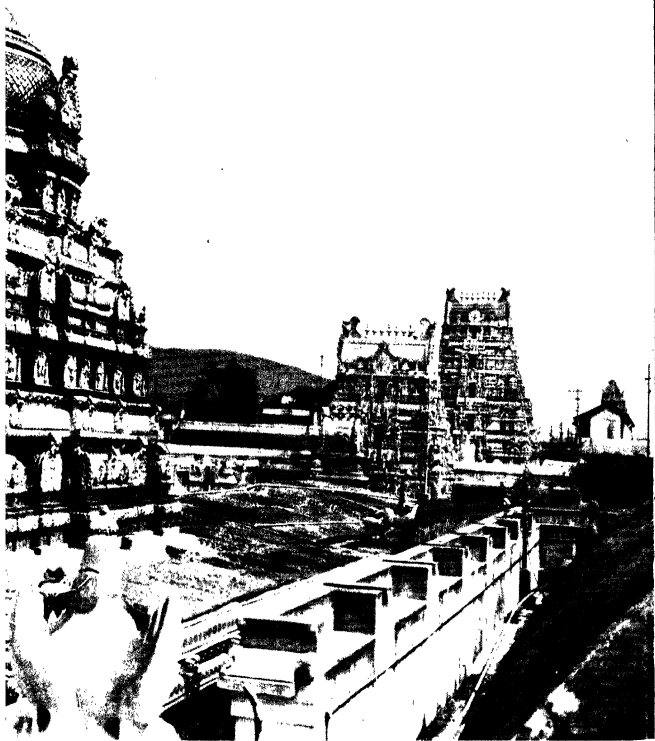
Plate: 90 (b)



Plate 91: Four Mandapas in the Sampangi Pradakshina



Plate 92: A Chain of Moghul Coins



Plat  93: Aerial view of the main Vimana and Gopura from the backside.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

is devoid of any note-worthy sculptures or structures. The Lord is put to sleep in this mandapa during the Ekantaseva at night.

(xxix) The Garbha griha

To the west of the Sayana mandapa is the Garbha-griha. The stone step between the Sayana mandapa and the Garbhagriha is called the Kulasekharapadi in honour of Kulasekhara Alvar. Devotees are not allowed to step on this or enter the Garbhagriha of the Lord.

The Garbhagriha is almost a square shaped structure 12 feet square. Its walls as well as the walls of Sayana mandapa are really double structures, with two separate sets of walls enclosing some air space between them. The walls of the Garbhagriha as they exist at present are made of cut stones and may belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. The temple type consisting of a Garbhagriha with a mukha mandapa and pradakshina got established in South India by about 8th century A.D.

(xxx) Architectural features of the main shrine complex

The architectural features found on the outer walls of the sayana mandapa, the antarala and the garbhagriha walls are different. The walls in the north and south are in four sections from west to east. The two central sections are wider. Sections 1, 2 & 4 stand on a high adhishtana which contains upana, patta, ardhapadma, two pattas, gala, patta, tripatta, urdhvapadma, patta, gala, kapota adorned with nasikas surmounted by simhalalatas, and a patta containing a row of makaras. The decoration of the walls of these three sections is also different. The walls of section 1, contain the series— sala-koshta, two pilasters and kuta-panjara. The walls of section 2 contain the series—pilaster, kumbhapanjara between two pilasters, kutapanjara, pilaster and kumbhapanjara. The walls of section 3 are adorned with a sala-koshta between two pilasters. The walls of section 4 are decorated with the series— kumbhapanjara, pilaster, kutapanjara, pilaster, kumbhapanjara, pilaster and pilaster. The back wall of the Garbhagriha is in three sections, the central one projecting a little to the west. The southern section contains the series— pilaster, pilaster, kumbhapanjara, pilaster, kutapanjara, pilaster and kumbhapanjara. The central section contains a sala-koshta between two pilasters. The northern section contains the series—pilaster, kumbhapanjara, pilaster, kutapanjara, pilaster, kumbhapanjara, pilaster and pilaster.

The garbhagriha and the antarala are square in shape and many architectural features are noticed on the outer walls.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The effective thickness of the walls of the Garbhagriham is found to be about seven feet two inches. This overall thickness is about five 'hasthams.' The inner measurement of the Garbhagriham is about 12 feet 9 inches square; or nine hasthams (chaturasram sama vrittam) square. This is the largest size mentioned in the agamas, and is adopted for this temple as the Dhruva Beram is very tall. The extraordinary thickness of the walls shows, as already mentioned, that there are two walls with some air space in between. Renovations have always taken place in temples and Tirumala is no exception. 17-TT refers to such a renovation by Sri Vira Narasimha Yadavaraya in his 40th regnal year. Hence it would be correct to presume that the existing garbhagriha was preceded in olden days by structures which did not last long and which were renovated and replaced subsequently. This double wall on the Garbhagriha thus presents an interesting problem in the history of the evolution of the architecture of the temple. This is being discussed in full elsewhere.

The sanctum houses, only one mula murthi and the Tirumala temple is thus unique, in that it is the only Vaishnava temple in the country which is an eka-murthi temple.

C H A P T E R V

The Idol of Lord Venkatesvara and other murtis in the Tirumala Temple

SECTION—I

GENERAL THEMES OF THE TEMPLE SCULPTURES AND VAISHNAVITE TRADITIONS.

A Hindu temple is always conceived as a miniature universe revolving around the creator who is represented by the presiding deity within the garbhagriha. Hence the temple precincts normally display all the various facets of the universe like the animals, trees and planets, human beings and their various forms, demi gods, kinnaras, gandharvas, the nadi devatas, the vana devatas etc. etc. Hence in a Hindu temple almost all the aspects of the panorama of life with its variegated changing patterns are represented in the sculptured panels.

The temple of Tirumala is no exception to this rule. Since in a Vishnu temple, the major theme is the various forms and avataras of Lord Vishnu, these have repeatedly been shown in the sculptures of this temple. Various forms of Narasimha, well known scenes from the Ramayana, the Krishna Leela scenes, scenes from the legends connected with the Dashavataras, and a host of other connected vaishnava themes and legends, are all represented in the sculptures of the various pillars of the Tirumala temple. Among the various

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

forms of Vishnu, Narasimha and Varaha became extremely popular under the Guptas, the Cholas, and the Pallvas and other dynasties and this tradition is continued right till today. Hence at the Tirumala temple there is a separate shrine for the Varaha avatara, which is also called Gnanappiran by the great vaishnavite alvar teachers. There are separate shrines for Yoga Narasimha at Tirumala and for Laxmi Narasimha at Alvar Tirtham. These forms are also repeatedly found as vimana devatas and gopura devatas in accordance with the rules laid down in the Agamas.

Similarly the Ramayana story which has influenced Indian life and culture for well over 2000 years, is also well represented in this temple. There are separate shrines for the utsava murtis of Rama, Laxmana and Sita at Tirumala. During the Vijayanagara period, bhakti towards Hanuman reached a new height. This Lord became so popular that he came to be worshipped as Panchamukha Hanuman and these are also represented in the sculptures of the Govindarajaswamy temple.

If at all any one particular vaishnavite theme or legend can be said to be the most dominating and popular in the Tirumala temple, it is the story of Krishna as depicted in the Bhagavata. The legends connected with the Krishna avatara provide as much scope for the sculptor as for the poet. Rural scenes like living quarters of the shepherds, the day to day life of gopikas, the milking of cow or churning of butter-milk, playful scenes of the Lord as a child, are all depicted true to the popular Indian tradition and culture of a rural atmosphere.

Other agamic aspects of Lord Vishnu, such as Hayagriva, Adimurti, Varadaraja and Srinivasa are also well represented. The holy weapon of the Lord, Chakra is worshipped in a separate shrine as Sudarshana chakra and some powerful representations of this are found at Tirumala.

Also in accordance with Sri Vaishnava tenets, great importance is given to Sri or Laxmi in this temple. According to Ramanuja who laid down the basic tenets of Vaishnava worship, which are known as Sri Vaishnavism or Sri Sampradaya, Sri or Laxmi is the Supreme goddess who pleads like a mother with the Lord of the universe to shower his grace on his devotees, since she being the universal mother, is the very embodiment of compassion. This aspect of the mother, and the reverence and affection with which she is held by the devotees, is brought out in the well known suprabhatham of which one verse is given below:

“O’ Mother of all the worlds! You dwell permanently at the Vaksha-
sthala of Lord Vishnu who destroyed the demons Madhu and

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Kaitapa; you are the beloved of supreme Lord Venkatesvara; You with effulgent divine beauty are our eternal mother; You grant all the wishes of your devotees; O' supreme consort of the supreme Lord Venkatesvara, may the awakening (suprabhatam) be an auspicious one to you."

Another peculiarity of Sri Vaishnava temples is the existence of a separate place of worship and honour to the alvars and the acharyas of whom the famous saint andal is one. There is a temple of andal in the Govindaraja swamy temple. The Amuktamalyada of Krishnadevaraya pays special homage to her. Her soul-stirring compositions of Tiruppavai are still sung every day in the shrine of Tirumala. Her divine marriage with the Lord of the universe is an important festival held on the Panguni-uttiram day.

The saints of Sri Vaishnava tradition are called divya suris. Their compositions are divyaprabhandas and the places prescribed by them are divya desas. Tirumala is a divyadesa, since all the saints have poured out the devotion of their hearts in exquisite poetry to the Lord of Vengadam. In the Tirumala temple though there are no separate shrines to them, they are all represented by sculptures on the pillars and their hymns are also regularly sung.

In consonance with the tradition of the Ramanuja school of thought, there is in the temple of Tirumala a shrine for Ramanuja the apostle of Sri Vaishnavism.

Another special feature of Sri Vishnu temples is the importance given to Vishvakṣena, ananta, and garuda. Vishvakṣena whom the Sri Vaishnavites call by the name Senaiyarkon is the custodian of the household of the Lord and occupies an important place in the Acharya parampara line. His icon is found in the temple of Tirumala. Similarly, Ananta the divine couch of the Lord and Garuda the divine vahana are constant attendants on the Lord. Sculptures of Garuda can be seen almost everywhere in the temple. Similarly, sculptures of the ashtadikpalakas like Indra, Varuna, Kubera, Agni etc., vidyadharas, apsaras etc., shankhanidhi and padmanidhi two of the navanidhis of Kubera the Lord of Wealth, kamadhenu, gajendra, simha, hamsa, kalpalatika etc., are all seen in the Tirumala temple.

The sanctity of the temple is so great that it is said that Siddhas and Yogis and Rishis who have attained great spiritual heights, as well as emperors and ordinary folk are present in the temple premises waiting to worship the Lord. These ideas have been fully brought out in this famous verse of Tiruppan alvar.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

SECTION II

THE DHRUVABERA OF THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA.

(i) *Tradition of a self-manifested idol:*

The Dhruvabera of Lord Venkatesvara and the complementary bronzes, with the Utsava murtis of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna make up the pantheon of Tirumala.

Tradition has it that the Dhruvabera of Lord Venkatesvara was not wrought by the hand of man and that the supreme Lord manifested himself in a form which could easily be comprehended by human beings. Thus we have Nammalvar's assurances that param has come down to Tirumala from his Divya Loka out of his own choice for our spiritual benefit. All the earlier alvars have also stated that the devas headed by Brahma daily worship Sri Venkatesvara on this hill as we do even now. Sri Ramanuja the great Vaishnava teacher in his mangalasloka of his great work "Sribhashya" lays stress on the great solace of the Lord for the salvation of mankind, and equals Brahma with Srinivasa. Hence traditional belief is that Sri Venkatesvara is self-manifested Brahma come to Tirumala for our salvation.

(ii) *The Agamic rule for making a deity:*

The agamas like vaikhanasa agama, the pancharatra agama, the tantras, and vishnu dharmottara, are the basic texts which lay down in precise detail the rules regarding the construction of a temple and the installation of murtis therein. In agamas the relative proportions of the idol, the posture of the body, the hands, the weapons to be borne by it, the jewellery to be adorned on it, are all laid down. If there is the slightest defect in execution or even a minute variation from the prescribed rule, that image would be considered unsuitable for consecration or worship and not used.

According to Sukraniti an image is ideal only when it elevates the lookers on to a higher plane of action and meditation. The eyes of images have particular appeal to the devotee, and as such the eyes should be perfect, be speaking satisfaction, and should neither be directed upwards, downwards or remain closed. According to the Pratima Mana Lakshna, the mouth should be 'slightly smiling, pleasant and possessed of all good signs.' The mouth should also not be sculptured as one that is 'passionate, impetuous, wrathful, sour, bitter or circular.' Again, according to the Pratima Mana Lakshna the head sculptured like an umbrella brings prosperity. Eternal prosperity is assured by an image with beautiful lines of eyebrows and fore-

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

head. The neck has to be conch like, the body in the posture of a lion, the arms like the trunk of an elephant, and thighs like the plantain tree. A beautiful belly and beautiful feet are symptoms of excellences in any idol. Sukraniti also lays down that images should be beautiful. Considerable freedom was however given in many cases to silpis to carve images while at the same time following the Sastraic principles. They had however to keep in mind that 'the characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and yoga' while making idols and images.

The agama Maricha Samhita broadly defines the Vishnu image into three types: Sthanaka (standing), Asana (sitting), and Sayana (lying) poses. Each of this is again divided into four classes depending on the physical and other attitudes of the Lord. These are Yoga, Bhoga, Vira and Abhicharika. The environment and purpose for which a murti is installed, decide the kind of idol which should be used. If for example the devotee prefers to follow the yoga marga, a yoga murti would be selected. Such a murti should be installed outside a village, or in the midst of forests, on mountain and hill tops, or at the confluence of rivers and on river banks. It should not be constructed in the heart of a town or village, as such a murti would bring about destruction of the place. A Bhoga Murti should invariably be installed in the heart of a town or village. A Vira Murti should be on the outskirts of a village. An Abhicharika Murti would be installed in forests, mountains, fortresses, at the outer limits of a Rashtra and facing the enemy country. The Tirumala temple is on a hill and in the midst of forests. It does not appear that at any time there was a fortress, or a village there. It might perhaps have been politically the boundary line between one country and another. The kind of image chosen would therefore be either Yoga or Abhicharika, and not Vira. Bhoga would be out of consideration.

The features of the Murti for each situation and type are also prescribed in the Agamas. There are three grades of temples depending on the complementary deities. These are called Utthama, Madhyama and Adhama (best, middling and low type). In the Utthama temple the Murti would be associated with the complimentary deities, Brahma, Sankara, Markandeya, Bhrgu, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara etc. etc. In the Madhyama type Marken-deya etc., would be omitted but Brahma and Siva retained. In the lowest type Brahma and Siva also would be omitted, leaving the Murti to stand alone. The above rule governs the installation of Yoga, Bhoga and Vira Murtis alike. In the case of an Abhicharika Murti, however, there is only one type, the Adhama type and therefore, the principal Murti alone would be installed. Further, in the former types the temple would have

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Vimanams and the consecration would be on an auspicious day in Sthira Lagna (at any rate not in a chara lagna). For the Abhicharika Murti the installation should be at an inauspicious moment and in Chara Lagna. The temple should not have a Vimanam.

(iii) *General features of an idol of Vishnu*

Vishnu images have usually four arms, the ayudhas or weapons held in the hands usually being the Chakra, Sankha or conch, the Bow and arrows and the Gada or club. The other weapons of Vishnu include the khetaka or the shield, the katari or the sword, the parasu or the battle-axe, hala or the plough, and sometimes the whip (for Gopi-Krishna) images. The hands are usually in the abhaya, varada or katyavalambita poses. It is however relevant to note here that the Yogasastra recognises twenty five kinds of mudras in images. The Abhaya pose is the one in which the Lord holds his hand aloft, with the right palm facing the devotee with all the fingers of the hand pointing upwards. This is a pose in which the Lord assures his protection to the devotee—relieving him from fear *i.e.*, Bhaya. The Varada hasta is the pose in which the Lord holds his hand with the palm facing the devotee with all the fingers of the hand pointing downwards. This pose signifies that the Lord is a giver of boons. According to the Maya-sastram however, “when the tip of the thumb is placed at the end of the breast, it is the attitude of abhaya or protection of God. If the hand is on the waist, it is said to be the attitude of giving vara or boon.” The Katyavalambita hasta pose is the one in which the Lord keeps his hand (left hand) on the kati or waist. This is a pose that indicates that the Lord's protection and grace is available to those worshipping him with constant devotion. According to another interpretation, it indicates that Samsara is knee-deep only to those devoted to the Lord's feet. Vishnu images are shown to carry several ornaments such as the Padma or the lotus, Kirita or the crown, Makara Kundalas or crocodile ear ornaments, Keyura or armlets, Kankanas or wristlets, Udara-bandhas or ornaments around the waist, Katibandhas or ornaments around the waist and the hips, the sacred thread etc. There is usually a mole on the right chest called the Srivatsa, and a garland reaching up to the knees called the Vijayantimala. Sri Kaustubam is a gemstudded jewel on the chest which is sacred to Lakshmi. The consort of the Lord is usually carved or exhibited near the Srivatsa and the Sri Kousthubam.

The Yoga murtis are depicted generally in the yoga mudra, and in the sthanaka pose. The Lord has four arms with Sankha and Chakra in the

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

upper two hands. The other two hands are in the abhaya and katyavalambita poses. Yoga sitting idol is described in the Gherandasamhita as follows:—

“While squatting turn the feet upwards; place them on the knees; then place the hands on the asana with the palm turned upwards; inspire and fix the gaze on the tip of the nose.”

A fine example of this pose is Sri Badrinarayana of Badrinath. The Sayana or reclining Yoga murti has only two hands of which the right is placed near the pillow under the head. The typical yogasana sayana murti is the image of Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam in South India. The Bhoga image of Lord Vishnu has also four arms with the Sankha and Chakra in the sthanaka pose. The hands are usually in the Abhaya, Varada, or Katyavalambita poses. As a Sayana murti the Bhoga form is sculptured as seated in the sukhasana, in which the right leg hangs down and the left leg is folded to touch the right thigh. The reclining Bhoga murti has two or four arms and a well built body. In this type Laxmi is depicted as seated near the shoulder of the Lord; Brahma near the naval of the main idol; and Bhudevi near the feet of the Lord.

The Vira type of Vishnu image in the sthanaka pose is practically similar to that of the sthanaka yoga murti except that he stands alone or is surrounded by the sun, the moon, Brahma and Siva. The sitting Vira murti is seated on a simhasana, with the left leg bent and the right leg extended in front. The reclining Vira murti has four arms of which one is used as pillow and the other holding the Chakra with one of the left hands stretched out parallel to the reclining murti and the second left hand holding the Sankha.

The Abhicharika variety is usually dark complexioned and the sculpture shows the angry pose to exhibit ugra rasa. The sthanaka image has two or four arms; the seated image has either two or four arms and is on an unornamented plain pedestal; the reclining idol is shown lying on the floor with two or four arms. The consorts of the Lord are not in attendance in this type of image, but the rishis and the demons Madhu and Kaitaba are shown in the act of supplication.

Thus we have in the agamas, three types, the sthanaka, asana and sayana form of the idol, each of which is divided into four classes namely Yoga, Bhoga, Vira and Abhicharika, each of which has also three grades of temples like Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. Thus there are in all 36 different types of Vishnu image out of which any particular image has to be specifically identified.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(iv) *The type of idol of Lord Venkatesvara as per Valkhanasā agama:*

The idol of Lord Venkatesvara at Tirumala is clearly seen to be a standing one which makes it fall only under the sthanaka type. Hence a sthanaka image, according to the agamas, can be of the Yoga, Bhoga, Vira or Abhi-charika type, each of which would have three sub-types namely Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama murtis. Hence the image of the Lord of Tirumala could fall only under one of the above twelve divisions.

The details of an image of any of the above twelve types mentioned according to the Marichasamhita are detailed here in a tabular form.

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Type of idol.</i>	<i>Colour of idol.</i>	<i>Number of hands, what they should hold and their pose.</i>	<i>Other deities or parivaradevatas to be sculptured near the main idol.</i>
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Yoga sthanaka uttama.	Shyama (dark)	Four arms. Sankha chakra to be shown. Right hand in abhaya pose and one of the left pose in katyavalambita pose.	Brigu and Markandeya to the right. Brahma with four arms in the right. Siva whose complexion should be white facing south.
2.	Yoga Madhyama Sthanaka	do.	do.	Parivara devatas Brahma and Siva to be absent.
3.	Yoga Adhama sthanaka.	do.	do.	Brigu and Markandeya to be absent.
4.	Bhoga Uttama sthanaka	do.	Four arms. Sankha and Chakra to be shown. One of the right hands in abhaya or varada pose and one of the left hands in katyavalambita simha karana pose.	Siva and Brahma to the right. Sri Devi with a lotus in the left and prasaritha dakhina hastha (extended right hand to the right). Bhudevi with prasaritha and dhruthotpala hastha on the left. Bhrigu, Vyasa, Tum-

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Type of idol.</i>	<i>Colour of idol.</i>	<i>Number of hands. what they should hold and their pose.</i>	<i>Other deities or parivaradevatas to be sculptured near the main idol.</i>
1	2	3	4	5
				bura, Narada, Sanaka, Sanatkumara, Surya, Chandra, Maya, Samhaldini, Vyayagini, Kinnara Mithuna and Vidyadhara yaksha.
5.	Bhoga Madhyama sthanaka	do.	do.	Tumburu, Narada Yaksha and Vidya-dhara to be absent.
6.	Bhoga Adhama sthanaka.	do.	do.	Surya and Chandra are absent.
7.	Vira Uttama sthanaka	Shyama (dark)	Four arms. Sankha and Chakra to be shown.	Brahma and Siva to the right and left. Bhrgu, Markandeya, Kishkinda, Sundara, Vyajaka, Sanaka, Sanatkumara, Surya and Chandra to be shown.
8.	Vira Madhyama Sthanaka.	do.	do.	Kishkinda, Sundara, Sanaka and Sanat-kumara to be absent.
9.	Vira Adhama sthanaka.	do.	do.	Surya, Chandra and the sages to be absent.
10.	Abhicharika Uttama Sthanaka.	Dhuma (colour of smoke).	Two or four. The idol should have dark lips, withered and dried up limbs, eyes turned upwards, exhibiting thamoguna.	All parivara devas and Brahma to be absent. To be surrounded by Paishachas and should be bereft of all auspicious gunas.
11.	Abhicharika Madhyama Sthanaka.	do.	do.	do.
12.	Abhicharika Adhama Sthanaka.	do.	do.	do.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

With the above details we can now try to pinpoint the type of the image of the Lord according to the Agamic rules.

Since the Lord is situated on a hill and in a forest where there was no village or fortresses in the earliest days, it should be either a Yoga Adhama sthanaka or Abhicharika sthanaka or Vira Adhama sthanaka murti. It is not likely to have been a Bhoga murti in those days. Since the temple has only one murti, it is an Adhama type.

The Yoga Adhama sthanaka type should have four hands with the two upper hands having the Chakra and Sankha, right lower hand in Abhaya while the left lower hand should be in the Katyavalambita posture. The presence of Sri Devi on the chest is not mentioned in the Agamas. In the idol of the Lord Sri Devi is carved on the right breast as an integral part of the image and not one subsequently invested as a detachable addition. As against this rule the lower right hand of the idol of the Lord is in the Varda Hastha and not in Abhaya Hastha while the Sankha and Chakra on the two upper arms are detachable and are not integral with the image. The image is therefore according to the agamic rules, not a Yoga Adhama sthanaka murti.

An Abhicharika sthanaka murti whether Uttama, Madhyama or Adhama, might have two or four hands but without any of the divine weapons. The posture of the hands whether Abhaya, Varada or Katyavalambita, is not laid down in the Agamas. Hence the image of the Lord could be of the Abhicharika sthanaka type but for certain other disabilities. The Abhicharika murti should have a shrunken chin, lean angas, that is, the hands, legs and body are to be shown as lean and it should also have upturned eyes exhibiting thamoguna. The idol of the Lord at Tirumala is however an extremely lovely figure, having well formed and well proportioned angas and with all the divine ornaments associated with the description of paravasudeva and with Sri Devi, the eternal mother as an integral part of the image. The image is therefore obviously not an Abhicharika sthanaka whether of the Uttama, Madhyama or Adhama sub-divisions.

The Vira type of image should have a Sankha and Chakra permanently and Sri Devi is not mentioned as part of the idol. Though the posture in the lower arms namely Varada or Abhaya is not specified, the presence of Sri Devi and Sankha and Chakra not being an integral part of the image, rule out this possibility also. As regards the Bhoga type of image, here also the Sankha and Chakra should be permanent and Sri Devi and Bhu Devi

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

should both be permanently on the breast. The other hand should also be in the Katyavalambita simhakarana posture which is not seen in the image of the Lord. The only ingredient specified in this type of the image is the Varada hastha position of the right lower arm.

Except that the Lord is Shyama or dark in colour and has four arms of which two are detachable, the application of the agamic rules establishes that the idol of Sri Venkatesvara does not fall under any of the types which the Agamas prescribe for installing a Dhruva murti.

It only remains now to examine whether the Lord conforms to the type of the Parabrahma or Para Vasudeva.

Different Samhitas describe Him differently in His Divyaloka. A short one given in Bhṛigu Samhita (33rd Adhyaya) shows that He has four hands, is invested with the five weapons or ayudhas; the two halves of His body are symmetrical and beautifully shaped; that he wears all the divya abharanas (jewellery); that Sri Devi ever abides in His Form and that He is full of all the Kalyana gunas and wanting in none, and that He shines with His six gunas (Shadguna). This description is not a detailed one. The weapons (divya ayudhas) are not in Sri Venkateswara's hands. The mention of the Shadgunas is worth noting. The Pancharatra Agamas describe Para Vasudeva in different terms, mostly as being seated on Ananta, the Divine Serpent. They are all out of place for a consideration of the problem here.

In the seventh chapter, sixth amsa of Vishnupurana there is a description given of the Murta Rupa of Vishnu for purposes of meditation. Four stages of meditation are mentioned. In the lowest the Murti is meditated upon as having all the weapons, all the bhushanas (ornaments) and with eight or four hands. In the next higher stage the meditation is upon the Murti, dropping out the divine weapons; in the next higher even the bhushanas or ornaments are also left out. In the next higher only the principal angas such as body, two hands etc., are presumed to be seen. This description states that the Murti has a Prasanna (spotless and brilliant) face, beautiful eyes shaped like the petal of the lotus flower, beautiful temples, broad fore-head, Kundalas (ear ornaments hanging down the even earlobes), the kantham (or neck) shaped like the right-handed Sankham (Chank), broad chest with Sri Devi seated on the Srivatsa marks, Udara (or belly) in three folds as it were, a deep seated navel, long hands eight or four in number, well knit and symmetrically shaped thighs, spotless pitambara clothing with ornaments such as Kiritam (crown), Haram (necklace) Keyuram (shoulder ornaments), Katakam etc.,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

rings on the fingers and toes. The ayudhams (weapons 'in his hands) are Sarngam (bow), Sankham (conch), Gada (mace), Khadgam (sword), Chakram (disc). Akshamala (garland of beads) is in the sixth hand; of the remaining two hands one is in the Abhaya posture and the other in Varada posture. When only four hands are meditated upon Sankham, Chakram, Gada and the lotus flower adorn them. The above description in full is of the form for the lowest stage of meditation. This description does not apply to the form of Sri Venkatesvara. In the next higher stage all the weapons are left out and the four hands would therefore be free. All the bhushanamas or ornaments however remain on the Murti. This description would apply to the Murti form of Sri Venkatesvara in a general way. The lower hands have however a definite posture, the right Varada and the left Katyavalambita and corresponds to a Murti for meditation in the second stage. The idol of the Lord at Tirumala does not correspond to these rules also.

From a detailed examination of the agamic rules, one can therefore only come to any of the two following conclusions.

- (a) The idol of the Lord at Tirumala was conceived and executed at a time before the Agamas were codified and came into being, or
- (b) The image is a class by itself and from the earliest days, has been so conceived and made by the sculptor, as to drive home the point that the Lord is self-manifest or Swayambhu.

(v) *A description of the idol of Lord Venkatesvara*

The idol of the Lord is a majestic, beautiful and superbly executed one. The full majesty, divine grace and unbounded compassion of the Lord is clearly manifest even to the uninitiated either when the Lord gives darshan draped in all his clothes and ornaments, or on Friday the abhisheka day, when these are removed when the Lord's full glory is revealed in all its pristine purity. The most arresting feature of the Lord is the permeating aura of an overpowering sense of divinity, that is so utterly compassionate, that pours out love and desire to help if only one turns to Him. His facial expression with long and dark eyes in 'sama drishti,' and with an eternal smile is extraordinarily tranquil and beautiful, reflecting a sense of complete love and serenity, that envelops all living creatures in its benevolence. People who can rise above mere sectarian difference, and respond to the Divine wherever he is, will be struck with the same divine concordance which one has in the Sistine Chapel or in the presence of the blessed saints, who have adorned the Christian Church

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

during the middle ages, and whose smile as in the case of the Lord of Tirumala, transforms their faces into that of a child, and enchants us with its bewitching vibrant potent power. The Lord of Tirumala, is a supreme pontiff, who cares not for worldly power, and because he is in all, all are part of him, and if we surrender to Him, our cares are His. And when the eternal takes care of our cares, whom should we fear, and what should we worry about. He asks only one price for it viz., our love, and how easy is it to pay!

The Lord's figure is richly adorned with flowing locks of hair or jatajuta and some of these locks of curly hair rest on his shoulders. The nose is delicately carved and is neither prominent nor flat. The mouth of the Lord is also exquisitely shaped. The chin and the ears are carved proportionately. The ears have beautiful ear ornaments. The chest of the Lord is magnificent in cut and size and should, if measured, be between 36 to 40 inches in width, while the waist would be between 24 to 27 inches. The neck is conch-like and the body in the posture of a lion and exquisitely shaped. The belly is also beautifully modelled. The Lord's image has four arms, the upper two being carved to hold the chakram and the conch; the chakram and the conch are not integral parts of the main idol. The upper right arm holds the Sudarshana Chakra; the upper left arm holds the Panchajanya, the conch of Lord Vishnu which is blown by Him in times of war. The lower right hand of the Lord is in the Varada Hasta pose, while the lower left hand is in the Katyavalambita pose. Actually the fingers of the left hand rest on the left thigh, with the thumb of the hand almost parallel to the waist line. While the idol itself is not exactly standing in the tribhanga pose, the body near and below the waist has taken a slight tilt to the left and the knee themselves are bent and open slightly outwards, giving the idol peculiar grace and charm. Mother Lakshmi is carved on the right chest of the Lord in the sitting pose and is an integral part of the mula murthi. The yagnopavitam and a set of four necklaces or ornaments of the neck can also be clearly made out on the idol. The arms have armlets. The figure is depicted as wearing a dhoti from the waist downwards, while the upper portion is not covered by any dress or vastram. The nipples of the Lord on his chest are button-like and are prominent. There is however a katibandham or waist band and this waist band is about 2 inches thick. The legs and feet of the Lord are beautifully shaped, strong and lissome. Both the knees are bent and open slightly outwards, giving the stately figure charm and grace. The feet are models of perfection and have ornaments near the anklets. The Lord's image has on the shoulders marks resembling 'scars made by the constant wearing of the bow and a pack of arrows.'

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The idol is a splendid specimen of a divya manohara murti. He is to one and all a real embodiment of that eternal principle which is imperishable and which out of its own grace and kindness stretches forth its hand, and touches man, to make him remember what he really, is, and to recover his soul. One who has had darshan of the Lord of Tirumala will never again hate another. A darshan is a spiritual experience in itself, after which one feels completely different from what he was before. Many go to him with a long list of requests and prayers. But whether one's request is fulfilled or not, anyone turning to Him with sincerity and prayer, will feel the power and presence of an intangible and agreeable sensation overpowering his troubled emotions.

Who can describe him who is beyond speech and try to encompass in time Him who is timeless? We in our vanity think of serving him. But whatever we do, the love of the Lord and his ever flowing grace is there, and whatever else may nor may not be added to a devotee, one thing is certain, that mental peace, joy and a strength to sustain anything which the Lord chooses to give us would be added to us.

If ever any proof is required that temples are live institutions, the Lord at Tirumala is a verifiable truth.

(vi) *Is the idol of the Lord a Vaishnavite or Saivite one.*

There has been a persistent controversy going on, whether the image of the Lord at Tirumala is a manifestation of Vishnu or Siva. There is also a view that it represents Subramanya and another extreme view that the idol represents Shakti. These are questions which time and again agitate the minds of devotees and pilgrims who intensely believe in the sanctity of this great temple. It is therefore necessary that this should be examined in detail and settled once and for all.

(a) *An examination whether the idol of the Lord is a Saivite idol.*

In support of the school that the image of the Lord is that of Siva, the following reasons are generally adduced.

- (a) The Lord's Makuta or crown which is more than 20 inches high, is richly adorned with flowing locks of hair or Jata Juta with some of the locks of curly hair resting on the shoulders.
- (b) The arms have armlets with finger like projections which appear to be Nagabhushanam and a Naga is depicted as coiled around the Lord's right arm.

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

- (c) The puja is done in the temple with bilva leaves which are used only in the archana to Lord Siva.
- (d) There is a crescent mark on the head of the Lord which also indicates that the idol is that of Lord Siva.
- (e) The Lord is in the centre of the Garbha griha, and therefore it is a Saivite murti.
- (f) A crystal Lingam is present in the Tirumala temple which proves that the temple was in ancient days a Saivite one and later converted to Vaishnava worship after the reforms in the temple like nityarchana, etc, by Sri Ramanuja.

The above views are totally untenable.

In the first place it is incorrect to state that the Lord's makuta has a jatajuta which resembles that of the image of Lord Siva. The main characteristics of the Dhruva Bera of Sri Venkatesvara are as follows:

- (i) Sri Devi on the right breast seated on the Sri Vatsa.
- (ii) The scars on the shoulders.
- (iii) Free and easy posture of the two upper hands into which Sankham and Chakram have subsequently been placed.
- (iv) The varada posture of the lower right hand and the Katyavalambita posture *i.e.*, holding the hand inner to the left of him of the lower left hand.

It must be admitted that the varada posture *i.e.*, the palm and the fingers pointing downwards is not associated with any of the agama forms of stanakamurti. As already explained above, the idol of the Lord is Svayambhu or self-maintaining or if any rational interpretation of the agama texts is to be given, the idol must have been made at a time when the agamic texts were not codified and hence this must be one of the most ancient idols of the Country. The palm and the fingers of the idol are open and point downwards to the right foot significantly reminding a devotee of the Supreme grace of the Lord to grant all boons to the worshippers who seek refuge at the feet of the Lord. This seems to have a bearing on the boon granted unasked to Mahabali by the Lord. Nammalvar makes a reference to this episode. Sri Alavandar, the great Vaishnava saint in his stotraratnam also praises the Lord and prays that the Lord's feet should be placed on his head. In the Trivikrama pose of Lord Vishnu, he points to his right foot, to ask Bali as to what he

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

has to offer, after all the entire universe had been measured up by the Lord in two steps. At that stage, Mahabali who had nothing else to offer offered his head, and Trivikrama bestowed on Mahabali the highest boon which a human soul could ask or aspire for viz., absorption into the holy feet of the Lord. This seems to be the explanation of the Varada posture of the idol at the time when the agamic texts were not codified.

The position in the fingers and specially that of the thumb of the left hand in the hip and the thigh suggests that the Kodanda bow of Srirama which was deemed to have passed inside of the thumb should be maintained in a steady position.

Another important feature of the idol is the pralambasutra and the katisutra, the former the sacred thread or Yagnopavitam and the latter the string round the loin called in Telugu, 'molatadu.' They characterise Sri Vishnu alone.

That the idol is undoubtedly that of Vishnu and not of Siva can be inferred from the following:

- (a) The Kaustubha hanging centrally in the Chest is a characteristic of Sri Vishnu. This is also described in the ancient Tamil classic Silappadhikaram, and this is as old as the early Christian eras.
- (b) According to the agamic rules a Kautuka bera should be an exact representation of the Dhruva Bera. A close examination of the Kautuka Bera of Tirumala will establish that it is undoubtedly that of Lord Vishnu only.
- (c) Factually there is nothing like a Nagabharanam on the form of the idol of Dhruvamurti. The gold ornament or plating worn on the arm is a subsequent present made by devotees. Naga or adishesha is invariably associated with Vishnu and the mantrapushpam which is daily recited in the temple makes reference to this.
- (d) There is also factually no jata on the head of the idol of the murti of the Lord. There is also no Srichakram or yantra on the kiritam of the Idol.
- (e) Even Acharya purushas do not enjoy the privilege of closely inspecting the Druva Bera. So far as one could observe the idol from Kulasekhara padi to which only entrance is given to a devotee, and based on the evidence of the most observant archakas over a number of years, it can be factually ascertained that there is no serpent

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

anywhere in the garbha griha, not to speak of its total absence of the body of the Deity. Somehow a misrepresentation has been created for long that this exists on the body of the idol, and this misrepresentation still persists though factually it is incorrect and inaccurate.

- (f) The so called simhalalata is only an ordinary ornamentation jewel including those which cover the crucial parts of the parts of the idols of the Lord and his consort. What exists on the idol is only a rough delineation which can by no account be associated with the face of a lion. This kind of ornamentation can be seen on many idols.
- (g) The nagabharana is not an ornament integral with the body of the Lord and it connotes nothing in particular. The naga is one of the nityas ever present with Vishnu.
- (h) Bilva leaf with which puja is done is not exclusive to Saivite worship alone. It can be used as one of the eight punya pushpas even in the worship of Lord Vishnu. The following authorities prove the fact:—

(i) Padmasamhita 12th Adhyaya (Charyapada)

(ii) Brigu Samhita

Both the agamas recommend the use of the bilva in the worship of Vishnu. Hence there is no special significance about the bilva leaf being used in the worship leading to an inference that the idol at any time was that of Lord Siva. On the other hand the fact that it is not used along with tulasi leaves so sacred to Vaishnava worship is a pointer that the bilva is used along with eight punya pushpas acceptable to Lord Vishnu.

- (i) The Agamic rules for the installation of stanaka asina or sayanamurti of Vishnu clearly lay down that the Dhruva bera should occupy the daivic seat. The image of the Lord is precisely in this seat. There is thus no force in saying that because the Lord is in the centre of the Garbha Griha it should be a saivite one.
- (j) The place of Yogalakshmi and Sri Vatsam on the idol of the Lord follow the exact rules given in Bhrigu Samhita, Lakshmi Kalpam, according to which Lakshmi should be in the upper portion of the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

right breast above the Srivatsam. The markings of Srivatsam depend on the rupam or form of the particular murti and there is no fixed rule about it. Broadly speaking Srivatsam represents the Mula prakriti and Lakshmi, the Abhishtana Devata, and the position of Lakshmi on the idol of the Lord closely follows this.

- (k) So far as one could see there is no crystal Lingam anywhere in the Tirumala temple. Sometimes Sri Vidyaranya is said to have mentioned this. Sri Vidyaranya was a contemporary of Vedanta Desika who lived about 14th Century A.D. The temple has nearly 600 years of history of recorded inscriptions before that date and nowhere has a crystal Lingam been mentioned.
- (l) About the association of Kapila, which is represented by the Kapilesvara temple situated at the foot of the Hills, also, no significance need be attached since Kapila, Bhrigu, Ganesa, Durga, Siva and Brahma are all upadevatas in a Vaishnava temple according to the Vaishnava agamas.
- (m) The outlet from the Gomukham, the height of the garbha griha etc., are all sometimes mentioned as proofs of its being a saivite temple. These are all based on misconceptions as the architecture of the temple has evolved through many centuries.

Actually there is an outlet on the gomukha of the garbha griha and for various reasons it has not been working. The height of the garbha griha is a distinct and different proportion of the height of the murti and this rule has been closely observed in this case. Similarly the height of the dhruva bera pitha is consistently proportionate to the bhuvanga or height of the entrance.

It can therefore be conclusively stated that the idol of the Lord can by no standards be mistaken for that of Lord Siva, either now or at any earlier time.

(b) An examination whether the idol of the Lord is a Sakti idol

Sometimes it is stated that the temple was originally that of a Goddess and the idol represents Durga or some sort of Sakti. The reasons adduced for this view are as follows:

- (a) The temple is called by North Indians as Balaji temple and since Durga is known as Bala the idol of the Lord must be Durga or Sakti.

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

- (b) Tirumala Hill is called Meruchakram which is in the form of Devi or Sakthi.
- (c) Galigopuram is known as Kali Gopuram, and hence is a gopuram to Kali or Sakthi.
- (d) On the top of the central vimana a couchant lion which is the vehicle and the emblem of the Sakti is seen.
- (e) The 'drapery' of the Lord which is called in Tamil 'Ulchattu' is very long and resembles a sari and hence this proves the Diety as a Goddess viz., Durga or Sakti.
- (f) Sandal paste is used in worship which also indicates the idol is that of Goddess.
- (g) Turmeric which is a peculiarty feminine cosmetic is used in the abhisheka. Also certain types of offerings to the Lord show that it is more consistent to hold that the idol is that of Durga or Sakti at any rate at an early date.
- (h) A verse in Devi Bhagavatam describes the Lord is Sri Venkateswari, the only diety of Kali yuga.
- (i) The abhishekam of the mula vighraha is done only on Fridays, which is a mangala snana day prescribed for women.
- (j) Thomalaseva is called Bhagavati aradhana and hence the worship is really to Sakti.
- (k) Sri Sukta mantras are recited during the abhisheka of the Lord which again prove a sakttheya type of worship.

The above reasons which are generally used as proof that the idol of the Lord is that of Durga of Sakti do not bear any close scrutiny.

They are untenable for the following reasons:

(a) *above:* The fact that North Indians call the Lord as Balaji is of very recent origin as can be seen from the inscriptions of the temple. There is no mention of the word 'Balaji' anywhere in any inscription or any literary reference to the temple before the 17th Century A.D. In fact, North Indians commenced going to Tirupati only from the days of Shivaji i.e., in the middle of the 17th century A.D. and hence the North Indians' description of the Lord can have no bearing whatever on the antiquity of the temple.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Alternatively Sri Vishnu is closely associated with the Krishnavatara where Lord Krishna is shown as an infant. In the Bhagavata the words "Tamadbhutam Balakamambujekshanam" occurs in describing the darshan which Sri Krishna gave to his father soon after his birth. It is possible that the word Balaji may be derived not from Bala, which is a synonym for Durga, but from Balaka which is the name in the Bhagavata to Krishnavatara with which this temple is closely associated.

In any case no serious reliance could be placed on this argument since North Indian influx to the temple is only of very recent origin, and till the time of the Vijayanagara period, we have no information that the temple used to attract pilgrims of the North in such numbers as now.

(b) *above:* The range of the Hills has always been called as Vengadam. Even the name of Seshachalam is of recent origin. Hence the shape of Meruchakram which is in the form of Devi has no relevance to the Hill which is known always as Vengadam and the Lord as Venkatachalapati.

(c) *above:* There is clear epigraphical evidence that the galigopuram itself was constructed only in 1628 A.D. by a Sri Vaishnava by name Matla Anantaraja whose name is also given in the inscription. The builder is a well known Srivaishnava and it is inconceivable that he would have built in a Vaishnava Temple of the 17th Century, a gopura for Kali. This argument has no basis whatsoever.

(d) *above:* The temple vimana has a small lion which is also used as an emblem for Sakti. The lion symbol however is not exclusively used only as a Sakti symbol. Both the Vaikhanasa and Pancharatra agamas which govern a Vaishnava temple, clearly lay down that either a lion or a garuda may be placed on the corners. The Bhṛigu Samhita (Vimana Devata) makes this clear.

The Agamic rules require that not only on the top of the Vimana, but also on the top of the mandapas either a lion or the garuda should be placed. Normally a lion is selected to overcome the enemies of the area, when the location of the temple is such where recurrent invasions are expected; if a temple is situated in a secluded and remote corner, then garuda is used for mainly spiritual and cultural ends.

It is known to us from the epigraphs of the temple that the vimana as it stands at present was built by Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya of the 13th Century A.D. The silpis of that king had the option to choose either a lion

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

or a garuda. They had apparently chosen the lion as the patron king being Viranarasingaraya, had the name of the lion in his own name.

Even if Ganesa and Durga had been placed somewhere they would not go against the agamic rules of a Vaishnavā temple, since in our temple complexes all the Gods are recognised as paravaradevatas. Hence the presence or absence of one particular God or emblem here and there, is in no way a pointer to the type of the idol.

(e) *above:* The 'Ulchattu' is no doubt very long. Here again a careful study of the epigraphs reveals that the 'Ulchattu' is of very recent origin only. It is long on account of the number of heavy ornaments and ayudhas with which the idol is decorated. The idol is an object of reverent and devout worship and the utmost care is to be taken to see that the ornaments do not scratch the idol. Thick padding cloth is required for this, and a long Ulchattu is therefore needed to serve only this utilitarian end. It has nothing to do with the idol being that of the Lord or the Lord's consort. If one could extend this argument, one could also say that a ten cubit dhoti, which is worn by a man on auspicious occasion, is proof that a man is a woman!

(f) *above:* Here again a careful study and perusal of the epigraphs of the temple would prove that the sandal has been included only from the 15th Century A.D. from the Vijayanagara period. Before that date it is absent. Perfumed sandal paste adorns Sridevi on the chest by night and the two billas are also placed at the feet of the Dhruva bera. Vishnu is traditionally called in Hindu pantheon as alankara priya as Siva is abhisheka priya, and the gandha or the sandal smell is sacred to Lord. Sandal can be offered to men and women as an auspicious mark and there is nothing feminine about it.

(g) *above:* Factually turmeric bath is not given to Lord Srinivasa on Fridays. Saffron paste is added to the water. For the Snapana Tirumanjanam of all Vishnu Murtis, turmeric is one of the ingredients. This is nothing particular to this temple. Neither vada or payasam is offered to the deity after the bath. Poli is offered during the second bell. Even this custom is of recent origin and has no antiquity behind it.

(h) *above:* The Devī Bhagavatam describes the Lord as Sri Venkatesvari as every god has a Sakthi aspect. It has no other significance.

(i) *above:* It is seen from the agamas that there is always need for a smaller idol viz., the Bhogamurthy other than the Dhruva bera since in the Dhruva bera paryanka asana or abhisheka etc., are impracticable.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The Friday abhishekam appears to be an ancient custom as is seen from the epigraphs. The Bhogamurti is generally installed in temples so that the abhishekam could be performed to it instead of the Dhruva bera. It is possible that when the Bhoga Srinivasa or the Manvalapperumal was consecrated here the abhishekam for the Dhruva bera was performed since it was a historic occasion in the history of the temple. As it happened to be a Friday, on all subsequent Fridays, a custom has been established by which the Dhruvamurti is given a ceremonial abhishekam. This practice of Friday abhishekam therefore is quite consistent that the idol of the Lord being that of Vishnu and seems to be connected with the nityarchana vidhi necessitated at the time of the installation of the Bhoga Srinivasamurthy, in the 9th Century A.D.

(j) *above*: Thomala seva is derived as a corrupt form from the Tamil word 'Thodutta malai' which means flowers that have been put together into a garland. This type of the decoration of Dhruva bera is customary in the temple and the expression Thomala seva is intended only to call the pilgrims' special attention to the flower decoration which takes place at the end of the puja. Garlands in the temple are made in several pieces, each piece being of a particular size so that the decoration could be done without waste of time, and in a grand manner. The term bhagavati aradhana of which there does not seem to be any authority, even if it exists could only be a corrupt form for bhagavad aradhana which clearly means the worship of the Lord only.

(k) *above*: It has already been mentioned that the idol is Swayambhu or a self-manifested one. The Lord here combines within himself all the aspects of all deities. Hence not only Srisukta is recited but also Purushasukta and also three other suktas.

The fact that the Srisukta figures as one of the five suktas recited during abhisheka, of which the purusha sukta is the first, is therefore no proof to suppose that the idol was at any time that of Sakti.

It is thus clear that the idol of the Lord could never have been at any time conceived as the representation of the Goddess.

Conversely it can be stated that all the characteristic features of a Sakti idol viz., full breasts, etc., and other peculiarities common to an idol of the Goddess are totally absent in this. There can therefore be no doubt whatsoever that the idol could never have been worshipped at any time as that of Sakti.

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(c) *An examination whether the idol can be of Subramanya.*

It is also suggested that the temple could be that of Subramanya mainly for the reason that the 'pushkarini' is being called as 'swami pushkarini' and swami is an abbreviation for Kumaraswami.

This is really no argument since the term 'swami' need not necessarily apply only to Kumaraswami which is the name of the Lord Subramanya. The term 'swami pushkarini' can also be interpreted as the swami of all pushkarinis i.e., the best of all the holy tirthas. Also the tirthas associated with Kumaraswami are never known as 'pushkarini,' but only as Kumaradara. We have the authority of the Varaha purana which states that the 'Swami Pushkarini' is a tank which Vishnu brought down to earth from Vaikunta. Moreover, all the puranas state that Skanda came to worship Vishnu at Tirumala and it is inconceivable that a God that came to worship could be deified as the presiding god. Moreover the Lord's image has only four arms and one face whereas Skanda normally has six faces and twelve hands. This identification is totally not correct.

From the detailed examination of all the above points it can be seen that the idol is and has been all along a Vaishnava idol only.

Before the 8th Century A.D., we have the literary evidence of the mystic outpourings of the Alvars. All these sayings of the Alvars invariably refer to Vishnu alone and there are many instances and quotations in the alvars' compositions where it could be conclusively established that throughout the ages the idol has been recognised as that of Lord Vishnu.

It must be made clear here that the external manifestation of the Lord at Tirumala is only that of Lord Vishnu, but He being a sarvabhutantaratma, can be worshipped and is being worshipped as Siva by Saivites, as Skanda by those who worship Subramanyaswami, as Divine Mother by those who worship Devi or Sakti. The Lord of Tirumala is not a mere sectarian God, though the outward form is undoubtedly that of Lord Vishnu only. He is Vishnu, Siva, Rudra, Brahma, Maheswari, Mahakali, Mahakshmi, Mahasaraswati, Skanda, or any other form to any devotee who conceives of the Lord in that aspect. All the upacharas or the services rendered to this idol are in effect rendered to the eternal Lord. This is the real secret of the Lord of Seven Hills.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

SECTION III.

The Other idols in the Garbha Griha of the Tirumala Temple.

(i) Bhoga Srinivasa—The Kautuka Bera.

This idol is made of silver and was consecrated by the donor, the Pallava queen, Samavai in 966 A.D. The donor's consecration is recorded in an epigraph on the northern wall of the temple prakaram which is perhaps the earliest inscription in the temple. This mentions that Queen Samavai also called as Kadavan-Perundevi and queen of Sakti-Vitankan arranged in the 14th regnal year of her lord and king Koppatra-Mahendra-Panmar for a daily offering of 4 nali of tiruvamudu, (cooked rice) and a perpetual lamp, (nandavilakku) for tirumanjanam on the two ayana-sankrantis and the two vishu sankrantis, and for celebrating the purattasi festival commencing from the two days before the main festival and to conduct the festival for nine days and also installed in the Tiruvilankoyil (by which name the garbha griha of the temple was then known), this idol after performing special worship of the God of the sacred Venkata Hill. She also presented gold ornaments worth 47 kalanjus. Lands were also endowed to the new Kautuka Bhera, named Manavalapperumal and the managers of the temple (called as madapatyan) were enjoined to conduct the services and the sabhaiyar were ordered to protect the endowed lands from being taxed.

This idol is a true copy of the Dhruva Bera except that the Sanka and Chakra are permanently fixed in the case of Bhoga Srinivasa. On the pitham and below the feet of the Kautuka Bera, is an Yantra, as if two equilateral triangles are symmetrically interplaced one being an invert of the other. It is possible that such an Yantram might have existed originally in the idol of the Lord also. Nammalvar gives in one of his verses (3-4-4) a beautiful description of the feet of the Dhruva Bera which states that the feet of Tiruvengadamudayan has a figure representing radiating arms. This might possibly represent the Shadgunya Yantra. Nammalvar's song was composed about two centuries earlier than the installation of the Manavalapperumal. The yantra of this type would perhaps represent the six gunas of para and vyuha which are recognised by the Vaikhanasa Agama also.

The Bhoga Srinivasa gets abhisheka every morning, accompanied by mantras, unlike the Dhruva Bera to which abhishekam is performed only on Fridays. At night this Deity is put to bed in paryankasana. During the daily Ekanta seva this idol is placed in a silver cradle in the Sayana mandapa

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and milk, etc., are offered to this Lord to the accompaniment of music and songs composed by the Tallapaka poets. Sandalwood paste is also applied to Him every night. One peculiarity of this service in this temple is that the Ekanta Seva is performed to the idol of Manavalapperumal for all months of the year, except one, viz., the Dhanurmasa, when the Ekanta Seva is done for the Krishna idol.

This idol was intimately connected with the main idol of the Dhruva Murti by means of a silk cord at the time of installation. A gold link and a silk cord is still attached to this idol when he is brought outside the sanctum sanctorum for deputising the Dhruva Murti on festive occasions.

(ii) Ugra Srinivasa or Snapana Murti.

This idol was once originally called as Venkatatturaivar and stands for the anger aspect of the Lord since he is also called Ugra Srinivasa. Apart from the Dhruva Bera, this is perhaps the earliest idol of the temple and in all probability this was used as the processional idol in the very early days. This is about 18" high and stands on a pedestal of about 7" height. The chakra of this image is in a slightly tilted condition and could perhaps be called the prayoga chakra. Sridevi and Bhudevi both as standing figures are also seen. The Tamil synonym Venkatatturaivar shows that He was the deity of the temple before Bhoga Srinivasa was consecrated. There are now three occasions of which Ugra Srinivasa alone figures viz., Uttana Ekadasi, Mukkoti Dvadasi and Dvadasaradhana. Legends have it that the rays of the sun should not touch this idol, and if they do, it would bring incalculable harm to the world.

(iii) Koluvu Srinivasa or Bali Bera.

Every day after the morning tomalaseva, a darbar called Koluvu is held in the Tirumamani mantapam when the Deity is brought and is seated in a silver chair with a gold umbrella above him. This idol officiates for the main idol during this function. Hence his name is Koluvu Srinivasa. He is akin to the guardian deity and supervises the temple household, and keeps himself posted with all the affairs and revenues of the temple. The panchangam or the calender of the day is also read out before him every day. It is also here that the matradanam of rice, the customary share of the archakas, is made. Though He is known as Bali Bera, he has never been known to have been taken out and offered Bali after the daily puja is over.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(iv) Sri Malayappan or Utsava Murti.

The first mention of this Deity under the name Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal is found in an epigraph about the year 1339 A.D. The idol is in a standing pose and is a replica of the Dhruva Bera. The two upper arms hold the Sankha and Chakra, the lower right arm is in the Varada hasta pose; and the left arm in Katyavalambita pose. This image has a very rich treasury of precious gems and jewels made of platinum and gold.

There is a legend that on one occasion during the Brahmotsava, a procession was going round the streets, when a fire broke out in the village which destroyed the houses. The archakas and the devotees did not know how this disaster happened. When sincere prayers were offered, God spoke through a man, and stated that the times have changed, and that the old Ugra Srinivasa who was the then Utsava murti should no longer be used as processional deity, and that in the glades of the mountain another Murti would be found, and only he should be used for this purpose. It is because of this anger, that the old Murti is perhaps known as Ugramurti. Tradition is that the new Murti with his consorts, was found at a place where the hill bowed very low, and hence he was called as 'Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal,' This long name got shortened into Malayappan in course of time. The glade where he is said to have been found is still known as Malayappan Konai.

In the order of preference the idols that represents the Druva Bera are Bhoga Srinivasa, Malayappa and his two consorts, Ugra Srinivasa and Koluvu Srinivasa. In the agamic terminology they would stand for Kautuka, Utsava, Snapana and Bali Bera. According to the agamic rules, the Kautuka Bera should be consecrated direct from the Druvabera and the Utsava Bera from Kautuka and similarity in that order, the Snapana and Bali Berams. The inscriptions in the temple, however do not mention Malayappa as Utsava Bera, nor the Bhoga Srinivasa as Kautuka Bera.

The idol of Lord Malayappa is about three feet height and stands on a lotus pedestal on a platform about 14" height. To right is the idol of Sridevi about 30" height, her pedastal being about 4." This is a pancha-loha idol. Her left hand is in the Kataka hasta pose, the right hand hanging loosely and the fingers held in the Gajakarna pose. Bhudevi is in standing pose. The only difference between her and Sridevi is that it is her right hand that is in the Kataka hasta pose and left in the Gajakarna mudra.

In one inscription found in the north wall of the Varadarajsawamy Temple, there is a reference to the 19th regnal year of Tribhuvana Chakravari

THE IDOL OF LORD VENKATESVARA TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Sriranganatha Yadavaraya in which mention is made of Malai Kuniyaninra Perumal and his Nachchimar., Hence the earliest epigraphical reference about this is of 1339 A.D.

(v) Sri Krishna idol.

In the Garbha griha there is a very beautiful idol of Lord Krishna in the navanitha nritya pose along with his consort Rukmini. The Lord is shown as a dancing child on his left foot on a lotus pedestal, the leg gracefully bent at the knee and not resting on the pedestal. The right hand holds butter, while the left is stretched out gracefully in a dancing pose.

The earliest inscriptional reference to this idol is of 1100 A.D. Other inscriptions refer to offerings made to Krishna on Sri Jayanti Day and also during the several Brahmotsavams. It is this idol that receives Ekanta Seva at night in the temple during the Dhanurmasa.

Neither the idol of Sri Krishna nor of Sri Rama (called as Raghunatha) enjoy daily puja. They only share in the nityarchana of Sri Venkateswara. Even the naivedyam intended for Sri Rama or Sri Krishna are first offered to Lord Venkatesvara only. But in aasthanas and processions etc., outside the Garbha griha this particular idol gets offerings direct. This procedure is distinctly mentioned in the epigraphs as in a Vijayanagara Inscription dated 12—8—1486 (142—G.T.)

(vi) Idols of Sri Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, and Sugriva.

Four copper idols of Sri Rama (known as Sri Raghunatha), Sita, Sugriva and Lakshmana find place in the sanctum sanctorum. These idols are not referred to in any inscriptions before 1476 A.D. Most probably when the present Ramarmedai was converted into a room by about 1245 A.D, these idols must have been placed there from which fact this place derives its name of Ramarmedai. One school of thought in that Ramanuja might have installed these in the temple.

The idol of Sri Rama is in the madhyama tala and tribhanga pose, the left arm raised to hold the bow and the right gracefully sloping downwards as if to hold the arrow. The idol is a standing or stanaka one, and has a kiritam or crown on it. Goddess Sita is to the right of Sri Rama in a standing pose, her right hand gracefully extended downwards, the left holding a lotus bud. The idol of Lakshmana is a similar replica of the idol of Sri Rama.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The figure of Sugriva is in the standing pose and the hands folded in an attitude of prayer. This has already been referred to earlier.

There are also beautiful copper idols of Angada and Hanuman exhibited separately in the Ramar Medai platform outside the shrine in the Antarala Mantapam. Opposite to them beautiful copper idols of Vishvak-sena, Ananta and Garuda are found.

(vii) The Chakrattalvar or Sudarshana.

This deity always precedes the Utsava Murti in processions. He however figures in separate procession on the ankurarpanam and on the tirthavari day of the Brahmotsavam on the Pushkarini bund in front of the Venkatesvara swamy temple.

DETAILS OF THE DAILY RITUALS AND WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

I. Introduction.

THE dominant Hindu ritualistic thinking is that an idol of God is really only a limited expression of the one inexpressible Supreme Brahman. The purusha sukta declares that God has a thousand heads (Sahasra Sirsha Purusha). There is therefore no limit to the many different varieties or forms used to represent different aspects of that Higher infinite which is ultimately formless. It is to focus, concentrate and lead the devotee's mind, by slow stages to the realisation of the infinite, that, in many sanctuaries and temples, worship and prayers are done, through well laid down principles of puja. Puja and temple worship act as powerful spiritual forces to raise a limited individual slowly to the realisation of the Godhead that is in him.

Lord Krishna classifies those who came to him into four main divisions;—

- (i) those in distress;
- (ii) those desirous of worldly gains;
- (iii) those seeking spiritual knowledge and understanding; and
- (iv) those who have already attained a high degree of spiritual wisdom.

Each of these categories also come to Sri Venkatesvara, the Lord of Seven Hills. His task is to give each what each asks for. The Lord's blessings

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

are poured out on all men equally, but anyone could only receive according to his evolution and according to his position on the ladder of spiritual attainment. The rays of the glory of the Lord fall equally on all who are directly in its way. But if someone is behind an obstacle or in a room he will receive only a part of the illumination.

Puja or daily worship if done according to the prescribed agamic rules is conducive to cultivating a higher spiritual yearning, which is like coming out from the confinement of the room into the glory of the sun's full rays. The Lord considers all as worthy of His help. He sheds his blessings on all, but it is the devotees' own limitations that condition what he receives. If his present need is for bodily health or material prosperity, that is what he gets. Those in the higher grades who are open to the Lord's full illumination get what they aspire for. Though they are fewer in numbers than the others, still such persons do exist. When one comes into contact with them one meets them with great joy and with a rare feeling of upliftment. It is for this gradual evolution from our material and earthly needs, through spiritual satisfaction, to a state of utter needlessness, when we can just bask in the glory of the Lord, for its own sake, that the agamic disciplines of puja and puja-vidhana are laid down.

II. The agama aspects of worship.

The worship in Tirumala temple is done strictly according to the Vaikhanasa agama. According to the Bhavisthyottara purana, Vaikhanasa Rishi is said to have admired the playful lilas of Lord Krishna in Dwapara Yuga and did Tapascharya to obtain darshan of Lord Krishna. The legend goes that Lord Krishna appeared before him and instructed him to worship the Lord as Srinivasa who manifested himself in a hill on Venkatachala and that one Rangadasa will help him to locate and worship the Lord. Vaikhanasa Rishi then proceeded to Tirumala and is said to have found the Lord with the help of Rangadasa and worshipped him. Thus Vaikhanasa Rishi, according to the legend, is the first person to worship the Lord at Tirumala. Hence in the temple to this day, worship is conducted according to the Vaikhanasa agama.

The Vaikhanasa agama recommends puja six times a day at the following times namely:—

- (i) Pratyusha (arunodaya).
- (ii) Prabhata (pratahkala).

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

- (iii) Madhyanna (noon).
- (iv) Aparanha (afternoon).
- (v) Sayankala (evening sandhi time); and
- (vi) Nisi (ardhayama or midnight).

There is no evidence that puja six times a day as prescribed above was ever done in Tirumala. Kulasekhara Alvar in Tirumoli 1-7 states that worship six times a day was carried on in Sriranga, but there is no such mention about Tirumala. At present except during the month of Margasira no puja is performed in the temple before day break; nor is puja done early in the morning soon after sunrise. The madhyanna puja roughly corresponds to the present thomalaseva and the archana when the first bell is rung. The aparanha puja roughly corresponds to the second archana and the second bell in the temple. Even this is done only in an abridged manner. The Sayankala puja is strictly a private function for the archakas etc., and the Nisi puja is said to correspond to the ekantaseva which is really no prescribed puja at all.

We can infer from the epigraphical records of the temple, that though the Vaikhanasa form of worship has been in vogue from ancient times, there was no strict observance of the Shadkala puja here. For example the early inscriptions of the Samavai, the Pallava Queen in 966 A.D. where she had consecrated the silver idol of Bhoga Srinivasa mentions only an offering of four nalis of food per day. This quantity of food would perhaps be sufficient for only one puja when the food would have been cooked as Havis and offered to the Lord. We have no evidence of the epigraphs for the performance ever of the Shadkala puja. There is one epigraph of 1434 A.D. of Tirukkalindridasan where an arunodayakala puja was instituted by him, but this was also limited strictly to the period of Dakshinayana kala. Thus both from epigraphical records and from present practice, it would appear that though the temple has been following the Vaikhanasa agama rituals of worship, strictly speaking the Shadkala puja which is an essential aspect of Vaikhanasa agama has not been followed here.

The Vaikhanasa agama says that the Shadkala puja is intended for the material welfare of the devotees. The Ushakalapuja promotes the increase of one's progeny and also of the cattle; Prathakalapuja leads to intensified japa and homa; the Madhyannapuja increases prosperity and promotes the enlargement of the kingdom; the Aparanhapuja brings about the destruction of evil doers; the Sayankalapuja leads to greater and increased agricultural production; and the Nisipuja increases the cattle wealth of the country.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The agamas themselves seem to have realised that strict adherence to the shadkala puja may not be possible or practicable for various reasons, and have prescribed that either shadkala puja or trikalapuja or dvikala puja or ekakalapuja should be performed to the Lord.

The Pancharatra agama liberalises this further than the Vaikhanasa agama and gives discretion to the temple to perform one, two, three, four, five, six or even twelve pujas according to the finances and the organising ability of the devotees.

In Tirumala at present there are only really three pujas, the one in the morning in conjunction with what is known as thomalaseva which is open to the public, another abridged puja in the afternoon, and the third puja at night which is strictly a private one in which the archakas, the paricharakas and the acharya pūrushas of the temple only take part.

The routine puja in the Tirumala temple is no doubt laid down according to the tenets of the Vaikhanasa agama, but there are some small deviations which were necessitated due to exigencies of circumstances. Strictly speaking the Vaikhanasa orthodox ritual prescribes that there is no room for puja for one who is not born in the Vaikhanasa agama and if practical considerations made necessary the participation of anyone else, he is called a devalaka. In the Tirumala temple the paricharaka is a sanyasi and the mantrapushpa is performed by the acharya purusha. Strictly speaking therefore these could not be considered to be born in the Vaikhanasa doctrine, but as devotees of the Lord they do participate in the puja.

III. Details of the routine daily puja and their times.

(N.B. The following description is the practice followed in the temple till a couple of years or so ago. From 1-3-79 the T. T. D. have changed the hours of the sevas so that they may all be finished before 6 A. M. to enable devotees to have free darshan uninterruptedly from 6 A. M. to midnight. The rates for the arjita sevas are also changed.)

(i) 4 a.m. to 4-30 a.m. (altered to 3 a. m. to 3-30 a. m, from 1-3-79 only in summer). **Suprabhatham:—**

During this time the '*Suprabhatam*,' '*stotram*,' '*prapatti*,' and '*mangala-sasana*' are recited. A descendant of Tallapakam Annamacharya sings a few of the Sankirtanas.

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Sri Venkateswara *Suprabhatam* consists of four items viz.,

- (a) *Suprabhatam* (waking the Lord from the sleep) consisting of twenty nine slokas,
- (b) *Stotra* (hymns to the Lord) consisting of eleven slokas,
- (c) *Prapatti* (surrender to the Lord) consisting of sixteen stanzas and
- (d) *Mangalasasana* (a prayer of the Lord's glory) consisting of fourteen stanzas, thus making altogether a total seventy slokas.

In the *Suprabhatam* the first verse is addressed to Sri Rama son of Kausalya, the second to Govinda and Kamalapati, the third and fourth to Sri Lakshmi and the next 24 slokas to Lord Venkatesa, praised variously as Venkatachalapati, Seshachalapati Srinivasa, Seshadrivibhu etc., etc. The last and the 29th stanza exhorts the devotee to aspire to 'paramartha' and 'moksha.'

In the *Stotra* the devotee earnestly addresses the Lord surrendering his all to Him and entreats His protection. The tenth sloka is a beautiful one where the devotee submits that having come from a long distance to worship at the Lord's feet he might be blessed by the Lord even though his visits are infrequent due to his own limitations, and that he might receive the Lord's blessings in full.

In the *Prapatti* or surrender, the first sloka is a prayerful adoration to Sri Lakshmi, the Supreme Mother who showers her grace on account of her eternal vastalya and entreats her as Bhagavati. The next 15 verses are in exquisite words and phrases of unparalleled grandeur and simplicity, where the devotee, with the complete annihilation of his ego, surrenders himself and his all, at the feet of the Lord. It would appear that the initial invocation to Sri Lakshmi is to invoke the supreme Mother's intervention before surrender to the Lord, as a child moves for the favour of the father through the mother. This idea is also contained in the 16th and the last stanza of the *Prapatti*.

The other verses of the *Prapatti* seek the glory of the holy feet of the Lord which have been declared by the Rig veda as the most exalted state of attainment, and which the Lord himself in the Dhruva Bera seems to point out by his hand even as Parthasarathi did to Arjuna.

In the *Mangalasasana* there is a moving verse viz., verse 9, where the Lord is supposed to indicate his own feet with his own hand as the sole refuge of all human beings. The devotee is enjoined to hope to be present at the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

behest of the Lord for all times, and to loose his limited soul in the eternal grace of the Lord. In fact this is the general experience of many a devotee who comes with devotion and utter surrender to the Lord. So tremendous is the divine charm of the beauty of the prasanna mangala murti of the Lord and His Excellence, that one forgets one's ego in the presence of the Lord.

The *Suprabhatam* is sung before the Bangaru Vakili after which the Bhoga Srinivasamurthy who was laid to bed in the Sayana mantapa is shifted again to the Garbha griha. Navanitha harati is offered to the Lord and a mixture of cow's milk, butter and sugar is offered to the Lord. The mixture of milk, butter and sugar is then given as prasadam to the devotees who have come for Sarvadarsanam of the Lord.

The composer of the *Suprabhatam* is supposed to be the Prativadibhayan-karam Annan who is said to have flourished during the closing years of Sri Vedantadesika.

Epigraphs do not give us any evidence as to how the morning was welcomed in the temple before the 15th Century. There is an epigraph of 1430 A.D. in which Sri Devaraya Maharaya made arrangements for the recitation of the Vedas; similarly there is no evidence to show that Tallapaka Prabandham was recited in the temple before 1476 A. D. The tamil prabhandham tirupallieluchchi, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *Suprabhatam* is not now sung during the *Suprabhatam*, but later at the commencement of the thomala-seva only. Epigraphs disclose that 1434 A.D. was the first year when an Arunodaya Sandhi offering was made to the Lord.

At present it can only be surmised that before the beginning of the 15th Century, the morning ritual of the temple was only one of silent prayer.

(ii) 4-30 a.m. to 5-30 a.m. **Visvarupa Sarva Darsanam.** (altered to 3-30 a.m. to 4-30 a.m. from 1-3-79 in summer).

The *Suprabhatam* is followed by *Visvarupa Sarva Darshanam* when all pilgrims waiting outside the temple are allowed to have free Darshan of the Lord. From 1-3-79 this is made an arjita or paid darshan, for those who purchase special darshan tickets of Rs. 25/- each.

There is a tradition in the temple that Brahma conducts worship every day to Lord Vishnu since the Lord self manifested himself there on the Hill and Brahma along with the Devas is said to have been doing puja there by every night for the spiritual benefit of all. Till today before the doors of the

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Garbha griha are finally closed, five gold cups (called vattils) of full and cleaned water with the spices required for puja as per agamas added to them, and with the other puja articles, are left at the feet of the Lord. Brahma is supposed to come and do the puja here at night.

The tirtham left in the vessels overnight are distributed to the devotees as prasadam. This is said to be the tirtham of the puja performed by Brahma and other devas at night. This Seva is called Sarva Darshanam to show that this is free for all on all days except on Friday morning.

(iii) 5-30 a.m. to 6 a.m. **Suddhi.** (altered to 4-30 a.m. to 5 a.m. from 1-3-79 in summer).

After Visvarupa Darsanam is finished the screen is placed in position at the Bangaru Vakili and suddhi is done in the sanctum sanctorum when all the previous flower decoration of the Dhruva Murti are removed and the vessels required for the puja are also cleaned. All the flowers except those which are required to adorn Vishvaksena as per agamic rules are thrown into a well so that they cannot be used by any other human being. Technically this is known as Nirmalaya Sodhana. Flowers are now thrown into the well constructed by Ranganada in the Sampangi Pradakshinam.

In the meantime water for the puja comes from the Akasa ganga water falls, the right to bring which rests with the family of one Tirumala Nambi; the pradhana acharya purusha of the Tirumala temple. It is this akasa ganga water that is used for the forenoon puja, the evening puja and this water is also used for the Brahma aradhana after the temple gates are closed for the night. The Vaikhanasa Samhita lays down that the puja water should be brought on the back of an elephant to dance and music. The Marichi samhita does not mention this. In the Tirumala temple at present water is brought in procession only on the days of the Brahmotsavam and even then water which is so brought is not used for the puja, but only what is brought on the head of a devotee to the temple.

(iv) 6 a.m. to 7 a.m. **Thomala Seva (Arjitam).** (altered to 5 a.m. to 6 a.m. from 1-3-79 in summer).

Arjitam means darshan or seva to the Lord on a payment of a fee to the temple. In this seva are included presence during the bath to the Bhogamurti, worship and decoration of the Lord with flower garlands through recitation of the prabhandam. Admission to this seva is by payment of a fee of Rs. 200/- i.e. the fee for amantranotsavam.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The word 'Thomala' apparently is a contraction for the Tamil word 'Thoduttamalai,' which means a garland of strung flowers. The flower garlands are made in several pieces so as to facilitate the decoration being done in a spectacular manner.

During the Thomalaseva water is offered to the Lord for his daily needs. Abhishekam is done to the gold covers which adorn the Mula vigraham as well as to Bhoga Srinivasa. The abhiseka is accompanied by the chantings of hymns. The Lord is then decorated with beautiful large strung flower garlands from which the name of Tomalaseva is derived.

The nityarchana then begins with the akasa ganga water being consecrated ritually and with some prescribed herbs and other articles mixed with it. The puja or archana is then done in the following manner to the Lord.

- (a) *Mantrasana*. During this the Lord is offered water for arghya, padya and achamana.
- (b) *Snanasana*: Since abhishekam everyday to Dhruva Beram is not possible, it is done only to the Kautuka Beram. The gold kavacham of the holy feet of the Dhruva murti are removed in a separate set and the abhishekam is also done to them daily. A large number of saligramams also is given abhishekam. The Bhoga Srinivasamurti or Kautuka Beram is detached from his jivasthana and placed in a special abhishekam seat called snapana pitham. A light clothing is provided and the abhishekam according to the rituals is done, accompanied by vedic hymns. Oil is also applied and then removed by tamarind paste and water. Then abhishekam is again done with gokshira, chandana, haridrodaka, each abhishekam, being followed immediately by a suddhodaka snana. Finally a gandhodaka snana is given and the abhishekam is closed with suddhodaka snana again. The Kautuka Beram is then dried with cloth, pushpanjali is done, and then it is restored to his Jivastana. After prokshana to the Dhruva Beram the golden link between the two is restored and pushpanyasa is done to the main Lord. All this is done between the chanting of the proper mantras.
- (c) *Pushpanyasa*: This is offering of flower worship to the Devas in the first, second and third avarana starting from the purusha in the east. This is done to the three avarana devas, and then for Markandeya, Brahma and Siva. Then the offer is to be done to the Dwara-devas, Dwarapalas, Vimanapalas etc. The door step of the Garbha-

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

griha is then cleaned with water and archana is done. At present this does not appear to be done in Tirumala.

The agamic rule is that the nyasa for an absent deva should be deposited at the feet of the Lord. In Tirumala temple since there is no other idol represented in the Garbha Griha all the flowers are deposited at the feet of the Lord only. Since all the flowers to all the devatas is laid upon the feet of the Lord, tulasi which is laid along with others is not offered as prasadams to the devotees.

- (d) *Alankarasana*: In this, asana, vastra, bhushana and uttariya are put on. Then the urdhva pundra mark is applied with refined camphor and the Yagnopavita, the sacred thread is next put on. The practice of using camphor and musk for these seems to have commenced only from about 1465 A.D. as seen from the epigraphs.

- (v) 7-00 a.m. to 7-30 a.m. **Koluvu** (altered to 6 a.m. to 6-30 a.m. from 1-3-79 in summer)

During this Koluvu or Darbar the idol of Koluvu Srinivasamurthy is brought out and is seated in a silverplated chair with a canopy of a gilded umbrella in the Tirumamanimantapam. This umbrella is said to be a present by the Maharaja of Mysore. Koluvu Srinivasa Murthy is then offered a mixture of fried ginger seeds and jaggery and then the income of the temple for the previous day is read out to the Lord followed by the reading of the almanac or panchangam of the previous day, the current day, and the next day.

Normally the alankarasana itself is the darbar held in the Garbha griha, but in this temple it is done in the mukhamandapa called Tirumamanimantapa. Technically this is known as matradana where some rice, ginger, betal nuts are to be given as ration to the archakas.

There is no reference to this function nor to Koluvu Srinivasamurthy in any of the inscriptions. It is not known since when this ritual started in the temple.

- (vi) 7.30 a.m.—8-30 a.m. **Sahasranamarchana (Arjitha)** (altered to 6-30 a.m. to 7-30 a.m. from 1-3-79 in summer)

This is also an arjitha seva for which admission can be had by payment of Rs. 200/- ie fee for amantranotsava

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

During the Sahasranamarchana the recital of the Lord's name is done, and general blessings are invoked in the names and the gotras of the ticket holders. There is a custom in the temple by which a lumpsum payment or an annual compounded fee is paid to enable this to be performed regularly. In other temples separate archanas are done for each worshipper, but in Tirumala the names are read out after a single sahasranamarchana is done.

The Sahasranamarchana here is Sri Venkateswara Sahasranamarchana and can be appropriate only to the Tirumala temple while the usual Vishnu Sahasranama common to all vaishnava temples is more commonly known. There is one inscription of 1518 A.D. which first mentions this Sahasranamarchana.

Sri Virapratapa-Virā Achyutaraya once performed this archana personally asking the archakas to read out the names of the Lord.

(vi) 8-30 a.m. to 9-00 a.m. **Naivedya or the First Bell.** (altered to 7-30 a.m. to 8 a.m. from 1-3-79 in summer).

(a) Naivedya.

The first bell announces the offering of food as naivedya to the Lord by ringing the two big bells followed by Sattumurai through the recitation of the prabandham by the Jiyangar or his assistants and the Vaishnava Acharya-purushas. This is followed by the distribution of matras or dadhyodana among them.

The ringing of the bells and the naivedyam is popularly called the first bell of the temple. While the food is offered as naivedya to the Lord only the archakas are present and the Bangaru Vakili doors are closed. During this time the cooked food is brought in the mantapa in large gangalams of exact sizes, called solai or half solai measures. Food offerings are also made to Vishvaksena, Garuda and the nityasuries during this time.

An attempt was made in recent years to introduce madhuparkam, but local sentiment was so high that this was soon given up.

Though according to the agamic rules a homa is performed after the naivedya three times a day or atleast in connection with the morning puja, it is not being performed in the Tirumala temple.

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(b) Yatrasana.

For offering bali to all the 'devatas in the prakaram of the temple, the Baliberam or Koluvu Srinivasa should be taken out to the accompaniment of music, chants etc. In Tirumala however such a function does not appear to have been conducted. The archaka and the paricharaka in this temple go round the vimana pradakshinam and offer Bali to Vishvaksena, Garuda, Dwaja and Yudadhipa and deposit the balance of the bali in the stones placed between the Balipitam and the Dwajasthambam.

(c) Sattumurai.

The term 'Sattumurai' means the recitation of Tamil prabandham of the alvars in the manner prescribed. The Nalayira prabandham as prescribed is recited now when only Sri Vaishnavas are allowed to be present. The Srivaishnavas headed by the Jeer alone go into the garbha griha after the archakas return from the offering of Bali. Portions of the prabandham are read out commencing with the patrams and ending with 'Vazhi tirunamam' The tirtham, chandanam and prasadam are then distributed to all present in the order of preference.

This custom is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions though an epigraph of 1476 A.D. mentions the Sattumurai of the alvars and not of the Lord. Even then the recital of the prabandham took place in Sri Ramanuja's shrine and not in the Garbha Griha. The Sattumurai function wherever it is performed is generally considered an exclusive right of the Sri Vaishnavas. The Tomalaseva ends with the Sattumurai.

(viii) 9-00 a.m. to 1-00 p.m.—**Sarvadarsanam.** (altered to 8 a.m. to midnight from 1-3-79 with an interval of an hour in noon and an hour at night for puja).

During this time free sarva darsanam of the Lord is allowed to all pilgrims. In recent years the rush for darsan has become so great that one can have Darsan of the Lord only for a second or two and that too only in a constantly moving queue.

(ix) 12-00 noon to 1-00 p.m. **Aparanhapuja or Second Bell.**

Naivedyam for a second time is now offered followed by a second archana with 108 names only. This is wholly a private one, and the Lord's astotharagama from the Varahapurana is now repeated.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

During this naivedyam the food offerings (cherupulu) and other eatables (panyarams or pallu) paid for by the devotees are offered to the Lord. This is an arjitha seva where the prasadam is paid for, by the devotee and after some quantity is taken away for the temple, the balance is given to the grihasta or the donor.

After the second bell is rung, the first half of the day's ritual worship of the temple is presumed to be over and the box containing the payments made by the pilgrims within the temple is brought over to the parapattdar i.e., the officer incharge of the temple treasury and the doors are closed.

(x) 1.00 p.m. to 8.00 p.m. **Sarvadarsanam**

In recent years due to heavy rush of Pilgrims, Sarvadarsanam is allowed soon after naivedyam is over.

(xi) 8-00 p.m. to 9 p.m. **Ratripuja.**

The Ratripuja is done at night to the Lord. This is similar to the morning Tomalaseva. This is strictly a private puja and none, but those who have religious duty to perform, are allowed to be present.

Ardhajamapuja or last function for the night is known as the ardhajama or the nisi puja. This is a private one and is meant for offering sweet, payasam, etc.

(xii) 9 p.m. to 12 midnight Fee Sarvadarshan is given again.

Now Suddhi is again done at the temple.

(xiii) 12 midnight to 12-30 a.m. **Ekantaseva.**

Ekanta Seva or Pavalimpuseva.

This is an arjitha seva to which admission is given by ticket on a fee of Rs.200/-i.e. amantranotsavam. The Bhoga Srinivasa, except during the Margasira month, is laid down on the Vuyyalu hung by silver chains hanging from a beam in the mukhamantapam from which it derives its name of Sayana mantapam. This is also called Ekantaseva. At this time, milk, fruits, almond nuts etc., are offered to the Lord and a portion is distributed to the pilgrims. Two billas of perfumed chandanam are placed at the feet of the Dhruva Murti after removing the kavacham covering the feet. Half a Billa is also placed on the chest of Bhoga Srinivasa, a quarter for alarmlingai on the chest of the Dhruva murthi. Another quarter is also left for the night puja by Brahma.

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Tarikonda Venkamamba's harati in a plate inlaid with one of the Dasavatarams each day with pearls brought by a descendent of the family is waved before the Lord after offering milk and a few pieces of cashew nuts. During this function songs are also sung. The descendent of Tallapaka poets also sings sankirtanam of Tallapaka.

This seva is done to Bhoga Srinivasamurti for 11 months in a year while in the Dhanurmasa or Margali month the idol of Sri Krishna receives it.

It is during this seva that the silver cups filled with water are placed for worship by Brahma and half the phalam and chandanam are also kept there.

An inscription of 1513 A.D. in the temple records, that Chinnaji Devi and Tirumala Devi, the two queens of Krishnadeva Raya presented each, a gold cup weighing 374 tukams for offering milk during this seva. Obul nayaka Ramanayaka, a general of Krishna Devaraya also presented 200 cows in 1514 A.D. for preparing paledu kulambu for the Ardhajama seva as per another epigraph.

This is the normal routine puja in the temple every day. However variations are made on Thursdays and Fridays to correspond to the special puja peculiar to that day.

(xiv) Thursday Pulangiseva.

After the mid-day puja on Thursday the Lord is dressed only in dhoti and uttariyam. The Kasturi is also removed leaving only a thin mark. In the evening after suddhi is performed the flowers are brought for decorating the murti. The body of the Lord is now dressed in an ordinary dovati. This process is called sadalimpu or sallimpu which means loosening or removing.

After evening puja and naivedyam offering of panakam and split green-gram, a laced velvet gown is put on the Lord and the body is decorated fully with garlands of flowers extending from the crown to the feet. This decoration exclusively with flowers is called 'Pulangi seva.' This is an arjita seva, admission to which is given on payment of a fee. After this is over the Ekanta seva takes place at about 10-30 p.m. following the usual routine.

It is not known from the epigraphs as to when and why this arrangement was first introduced. There is a reference in Silappadikaram, the early Tamil classic to 'puvadaiyil polindu tonriya.' The Tamil word 'Puvadai' is literally a translation of the Telugu word 'Pulangi' and hence we can ascertain that by about 8th century this Pulangi seva was in vogue.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Perhaps the reason for this is purely a pragmatic one namely the difficulty of having to remove the clothing ornaments etc., on the Lord on Friday before the elaborate Abhishekam is done.

(xv) Friday Abhishekam.

Abhishekam to the Lord is done only on Fridays. On Friday early morning after Suprabhatam chanting, while Tomalaseva and Archana are conducted privately, everything is made ready for Lord's abhishekam by powdering pachchakarpuram, mixing wetted saffron paste, pressing musk with a few drops of civet oil into a small paste by preparing chandanam, and by extracting civet oil, all of which are collected in suitable silver cups and taken in procession to the accompaniment of music round the sanctum through the Vimana pradakshanam.

A ball-like paste of civet oil mixed with camphor is placed at the feet of the Lord. After this the Tirumanjanam abhishekam is made to the mula vigraham. This function takes about an hour or an hour and half with chanting of the mantras. The abhishekam is done to the chanting of purusha sukta, narayana sukta, sri sukta, bhu sukta, nila sukta and the prabhandams. The abhishekam starts with suddhodakam and then alternates with milk, watered chandanam etc. The saffron water flowing down His body is collected in big silver cups. Then the body of the Lord is dried up and civet oil is lightly smeared from crown to feet. A small quantity of the refined camphor powder and the white namam in urdhva pundra with two patches is put on with a powder sprinkling on the face together with the intermediate tapering line of musk. Then abhishekam to the gold image of Sri Lakshmi hanging in a gold chain of the chest is done with chanting of Sri Suktam. At the end of this harati is done. Then the white namam is thickened and broadened; and the Lord is dressed in Pitambaram bedecked fully with valuable jewels and ornaments.

It would appear that the custom of Friday abhishekam to the Lord started with the consecration of the Bhoga Srinivasa Murty whose abhishekam might have happened to fall on a Friday and the custom somehow continues that the Dhruva Murti gets Abhishekam on Friday.

The use of punugu or civet was first introduced by Devaraya in 1429 A.D. as per an inscription. From an endowment of 1496 A.D. by Kandadai Appachi Anna Ayyangar we learn that punugu kappu was applied every alternate Friday. An inscription of 1506 A.D. tells us that the application of Ponugu

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

kappu was for the abhishekam of the Dhruva Murti only, and that Alarmel Mangai Nachchiyar was having only abhishekam. This is also the current practice.

That the Friday abhishekam became the usual weekly routine is clear from an inscription of Krishna Deva Raya of 1517 A.D. who set apart the sunkam of 1000 varahas for Punugu kapu on every 8th day. This makes it clear that the Tirumanjanam was on a weekly Friday.

There is an interesting inscription of 1583 A.D. by one Ettur Tirumalai Kumara Tatacharya in which an endowment for abhishekam gives the following details:

Gambhura 4 Kudira (one kudira=210 varaham weight)

Civet bags: 200

Saffron: 30 pana weight.

White cloth 1 (selai)

Kasturi and Turmeric paste did not figure in that list.

At present the articles used for the abhishekam are:—

Gambhara 3½ kacha seers.

Civet 7½ bags kacha seers or 1½ visas.

Saffron 1½ kacha seer or 36 tolas.

Kasturi musk 3 kacha seers.

Turmeric musk ¼ kacha seer.

The first use of turmeric paste is seen from an inscription of 1465 A.D. of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. In 1583 A.D. Sri Kumara Tatachari did not provide turmeric paste perhaps the high quantity of saffron powder making up for this.

Pachcha Karpuram or Tirumankappu is mentioned as early as 1380 A.D. where it is said to have been used in an inscription to Utsava Murti. Kasturi is also used in this.

Tiruman kappu is put on soon after abhishekam is over. After this is done the decoration of the Dhruva murti takes place.

(xvi) Sripadarenu:

A portion of the paste of the refined camphor mixed with civet oil called Sripadarenu is distributed to the hereditary persons doing service and small quantities is also given to the grihastas also.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The practice of pressing camphor on the chin of the Lord is related to a tradition. A bhakta stated to be Anantalvar, a disciple of Ramanuja, undertook to excavate the tank, now known as alvar tank, together with his wife. He observed a young person moving only small clods of earth, and being angry, he struck at his chin. When later he went to the temple to worship, he found blood oozing from the Lord's chin, felt remorse for his needless act, brought some drug and applied it to Lord's chin. It is because of this that refined camphor is now said to be pressed to the Lord's chin after his ablution on Friday.

Sripadarenu is well kneaded by hand by the Jiyangar and is divided according to hierarchy. A small quantity is also given to the pilgrims, called kainidi *i.e.*, what is left in the hands as prasadam.

(xvii) Tirumanjana Tirtham.

The abhisheka tirtham from the body of the Lord with little refined camphor and saffron is also distributed. Small quantities are given to pilgrims following Sarvadarshan. It is also given to grihastas along with small pieces of dried chandanam, Sripadarenu and panyarams to be taken home by them where they celebrate their pilgrimage by distributing tirtham and panyarams to their friends and relatives.

The first water is also usually taken by the archakas and the Jeer and others. This is highly valued. Along with the Tirumanjanam Tirtham, a small quantity of sweet-meat called poli is sent down to Tirupati for distribution to the officers of the Devasthanams and others.

On Fridays, after the sarvadarshanam, Tomalaseva and the archana in the night are performed followed by food offerings, the Ekantaseva is done.

This closes the daily routine nityarchana in the temple.

(xviii) Schedule of Fees for Darsanam.

The schedule of Arjita sevas are as follows:—

Karpooara Harathi each

One Rupee.

(i) Darsanams:

Rs. Ps.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Thomala Sevananthara darsan . . | 4—00 (Discontinued
from 1-3-79) |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

2. Archanantharadarsan (Sahasranama or Ashtothara) ..	Rs. Ps. 4—00	(Discontinued from 1-3-73)
3. Abhishekananthara darsan ..	4—00	„
4. Poolangi Sevananthara darsan ..	4—00	„
5. Special Darsan ..	25—00	„

Note:—*Admission is for each ticket-holder only.*

(ii) Sevas:

1. Amanthranotsavam ..	200—00
2. Poolangi ..	60—00
3. Full abhishekam ..	450—00
4. Gambhura Vessel ..	250—00
5. Civet Vessel ..	100—00
6. Japhra Vessel ..	100—00
7. Musk Vessel ..	100—00
8. Sahasrakalasabhishekam ..	2,500—00
9. Tiruppavada ..	5,000—00
10. Koil Alvar Tirumanjanam ..	1,745—00

Note:—*For amanthranotsavam ticket holders two persons of a family will be admitted for darshan during Thomala Seva and Archana in the morning, and for Ekantha Seva during the night for the day. They will also be given Pongal prasadam in the noon after Nivedana.*

2 above is performed only on Thursday evenings.

3 to 7 above are performed on Fridays only. Admission will be as follows

For item No. (3) Two persons with ginne are allowed.

For item No. (4) Two persons with ginne are allowed.

For items (5) to (7) One person with ginne is allowed.

8 above will be performed on Wednesdays only.

9 above will be performed on Thursdays only.

General: The party will be given Laddu, Anna prasadam, Vada, Appam, Dosai etc., besides Vastra Bahumanam at the end of the function for item No. 8 only.

Additional one Rupee has to be paid for Datham and Harathi purposes as per custom and occasions demand.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Rs. Ps.

(iii) Utsavams:

1. Vasanthotsavam	.. 2,500—00
2. Kalyanotsavam	.. 1,000—00
3. Unjal Seva	.. 1,000—00
4. Brahmotsavam	.. 750—00
5. Theppotsavam	.. 1,500—00
6. Pavithrotsavam	.. 1,500—00

*Note:—Vasanthotsavam;—*Conducted for 3 days or lesser number of days as per the convenience of the party and the temple. Vastra Bahumanam will be given to the party.

*Unjal Seva—*The grihasthas will be given one gold dollar besides Vastra bahumanam.

Brahmotsavam:— 6 persons will be admitted. Pongal and Dosa will be given to the party on the days of the Utsavam. At the end, Vastra Bahumanam, and Prasadam will be given.

Kalyanotsavam (celebration of marriage):—At the close of the function, Vastra Bahumanam and prasadam will be given as per custom besides Laddu, Vadas, Appams, Dosas and food prasadam. The parties must arrange to take them from the temple in their own vessels in time. These will be performed on all days except on festival days.

Pavithrotsavam will be performed for three days when abhishekam in honey, curds, coconut water etc., is done to Lord Malayappa.

Rs. Ps.

(iv) Vahanams:

1. Sarvabhupala with Vajrakavacham and Harathi	72+1 .. 73—00
2. Golden Garuda, Kalpavriksha, Big Sesha, Suryaprabha and Sarvabhupala each and Harathi	62+1 .. 63—00
3. Silver Garuda, Chinna Sesha, Chandra prabha, Elephant, Horse Vahanam, Simha vahanam, Hamsa Vahanam and Hanumantha Vahanam each and Harathi	32+1 .. 33—00

One Vada will be given to the Grihasthas for each Utsavam.

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

General:— Additional One Rupee has to be paid for Datham and Harati purposes as per custom and occasions demand

(xix) Mention of daily puja in the Epigraphs of Tirumala during the ages.

A critical study of the epigraphs of the Tirumala Temple gives us information about the details of the daily routine puja that were performed in the Tirumala temple during the ages. Many of these ancient rituals have now ceased to be performed but some are continuing. A few of them are listed below:—

- (a) Nityadipam and Nityanaivedyam.
- (b) Sandhis and Food offerings.
- (c) Vedaparayanam.
- (d) Abhishekam.

(a) Nityadipam and Nityanaivedyam.

The Pallava inscription No. 219—G.T., dated in the 51st year of the reign of Ko-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, (corresponding roughly to 830 A.D.), the earliest in date in the collection, records an arrangement made for keeping a lamp burning before a processional image newly installed in the shrine of Tiruvenkatattu-Emperumanadigal.

The Chola records register donations and gifts intended for nanda-vilakku (lamp-lighting) or for aradhanam (food-offerings). A fragmentary record (No. 232—G.T.), dated in the 29th Year of Madirakonda Ko-Parakesari-varman alias Parantaka I, registers an arrangement made by Kodungoluran of Malai-nadu with the sabhai of Tiruchchokunur (Tiruchanur) by which the sabhai undertook to keep a lighted lamp. Another epigraph (No. 234—G.T.), dated in the 10th year of the same king's reign, registers a similar deposit for lamplighting. In the reign of Rajaraja I, one Arulakki alias Rajaraja-Muvendavelan paid 40 kalanju of gold into the temple-treasury for maintaining a lamp (Nos. 212 to 216 G.T.). The epigraph No. 20—T.T., dated in the reign of Sri Koppatrakesari-panmar alias Sri Rajendra-Choladeva, records a provision made for lamp-lighting. Besides, it gives us some interesting information regarding state-supervision over temples in those times. It was brought to the notice of Adhikari (royal officer) Korramangalam-udaiyan that the assembly of Tirumundiyam which undertook to light 24 lamps at Tirumala had failed in the discharge of their trust by discontinuing 22 and

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

maintaining only 2 lights. The Adhikari enquired into the matter, became convinced of the neglect on the part of the assembly, and ordered the continuance of the entire service through the managers of the temple. It is incidentally mentioned that all articles required for the daily food-offerings were transmitted from Tirupati every day to Tirumala, and also that the Tirumundiyaṁ sabhaiyar had a certain service (Paricharakam) to render to the temple for which at the time a sum of 3 Pon was standing to their credit.

During the 13th century we find ample provision made by devotees both for nitya-dipam (lamp-lighting) and for nitya-naivedyam (food-offerings). We also observe that, in place of the then prevailing practice of paying 40 kalanju of gold usually for a lamp, cows were presented to the temple to serve the purpose. Nos. 101, 118 and 176—T.T. and 112 and 113—G.T. belonging to the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartigal Sri Vira-Narasimha Yadavaraya, and Nos. 73, 111 and 173-T.T. belonging to the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartigal Vijaya-Gandagopaladeva, illustrate the above procedure regarding arrangements for the service of lamp-lighting through donations of gold and silver coin or through gifts of cows.

In the Vijayanagara period, food-offerings took precedence over lamp-lighting and in certain cases presentation of cows was preferred to payment of gold, since, besides yielding ghee for the lamps, they served the additional purpose of offering the dairy products to the deities. No. 92-T.T. is a Sanskrit verse recounting in general terms the charities of Amatyaasekhara Mallanna (chief minister under Devaraya I and Devaraya II of the First dynasty) in the matter of naivedyam and nitya-dipam for Sri Venkatesvara.

No. 70—T.T. of the time of Saluva Narasimha records a gift in Saka 1390 (28-2-1469 A.D.) by Kandadai Ramanujayyengar, a zealous and influential Vaishnava preceptor, of 40 cows to the temple for supplying curds for preparing dadhyodanam (food mixed with curds) to be offered to Sri Venkatesvara daily.

No. 59—T.T. is a somewhat peculiar record. Instead of the usual gift of lamps that we meet with in other inscriptions, we find here an arrangement made by Koneri and Ulagalandavelan, head-men (kartar) of Sattukudi-Marudur, a village in the sub-division of Narayanapurapparru in the Chandra-giri-rajya, by which they deputed in Saka 1384 (1462 A.D.), for the merit of Saluva Narasimha, certain persons, being residents of the above village of whom four are mentioned by name, for the service of lighting lamps (tiru-vilakkukkudi) in the temple of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan, and directed them to

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

render service to the temple in perpetuity through their descendants. These persons were enjoined also to measure out two marakkals of ghee every year with the measure called Chalukya-Narayanan-kal as they used to do till then and obtain the certificate issued by the Jiyar under his signature.

(b) Sandhis (Food-Offerings).

As noted already, during the Vijayanagara period, food-offerings came to be extensively provided for by the devotees in preference to lights which were observed to have been put up in the presence of the deities during the earlier centuries. This course was so universally adopted that the offerings were arranged not only for special occasions but for each day and on different occasions in the course of the day. Thus the quantity of holy food offered each time as well as the number of times it was so offered to the deities increased so much that this particular duty must have entailed much labour and time and demanded the services of a large number of cooks. In addition to this large quantity of holy food offered each day, certain worshippers desired to have offered occasionally big heaps of cooked rice measuring about 200 marakkals, styled Tiruppavadai (Nos. 54, 197 and 253—T.T. and 151—G.T.).

The time for offering naivedyam in any quantity and variety each day at present occurs usually at the end of each of the three series of functions in the course of the worship of the deity (trikala-puja) for the day, commencing early in the morning and closing early in the night. But, in the past, it would appear that the deities were propitiated with food-offerings, on more than these three occasions, as at the beginning or end of each function during the interval forming the sandhi (juncture) between two succeeding functions. This term sandhi which occurs in the epigraphs must have originally indicated the juncture forming a short interval of time between two succeeding puja functions when offerings were made to the deities, but latterly it came to signify in the expressions, sandhi-muppadu (thirty units of cooked rice), pagal-sandhi (day-offerings), etc. In the inscriptions we meet with a number of them commencing with the udayakalam, sirukalam or arunodayakalam (the early hours of the morning) and closing with the ardhayaman (the early hours of the night). Even at the present time, in the course of the daily worship there can be observed a certain number of individual functions making up the series of ceremonial, such as the rites of waking up the deity in the morning with the chanting of hymns (suprabhatham) and offering of sugar and butter, then decorating Him with flowers (tomalaseva), next holding a levee or darbar (koluvu) when the temple purohita reads the panchangam (almanac) for the day and the temple-accountant presents an account of the income and expenditure

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of the temple, both grain and cash, of the preceeding day; and then worship through invocation of the 1008 appellations of Sri Venkatesvara (Sahasranama-archana), and lastly offering of cooked, seasoned and sweetened food (maha-naivedyam), as the final rite in the series. It is thus possible to arrange for offerings for the deity either before beginning or after completing an individual rite in the series, and we infer from the several offerings provided for each day by the devotees, both high and low, that in the past this possibility was in vogue. Of these, three occasions can be definitely known, as the udaya-kalam (early hours of the morning) when the deity is offered light food, tiruvadivilakkina-poludu (the time when the Holy-Feet are washed) which is a special rite in the tomala-seva, or decoration with flowers, and ardhayamam (early hours of the night), while the others are not clear.

Sitakaragandan-sandhi (No. 195-T.T.) is the earliest in the date belonging to the Vijayanagara times that we meet with, for this institution. Immadi-Rahuttarayan Singaya-Dannayakkan, a general under Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya, gave to the temple, as a tiruvidaiyattam, Singana-nallur alias Pongalur in Illattu-nadu, which had been previously bestowed upon him as a sarvamanya by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya.

Bukkarayan-sandhi is mentioned as the primary one during which, along with the tirupponakam (cooked rice mixed with green gram, ghee, etc.,) to be offered as originally stipulated, koyil-kelvi Emperumanar-jiyar, manager of Pankayachchelli-tirunandavanam at Tirumala and the head of a religious institution at Tirumala and Tirupati, arranged in Saka 1367 for offering to Sri Venkatesvara two tirupponakam daily (No. 106—T.T.). And Periyaperumal-jiyar arranged likewise in Saka 1380 for two tirupponakams daily (No. 47—T.T.). No.23—T.T. which is dated in 1372 mentions Rayar-sandhi.

Krishnaraya's provision for offerings as well as that of Achyutaraya are not explicitly recorded but they are referred to in the provision made by Varadajidevi-amman, queen of Achyutaraya, and are given precedence over the latter while being offered (No. 49—T.T.). Ramarajayyanavasaram mentioned in No. 82—T.T. probably indicates the offerings made by Aliya-Ramaraya in Saka 1470 during the reign of Sadasivaraya.

(c) Vedaparayanam.

The recitation of the Vedas forms a component part of the functions connected with the temple so much so that its absence would be considered to portend evil and would therefore be viewed with dismay and alarm. Such

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

a state existed temporarily in the life-history of the temple at Tirumala, sometime during the earlier half of the 15th century, but measures were adopted for its rehabilitation during the reign of Devaraya II of the First Vijayanagara dynasty. It is stated in his epigraph that grandeur existed in all services rendered for Sri Venkatesvara except in the case of the Vedaparayanam which service ceased to be performed for sometime and that this defect was taken to the notice of the royal officer Devanna-Udaiyar by Alagappiranar alias Tirukkalikanridasar with the request that it might be revived and continued for the merit of Deva-
raya Maharayar. Twenty-four Mahajanam (learned Brahmanas) of Siddhakuttai alias Srinivasapuram were engaged for chanting the Vedas in the presence of Sri Venkatesvara. The king approved of the arrangement and was pleased to grant the half-share belonging to the Raja-Bhandaram (king's treasury) in the village of Siddhakuttai alias Srinivasapuram in Kottala-sthalam situated in Vaikunda-
valanadu, as shrotriya, for the purpose. The grant of half the village secured by Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanridasar was made over to the twenty-four Brahmanas. But these Brahmanas, feeling that this half share was insufficient to maintain them, petitioned the Sthanattar for the grant of the other half also of the village which was owned by the Sri-Bhandaram (temple-treasury). The temple authorities could not alienate their half-share, it being probably an endowment to the temple for a specific purpose, and they therefore devised a plan by which, while the temple could account for the produce from its half-share of the village and maintain the trust for whose conduct its managers were made responsible, the services of the twenty-four Brahmanas engaged for the Vedaparayanam might be firmly and permanently secured by allowing them a full living. Here again this device was effected by Tirukkalikanridasar.

It appears that the annual yield from the village of Srinivasapuram for the share of the temple was 200 panam and, if this share of the temple in the village had to be parted with, this 200 panam had somehow to be made good. The villagers of all the full devadana villages belonging to the temple situated in the Tirukkudavur-nadu and Vaikunda-valanadu were called upon to contribute their mite so that the full sum of 200 panam could be made up. The villagers agreed to this contribution, solemnly vowing with libations of gold and water on the Utthanadvadasi day in the cyclic year Pramadicha corresponding to Saka 1355 to pay their share collectively for each village into the temple-treasury commencing from the same year, towards the conduct of the Vedaparayanam. On the strength of this agreement executed by the villagers represented by the Periyannattu-velan and the Ur-kanakku or the velan of each individual tiruvudaiyattam village, the Sthanattar of the temple were emboldened, their scruples and restraints being set at rest, to grant the half-share of the temple

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

in the village of Srinivasapuram to the twenty-four Maha-Brahmanas reciting the Vedas and thus gain a double object. No doubt the technical flaw arising from their alienation of property endowed for maintaining the original charity was sought to be obviated through these devices, but whatever kind of compensation might have been effected, the alienation must have been a breach of trust. But perhaps it weighed lightly against the heavy pressure of the necessity and urgency for the renewal of the Vedaparayanam service in the temple.

Prior to the execution of the above agreement by the villagers, it appears that a temporary interim device was also adopted. It was to lease out the half-share of the village on Srotriya-Kuttakai to Tirukkalkikanri-dasar who on the one hand paid the lease amount into the temple-treasury and on the other permitted the Brahmanas to reap the benefit from the half village. This was only preliminary to the final stage of complete alienation and prior to obtaining the consent of the villagers.

There are references to Vedaparayanam at a later date, *i.e.*, during the time of the Second Vijayanagara dynasty, and we may take it that, after Saka 1355 when it was revived by Devaraya II, there has not been any break in its continuity down to this day, and that it has added, as it was expected to do, to the glory and sanctity of the temple which is stated to have enjoyed all other Vaibhogamgal.

Besides Vedaparayanam, we meet with arrangements for the reading of Puranams also on certain sacred days. In a record of the 16th century (No. 3-G.T.) we note that on the day of kaisika-dvadasi (*i.e.*, the 12th day of the bright half of the Telugu month of Kartikam) Ananta-vrata-puranam was read, perhaps in Sri Govindaraja's temple at Tirupati. Similarly an inscription (No. 253-T.T.), dated in Saka 1413, records an arrangement made for the reading of Tiruvenkata-mahatmyam by Pasindi Venkatatturaivanjiyar Ramanujayyan, the donor in the above record, on a day in the month of Margali.

(d) Abhishekam.

A few records mention a daily Tirumanjanam or abhishekam for Sri Venkatesvara at Tirumala and for Sri Govindaraja at Tirupati. The earliest reference occurs in No. 4-T.T. dated in Saka 1386, when Kandadai Ramanujay-yangar arranged, as his serive (Kainkaryam) for the Alagappiranar-tiruman-janam conducted daily for Sri Venkatesvara, for the supply of perfumery

DETAILS OF WORSHIP AT TIRUMALA TEMPLE

to the temple through his Ekaki (*i.e.*, unmarried) disciples of the Sattada-Srivaishnava sect. The perfumery consisted of meditta-sattuppadi or chandanam (sandal-paste), manjal-kappu (turmeric), melli-kappu (musk) and karpura-kappu or pachchakarpuram (refined camphor); and along with these a small cloth and betel-leaves and nuts were supplied by them.

This Alagappiranar-tirumanjanam comes to notice also in No. 163-T.T. dated in Saka 1406, wherein Kandadai Ramanujayyengar is again the donor. This epigraph, besides furnishing the above information regarding the holy bath for Sri Venkatesvara daily, records a further provision for a daily bath for Sri Govindaraja at Tirupati known as Tirumagaludanvaruvar-tirumanjanam and for food-offerings known as Sri Kulasekhara-perumal tiruvaradhanam. Camphor for waving before the deities is the additional article of supply required to be made for the two temples at the time of bath, while for Sri Govindaraja's temple was to be issued a parivattam (cloth) also. The significance of this inscription consists in the mention of the village Gundi-pundi which was granted by Saluva Narasimha for the support of the Ramanuja-kutam, and in the authorisation of the utilisation of a part of its income for the expenses of the tirumanjanam, whereas in the earlier one (No. 4-T.T.) no mention is made of the village and the articles of perfumery were only required to be supplied from the Ramanuja-kutam.

Through the other record (No. 187-T.T.) Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappiranar provided for the supply of meditta pulugu-kappu for the deity's face (tirumukha-mandalam) each day for six months, together with sandal-paste (meditta-sattuppadi) and camphor for waving a light (alatti or arati).

This is the first mention we get of pulugu-kappu and here it is stated that it was arranged to be done every-day for six months. The next reference to it occurs in No. 336-T.T. dated in Saka 1418, wherein Kandadai Appachchiyar-Anna provided on the Friday occurring once in 15 days which happened to be the day of pulugu-kappu murai for Sri Venkatesvara, for the recitation of the Ula, a species of poem, in praise of Kandadai Ramanujayyengar and for the offering of two atirasappadi for the deity at the time of anointment with pulugukappu. The expressions of the record indicate that the pulugu-kappu function had been carried on for some time past and that men had become familiarised to it by that time.

There is a function, extant in the temple routine on Fridays, which is denominated punugukapu during which the Tirumeni, the holy body of the idol including the face, is smeared with civet-oil and then the Tiruman-kappu, the vertical white Vaishnavait mark in two thick patches, is formed with fine

THE TIRUMĀLA TEMPLE

dust of refined camphor, together with an intermediate black one of musk. Further, in the present-day vocabulary of the temple, punugukapu includes not only the civet-oil and camphor but also musk and saffron, the former being used for putting on the middle mark Kasturi-tilakam on the forehead, and the latter for making up the sandal-paste besides being one of the articles of perfumery for the abhishekam. It is therefore probable that the two terms pulugu-kappu and punugu-kapu are mere variants and that the former comprised of the same four articles as the latter now does, namely punugu (civet) pachcha-karpuram (refined camphor), kasturi (musk) and kumkumapuvvu or kesari (saffron).

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(i) Introduction.

THE Tirumala temple is famous from earliest times for the festivals conducted on the hill. Those festivals continue with increasing popularity even up to the present day.

In ancient days under royal patronage the temple had received gifts and endowments primarily for the worship of the Lord and secondarily for augmenting the grandeur and attraction of the temple and increasing its popularity by means of elaborate festivals and profuse food offerings. Even the construction of spacious and artistic mantapams and imposing prakarams and gopurams were intended only for this purpose.

The festivals in the temples may be classified into two broad divisions, namely, the basic festivals connected with the ritual of temple worship and which are enjoined by the Sastras and agamas, and auxiliary or secondary festivals according to the nature of this establishment, endowment by devotees etc. The basic festivals are compulsorily being enjoined by the Agamas and the Sastras to be observed at fixed times of the Calendar to coincide with some astronomical data and the omission of which would be considered to be most inauspicious. In fact in many of temples, restitution of these festivals once suspended would call for special Suddhi rites. The most popular festival of Tirumala which is known as 'Brahmotsavam' belongs to this category of basic festivals.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The secondary or auxiliary types of festivals are individual festivals connected with some incident in the traditional legends about the particular idol in worship in that temple, or they may be connected with some divine incidents about the avatara or incarnation of God etc. Such a festival at Tirumala would be the 'tirupallieluchchi' that is the Dhanurmasa festival. Similar would be the festivals that are conducted on the days which coincide with the Nakshatra or birth asterisms of many of the deities. The subsidiary festivals generally would have been instituted by wealthy patrons or by royalty to seek divine grace or to obtain religious merit. Endowments were usually made by them with specific provisos that the proceeds of the endowments should be used for conducting the festivals on the days specified by them. These days generally would be the nakshatra days of the person making the endowment or that of his religious guru or King, or any other relation or some friend.

In Tirumala temple also the above type of festivals are also celebrated.

(ii) The Brahmotsava festival.

The Brahmotsava festival at Tirumala is the most popular festival drawing huge crowds. This is a basic festival enjoined by the Sastras. The festival bear the name 'Brahmotsava' to commemorate the first Utsavam of the Lord of Tirumala which was conducted by Brahma, the Lord of Creation as per Varaha Purana. This Utsavam is conducted according to the injunctions of the Sastras.

Prior to 966 A.D. perhaps only one Brahmotsavam was conducted at Tirumala. In 966 A.D. the Pallava Queen Samavai who arranged for the installation of the Bhoga Srinivasa Murthy idol in the temple, made provisions to conduct two Brahmotsava festivals, one in Purattasi month and the other during the Mukkoti Dvadasi period. Thus two Brahmotsavas were being performed from the 10th Century A.D. The same Queen also presented a number of jewels and ornaments including a Kiritam or crown and arranged for endowments for the conduct of the festivals with a procession for the Bhoga Srinivasa Murthy for a few days immediately preceding the main festival as well as during the main festival itself in the month of Purattasi commencing on the day of Chittirai and lasting for nine days. In the same year the same Queen made a further provision for another festival for the same silver idol with two processions each day for seven days prior to Margazhi Tiru Dvadasi that is the Mukkoti Dvadasi. To meet the expenses of these, the Queen endo-

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

wed certain lands to the temples and enjoined on the administrators called the Stanattars to take care to see that no tax was levied on the land granted by her.

The Chola records make no mention of any of these festivals but a later epigraph enables us to gauge from the increase in quantity and variety of food offerings about the increase in the number and magnitude of the festivals of the temples. Some of the minor feudatories like the Gandagopalas, the Yadavarayas, with Kadavarayas and the Sambhuvarians made gifts and grants to the temple for the perpetuation of nityadeepa and nitya naivedya as well as utsavams for the deities. Thus we find from the evidence of the epigraphs that about 1300 A.D. in addition to the two Brahmotsavams observed in the 10th Century in the months of Purattasi and Margazhi, similar festivals were also performed in the month of Adi at Tirumala for the Lord (189 T. T.), besides the original namely, the festival in Vaikhasi held at Tirupati (111—G.T.). The second festival in Adi was instituted by the Queen of Viranarasimha Yadavaraya, in his 30th regnal year. To meet the expenses the Queen granted half the village of 'Paindapalli' of which the other half had already been granted. Besides this she had a four-sided wooden ratha constructed for the deity during the festival, and the expenses for decoration and repairs to this ratha also were ordered by her to be met from the same endowments. The temple administrators were also empowered by her to utilise any unspent balance of the endowment to the repairs of the temple as well. Thus by about the 14th Century A.D. a festival known as 'Tirukodi Tirunal' or 'Brahmotsavam' was conducted three times a year at Tirumala and two times a year at Tirupati. From epigraph 102—T.T. we learn that there were more festivals than one though the precise nature and number of them are not known.

At the time of Harihara II we learn that this King instituted a fresh festival in the month of masi at Tirumala through the agency of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jeer. The expenses were to be met from the income of the village Pungodu which was endowed by him to the temple (61 and 103—T.T.). From a critical study of the epigraph we can find that as times went on these festivals rose by the middle of the 16th Century to ten a year and they were probably distributed among the ten months of the year with the exception of Vaikasi and Ani in which two festivals were conducted at Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja.

The Brahmotsavam was celebrated for a period of twelve days counted from the day of ankurarpana (sowing of seeds) of nine kinds of seeds in earthen vessels to the day of Vidayarru, or the day of preparations for relaxation after the exertions of the temple servants for twelve days during the festival. Each day after the procession was over, the Utsavamurthi was taken away into the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

temple to a mantapa, installed there in an asthana or an assembly, and was offered the special naivedya provided for the occasion by the devotees. Similar asthanams were also arranged by the devotees to be conducted in the mantapams built in their flower gardens, round the temple to which the Utsavamurthi was taken during the course of the procession before returning to the temple. In fact the asthana formed a feature not only in the brahmotsavam but in other festivals also.

Till some decades ago the temple conducted four Brahmotsava festivals in a year; the first in purattasi month, the second on the Rathasaptami day, the Third on the Kausika Ekadasi day in the Kartika month and the fourth on Vaikunta Ekadasi or Mukkoti Ekadasi day. The festivals are conducted for several days. The festival during the Rathasaptami period is considered to be an arsha utsava, while that on the Kausika Dvadasi day is considered to be a rakshasic one. The most important of these is the purattasi month Utsavam generally conducted in September-October. The utsavam commences on the day when Sravana Nakshatra is prominent. At present only this festival is conducted.

On the day before the Sravana star day (thithi) Ankurarpanam is done by sowing 'navadhanya' seeds for germination in specially decorated new pots called 'Palikas.' This is supposed to form part of the propitiatory offerings to the Nityasuris or celestials in the temple. A 'Poorna Kumbham' is also installed in the yagasala.

The festival actually commences on the first day with the Dhvajarohanam—a ceremony in which the Lord's flag with the Garuda emblem is flown on a flag staff erected next to the Dhvajastambham. Everyday the Utsavam for the Lord is conducted with splendour, along with homas etc., as per rituals laid down. The Lord's Utsava Vighram (with or without his consorts Sridevi and Bhudevi) is also taken in procession twice—once in the day time and again in the night time with the appropriate Vahanam. The Vahanams for the processions at night on the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth days are the Pedda Sesha Vahanam, Hamsa, Simha, Punya Koti Vimanam, Garuda. Elephant, Chandra-Prabha, Aswa, Ivory Palanquin, and Tirucchi Vahanams, respectively.

The important festival days are the fifth, eighth and eleventh days. The morning procession of the Lord on the 7th day with Surya Prabha Vahanam is also worth seeing.

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The Utsavam on the night of the fifth day is called the Garuda Seva or Garudotsavam. On this day the processional deity alone is taken in procession on the Garuda; the consorts of the Lord are not seated by his side on the Vahanam as usual. On this day, the Lord is given 'Uyyala Seva' in the evening. This Uyyala Seva or 'Seva in the Swing' takes place in the open area near the Dhvajastambham. The processional deity comes out of the temple in a tiruchi and the poles of the tirucchi are fixed to chain (fixed to the ceiling) with rings attached to them and the whole is swung to and fro during the Swing or Uyyala Seva. During this Asthanam or durbar, songs are sung and Vedic hymns etc. chanted.

The deity is then taken and installed on the Garuda vehicle. The Makara-kanti ornament and the Lakshmi-haram on the Mula-vigraha are then brought and used for the decoration of the Lord on the Garuda vehicle. The vahanam is then taken in procession around the east, west, north and south Mada streets of Tirumalai. The Lord has the usual paraphernalia during this procession such as Chatra, Chamara, Mangala Vadyas, recital of the holy books etc.

The car festival takes place on the eighth day. This 'Rathotsavam' attracts the largest crowd during the Brahmotvasam festival days. The Utsavamurthi along with the consorts is brought on to the temple car early in the morning. The Lord in the temple car and the temple car are then gaily decorated; the temple chariot is then taken round the streets of Tirumala.

On the eleventh day of the festival, the processional deity is taken on a Tirucchi Vahanam to the Swami Pushkarini. The Chakram of the Lord (also called Chakrattalvar) then gets a bath in the Swami Pushkarini. At the same time, the devotees of the Lord also plunge into the Swami Pushkarini. A bath at this time in the Swami Pushkarini is considered to be very holy and merit-giving. The Brahmotvasam comes to an end with this snana or bathing of the Lord in the Pushkarini.

(iii) The Adhyayanotsavam.

From epigraphs we learn that in Tirumala this festival commences ten days prior to the Mukkoti Ekadasi and continues for a period of about 20 days. During this festival the Utsavamurthis are taken out in a procession to the chanting of the Nalayira Prabandham or the hymns of the Srivaishnava Alvars, composed for the benefit of the people not well versed in Sanskrit. The festival was divided into two parts, the earlier 10 days being known as

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

'Pahalpattu' and the later 10 days as 'Irapattu,' which commenced with the the Vaikunta Ekadasi or Mukkoti Ekadasi. During the adhyayanotsavam also the devotees provide for naivedyam to the Lord as during the Brahmotsavam.

The adhyayanotsavam was celebrated for Sri Govindaraja temple and Sri Kodandarama temple in Tirupati also. For five alvars they were observed for a period of 12 days and on the Sattumurai day special offerings were arranged to be made to Lord Venkatesvara first and were then brought down to Tirupati for being offered to Alvars.

The earliest reference to this festival occurs about 1400 A.D. and the latest by 1635 A.D.

In olden days one adhyayanotsavam was also performed in front of Sri Ramanuja for twelve days in the month of Chittirai. The Kalyana Mantapam was utilised for this purpose for housing the Utsavamurthi. The Utsavamurthi Malayappan is to this day kept in the Kalyana Mantapam during the Brahmotsava and Adhyayanotsavam periods.

(iv) Pavitrotsavam.

Many of the annual festivals of the Tirumala temple, for which endowments were made in the past as found in the epigraphs are being continued until this day. But in the case of Pavitrotsavam also for which many references are found in ancient inscriptions, the festival was conspicuous by its absence till 1962 when it was revived. The reason for its discontinuance and why it was given up are not known.

As its very name implies, this is essentially a purificatory ceremony. It is an annual festival. Its object is the expiation of the sins of commission and omission done in the daily worship and other religious rites performed in the temples.

This purificatory festival is conducted on Sravana Shuddha Dasami day. The festival lasts for four days. This festival was first instituted at Tirumala by Saluva Malliah deva Raja in 1463 A.D. during the time of Saluva Narasimha. (157-TT). This was a completely new festival introduced for the first time and hence full detailed information relating to the ceremony lasting for a period of five days (actually six days if we include the preliminaries of sowing the seeds on the night preceding) is available. The festival comprises also of

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the recitation of Vedas and the reading of the Puranas during these five days for which the persons employed were especially remunerated.

The festival being held and introduced for the first time in 1463, A.D., it may be of interest to find the details given in the epigraphs about this. An inscription is found on the north wall of the verandah in the first prakara of Tirumala Temple and the details are as follows:—

“ May there be prosperity! On Wednesday combined with (the star) Rohini, being the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the Makara month in the Subhanu year, current with the Saka year 1385, the Sthanattar of Tirumalai executed the following silasasanam in favour of Sriman Mahamandalesvara Medinimiarraganda Kattari-saluva Mallayadeva - Maharaja son of Saluva Errakampayadeva Maharaja, viz..... and for the items of expenditure to be incurred in connection with the celebration of the Tirupavitratrinal, in your name, for five days in the bright fortnight of the Avani month, so as to commence with the ankurarpanam sowing the nine kinds of seeds in small earthen pots on the night of the dasami (tenth lunar day), to decorate the Tirumamani-mantapam (the front mantapam adjoining the sanctum) on the Ekadasi day and then seat on the dvadasi day Malaikuniyaninra-Perumal and Nachchimar in the Tirumamani-mantapam, after putting on the pavitram (sanctified thread round the head, neck, waist etc.) and taking Him in procession through the streets, viz.,

103 panam for the somakumbham (water pot), pratimai (images) and yagnopavitam (sacred cord),

10 panam for the acharya's hasta matra and karna matra (ornaments for the hand and the ears),

12 panam for dakshina (gift of money), pasu (gift of a cow), kshetram (gift of land) and suvarnam (gift of gold),

40 panam for the panchasayanam (five articles of bedding) comprising the ratnakambali (carpet), mettai (bed), mayiliraku (peacock's feathers), krishnajinam (deer skin), and pattuchchelai (silk cloth),

5 panam for the Purana-bhattar and the Brahmans chanting the Vedas;

10 panam for the dakshina for the above individuals;

3½ panam for the nila-varnam (dye of the blue colour) for dying (and supplying) red, black and green thread making up the panchavarna-nul (thread of five colours);

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

½ panam for the yellow coloured thread;

7 panam for the kusavar (potters) for the supply for kumbhakuda (big pot), palikai and other earthen vessels; and.....

8 panam for the achari (smith) to furnish the parvatam (plank with the image of the deity painted on it) and makaratornam (ornamental arch-shaped wooden frame) with two crocodiles represented on it forming the doorway in the function;

The total coming to 198½ panam ".....

There are in all only four inscriptions two from Tirumala temple and two from Tirupati temple belonging to the 15th century which mention this festival. There are no other references to it at a later date. It is really inexplicable as to how and when such an important purificatory ceremony came to be discontinued in the annual festivals of the temples, the more so, as it is found that it has been performed with all zeal and grandeur in the other important Vaishnava temples like Kanchi, Srirangam etc.

This festival has been resuscitated in the temple in recent years from 1962 onwards and is now conducted for four days starting from Sravana Shuddha Dasami day.

(v) Sankranti.

The Sankranti festival corresponds to the movement of the sun in the heavens. Of these, the Makara Sankranti and Karkataka Sankranti corresponding to the Uttarayana and Dakshinayana Punyakalas are specially observed universally. Vishu Sankrantis corresponding to the vernal and autumnal equinoxes are less important. Still all these occasions together with amavasya days are considered to be very holy ones, and hence these have been observed in the temples also.

Many devotees have made endowments for special worship during these days. The first such endowment belongs to queen Samavai of 966 A.D. (18-TT) where she has made an endowment for worship on two ayana Sankrantis and the two visnu Sankrantis. Ever since this, during centuries endowments for special worship by the devotees have been increasing on the Sankranti days. In one case, we have the full and the new moon days on which occur the Soma Surya grahanam which are called Vishesha divasamgal as distinct from tingal-divasamgal which regularly occur in a routine manner every month.

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Our special interest would be the Adi-Ayana in the administrative arrangements of the temple since this formed the new accounting year of the temple when the old registers were discarded and new registers of accounts commenced to be written on. The Adi-Ayana is consequently mentioned in these epigraphs with reference to this function as in the expressions:

tiru andeluttu idum podu (66-GT)

tiruvandeluttu satti arulum podu (195 GT)

tiruvandeluttitta-taruvayile (58-G.T.)

etc. etc.

(vi) Vasantotsavam and Grishmotsavam.

The Lord of the universe is conceived by man in his own image and hence the Lord partakes also of the man's festivals like Vasantotsavam (Spring festival), Grishmotsavam (summer festival), Unjal Tirunal (swinging festival) and the tiruppali-odam-tirunal (the floating festival).

During spring season or Vasanta ritu in the month of Vaikashi the Brahmotsavam of Sri Govindaraja of Tirupati is celebrated, on the 6th day of which the Vasantotsavam is celebrated with a procession of the Lord during the main streets. Nowadays, there is a function in the evening and special chandanam is distributed. From epigraphs we learn that a large quantity of chandanam was used for the festival in the past. Hence this distribution of sandalwood paste would appear to be an ancient custom.

Since Vasantotsavam is coupled with Brahmotsavam and occurs on the 6th day of the Brahmotsavam, this utsavam also got doubled as the Brahmotsavam was increased to two in the 13th century, till the middle of the 16th century, when two more Brahmotsavam were instituted when this also got automatically increased. A similar auxiliary Vasantotsavam was arranged for the last two days of the Kodai-tirunal during the reign of Krishnadevaraya (311-TT).

Besides this auxiliary Vasantotsavam, there seems to have been celebrated another Vasantotsavam as a main festival by itself, lasting for three days in the month of Chittirai, from the day of the star Chittirai, i.e., Chitra, which would coincide with the purnima or the full-moon day (No. 105-G.T.). During the time of Achyutaraya, a fresh Vasantotsavam was started in Saka 1460, Vilambi, by one Periya-Solai, son of an accountant in the temple at Tirumala, by instituting a fund of 3000 narpanam (No. 345-G.T.) The preliminary rite

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of ankurarpanam (sowing the nine kinds of seeds) was required to be done on the day of Uttirattadi or Uttarabhadra star in the month of Panguni and the Sattumurai (the last) day was to fall on the day of Kartikai or Krittika star such that the tirunal was celebrated for a period of four days.

Since these festivals were not primary and obligatory ones, they could be increased and modified to any extent to which the devotees desired and consequently we find variation in them.

(vii) Kodai-Tirunal.

The Kodai-tirunal was a summer festival, just as Vasantotsavam was one pertaining to the spring season. It was celebrated for a period of twenty days divided into two halves. It was conducted both at Tirumala for Sri Malaiyappan (the processional image of Sri Venkatesvara), His two divine consorts and Senai Mudaliyar (No. 311-T.T.) and in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja (Nos. 105-G.T., 277 and 281-T.T.). No. 251-G.T., dated in Saka 1454, Khara, records a Kodai festival for Sri Periya-Raghunathan, *i.e.*, Sri Kodanda-Rama, during the month of Ani.

This festival is mentioned for the first time in an incomplete epigraph found on the west wall of the mukkti pradakshinam. It is in the 17th regnal year of an unknown king, and it makes provision for a donation of 400 panams, the interest from which is intended to be used for this festival. The inscription, paleographically would be of the 12th or 13th century A.D.

This festival was also being performed during the administration of the temple by the Mahants. It is not being performed at present.

(viii) Anna Unjal Tirunal.

Besides these Vasanta and Kodai festivals, there is also the Anna-unjal (swan-shaped swing) tirunal, and the Tiruppali-odam-tirunal (floating festival) conducted for the processional images. The Anna-unjal festival was started in the Tirumala temple by Saluva Narasimha in Saka 1395, Vijaya, and was stipulated to be celebrated for a period of five days virtually, but actually for seven days (No. 197 T.T.). It was essential to commence this festival with the ankurarpanam, as in the case of the Vasantotsavam, on the night preceding the main days of the festival, which was fixed to be done on the sixth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Chittirai. All articles required for the bath, worship, offerings and procession were enumerated seriatim, as well as the rites of homam, punyaham and antya-homam at the end of the fifth day. Special offerings on a grand scale were provided for both day and night.

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

For the expenses of these and other items, Saluva Narasimha granted the village of Dammarapatti in Kalavai-parru, a sub-division of Padaividu-rajya.

Not only was this Unjal-utsavam separately instituted as a main festival, but it was annexed to the Kodai-tirunal on its tenth day, and further arranged as a one day's function on the Sankramam (*i.e.*, the Makara-sankramam or the winter-solstice day) by Saluva Narasimha himself, on the above occasion, the total unjal days aggregating to nine (No. 197-T.T.).

The Unjal festival, when once it was established in the Tirumala temple by Saluva Narasimha for Sri Malaiyappa, became a desideratum in Tirupati in the case of Sri Govindaraja. Consequently in Saka 1430 Appa-Pillai, son of Karavattipuliyaivar of the Koundinya-gotra and Apastamba-sutra, a resident of Mahipalakulakalachcheri, a part of Rajendrasola-chaturvedi-mangalam alias Sriman-Uttaramerur, instituted a Unjal-tirunal for Sri Govindaraja, commencing with the ankurarpanam on the day of the Chitra star occurring in the month of Adi and closing with the Sattumurai on the day of Uttarashada (No. 265-G.T.). The festival therefore lasted for 8 days and adequate provision, was made for its regular conduct through the supply of all the necessary articles and services which were also remunerated.

This festival is not being conducted in the temple at present.

(ix) Tiruppali-odam-Tirunal.

Inscription No. 197-T.T., which records the institution of the Unjal festival at Tirumala by Saluva Narasimha, mentions that a Tiruppali-odattiruna. (floating festival) was also conducted as the dharmam of Saluva Narasimha, and that provision was made for offering four appa-padi on the occasion.

References to the swinging and the floating festivals occur in later records. Nos. 271-T.T. dated in Saka 1426 and 97-G.T. dated in Saka 1445 state that the Unjal festival was celebrated for a period of five days, in the two temples. But the references to the Tiruppali-odam point out to a one day's festival as in Nos. 281-T.T. and 256-G.T., while in No. 97-G.T. it is said to form a day's function, being affixed to the Kodai festival on its 10th day, and in No. 83-T.T., dated in Saka 1445, Vijaya, it is stated that the Jalakridai-tiruppali-odattirunal was to be conducted for nine days in the Achyutarayar-Koneri. As the agamas do not specify any dates for these festivals, they came to be celebrated at the convenience of the founders.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(x) Jayanti festivals.

Another source of accretion to the festivals in temples is furnished by the provision made for celebrating the birth day or the birth-asterism of several deities. The Jayantis of the different avatars, such as Sri Ramanavami, Sri Krishnashtami, Sri Narasimhajayanti etc., are observed annually on particular days, while, in the case of the presiding deities of the several temples, the birth-asterism is of greater moment, and on the day on which it occurs each month, special worship is provided; such as the days of the stars Sravanam in the case of Sri Venkatesvara (No. 33-T.T.), Punarvasu for Sri Rama (No. 280-T.T.) Uttara for Sri Govindaraja (No. 47-G.T.), Rohini for Sri Krishna (No. 47-G.T.), etc.

Closely akin to the above are those festivals in temples which were instituted by devotees for conducting special worship to the deities on each anniversary day of the birth-asterism of certain great men, such as the alvars (saints), acharyas (spiritual teachers), kings, princes, and ruling chiefs, and rich men and other devoted persons who were anxious about invoking the blessings of the Almighty upon them on the particular day each year for a long and prosperous life. Special worship including food-offerings and processions were arranged on these occasions.

Besides, certain other days, such as the Tai-Amavasya, Ani-Amavasya, Dipavali, Kartikai, Yugadi, Maha-Navami, Ratha-Saptami, etc., which are held sacred by the Hindu public, were also made festive occasions on which the deities were propitiated with offerings and taken out on some vehicles in procession.

(xi) Kalyana Utsavam.

The Kalyanotsavam is usually performed in the Kalyana Mantapam or the Tirumala Nayaka Mantapam. In this Utsavam the marriage of Sri Malayappan with his brides Sri Devi and Bhudevi is performed. This is an impressive ceremony and begins with the Panchamurthi Puja following the Vaikhanasa Agama rituals. The marriage is done with Mangala Sutra Dharana according to Vedic rites. The 'thalambraju' ceremony is also performed as in regular marriages. The Nachchiyars and the Lord are then garlanded.

This is purely an arjitham festival i.e., one which is conducted on payment of the scheduled fees. The donor is honoured at the end with a vastram from the temple. All the devotees present at the temple are given a dakshina of few paise along with the Lord's 'Akshatalu.'

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

No inscription however gives any details of the marriage festival until we reach the year 1546 A.D. In that year Tallapakam Tirumala Ayyangar conceived the idea of celebrating a marriage festival of five days for Malayappan on the lines of a Hindu marriage. The festival was celebrated in the month of Panguni at a cost of 500 ghatti Varahas. As the Kalyana mantapam was not then in existence, the festival was conducted in the Tirumamani mantapam. The details given in the epigraph (No. 669-T. T.) are as follows.

On the first day there was the preliminary function of Sadyonkura Ankurarpanam. Soma pratima, Brahma pratima, etc., were consecrated for the ceremony. Then Malaikuniya ninra perumal and the two Nachchimars (Bhudevi and Neela Devi) were given Tirumanjanam or bath of rose water in the Tirumamani mantapam. This was followed by a procession through the streets. On return the bridegroom was seated on a Unjal or swing plank in front of the Tirumamani mantapam and the Nachchimars were seated one on a Chataka pakshi vahanam and the other on a Hamsa Vahanam. Garlands were exchanged between the bridegroom and the two brides in the same way as in the case of a Hindu marriage. The Nachchimars were next placed on either side of Malaikuniya ninra perumal on the swing plank. Their feet were washed with milk and harti pancha varna pidi were offered to them. In the Abhijit lagnam, the Deities were removed to the Tirumamani mantapam and all the articles required for the muhurta homam were brought. These consisted chiefly of clothes for the Nachchimars, Sandal paste and Sambhavana for putting on the Tirukkappunaan (consecrated string round the wrist?) and a cloth to serve as a screen between the bridegroom and the brides.

(xii) Ratha Saptami Festival.

This is a well known festival celebrated at sun rise on the Magha Suddha Saptami tithi. It is considered a Vishesha Divasam which is generally celebrated in all Vishnu temples. It is first mentioned in an inscription of the year 1564. This is probably because no endowment was made for it till 1564 A.D. (No. 376-G. T.)

In the year 1538 A.D. one Tiruvanantalvar Kuppayyan made an endowment of 700 panams from the income of which a Ratha Saptami festival was to be celebrated for Sri Govindarajaswami on the Sukla Saptami day in the month of Tai. On this occasion there was a Tirumanjanam and procession in Suryaprabha along with Nachchimar and Senai mudaliar.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

In Tirumala, it does not appear from the inscriptions that this festival was celebrated before 1564 A.D. In that year however one Karnikkar Appalayyar made an endowment of the village of Sengalleru in Gandikkottai sirmai yielding an annual income of 150 Rekkai pon. Out of this a sum of 34 R.P. and 5 panams were to be spent for the celebration of a Ratha Saptami festival in Tirumala. This festival is described in detail in the inscription as follows.

On the night before the festival, sumptuous food offerings were made to Periya Perumal. At day break on the day of the festival, Brahma Senapati was propitiated with Bali offerings. Then Tiruvalialvan (Chakrattalvar) went round the streets and bali offerings were made at the right corners of the village (points of the compass). Homam was next performed in the temple and Tirumanjanam was given to Malai ninra perumal and the Nachchimars. The latter were then taken in procession in Suryaprabha vahanam through the streets. After returning to the Tirumamani Mantapam, Churnabhishekam was done. Tiruvali alvan was next taken to Sri Varahaswami temple where Tirtha (bathing in the Swami pushkarini) was offered by Tiruvalialvan. There was also a night procession on Vaikunta Vimanam and food offerings. It will be noticed that this festival in Tirumala was conducted on a grander scale than in Tirupati, although in the latter place the festival had an earlier start.

The present day celebration of the festival in Tirumala is more elaborate. The daily Tiruvaradhanam of Periya Perumal is completed before day break and before the Utsavamurthi is taken out for the Suryaprabha procession. After the street procession with the Deity mounted in Suryaprabha is over, three more processions take place with the Deity mounted on the small Sesha Vahanam, Garuda Vahanam and Hanumanta Vahanam. It is only after completing these processions that Tiruvali alvan goes to Sri Varahaswami temple and offers Tirthavari. The second Archana and Naivedyam of Periya Perumal take place after the Tirthavari. Thereafter while the pilgrims are having darsan of the Periya Perumal, the Utsava Murti goes again in procession mounted successively on the Sarva Bhupala Vahanam, Kalpavriksha Vahanam and Chandraprabha. Thus seven processions on seven vahanams take place before sunset. It is not possible to state when these developments took place.

(xiii) Lakshmi Devi Mahotsavam.

The festival was first instituted by Achutaraya Maharayar in the year 1535 A.D. It was intended to celebrate the union of Tiruvengadamudaiyan with Alarmelmangai Nachchiar as stated in the inscription (No. 54).

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The festival was to commence with Ankurarpanam (seed sowing ceremony) in Uttirattadi Nakshatram and to end with Sathumurai in Rohini nakshatram (six days in all). In the post-script, the name Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam is given to the festival. The cost of celebrating the festival was 300 rekhai pon. This expenditure was to be borne by the King by assigning the Uttarayam income of Kondavidu Simai every year.

All the customary rituals connected with a five day festival with the exception of flag hoisting and Tirthavari, were provided for. Pratimas (or images in gold) of Brahma, Soma, Sesha and others for the Brahma mandalam and Lakshmi were made and installed. The special features were the daily recital of Sri Sukta, Kalpa mantram, Lakshmi Sahasra namam and Lakshmi Gayatri japam. Homam was also performed daily and for this havis payasa charu and various kinds of foods were provided. Dakshina was given to the Acharya, the Ritviks and to those who recited the Vedas and read the Puranas. Some sumangalis (married women) were also given dakshina and clothes. There was procession every day and food offerings were made in the seven mantapams constructed to commemorate the names of Achyutaraya, Varadajiamman and their sons. The festival continued to be celebrated till the year 1562 A.D. and endowments were made for food offerings on the festival days by Aravidu Tirumalarajayya and Sottai Tirumalai nambi Srinivasa Ayyangar. Thereafter we lose sight of the festival.

In Tirupati also, a similar festival was celebrated from about 1537 A.D. (No. 258-G.T.). But it seems to have been a one day festival on the Suklapaksha navami day before the Vijayadasami.

(xiv) Pallavotsavam.

This festival was instituted in 1545 A.D., by Sriman Mahamandalesvarar Vittalesvara Maharaja, son of Araviti Bukkaraja Ramaraja Timmarajayya. He made a grant of three villages with an aggregate annual income of 1000 rekhai pon for various purposes. Out of this amount 492 R.P. was to be expended for the celebration of Pallavotsavam. It was arranged to be celebrated in the month of Vaikasi so as to have the Sattumurai in Rohini Nakshatra which was the janma nakshatra of the donor. The festival commenced in the same manner as the other festivals with Ankurarpana sthapana, Tirumanjanam, Homam, Pancha havis, Namarchana, the recital of Vedas and the Tamil Prabandhams and the reading of Puranas. There were asthanams, naivedyam in asthanams, procession of the Utsavamurti with the Nachchimars round the streets, returning to the bed chamber etc.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

For the performance of homam at the time of the ankurarpanam the usual images,—Sesha and Jayadi images, Brahma, garuda, eight varuna images, the images of the nine planets and one for the stars—were duly made and installed. Acharya and Ritviks were engaged and paid. It is seen that the festival continued to be celebrated till 1562 A. D. (No. 428-G.T.) and other donors also made endowments for food offerings on the five days of the festival.

(xv) Phaletsavam.

This five days festival was not the same as Pallavotsavam. It is really a festival of fruits. Sottai Tirumalainambi Srinivasa Ayyangar made this festival from one of the items of his endowment of the grant of Periya Ekkalur village in Gutti Sirmai. It was celebrated on the same lines as the other festivals. It commenced with ankurarpanam; all the usual images were made and installed. Homams were offered every day. There were the Acharya, the Ritviks, the recital of Namarchana, the reading of Tiruvenkatamahatmyam and the recital of Vedas and Prabandhas, etc. The Muhurtam, or auspicious moment for commencing the festival was fixed by an astrologer. But its distinguishing feature was the offering of large quantities of fruits, wild as well as cultivated ones, to the deity and their free distribution to the members of the congregation. Mangoes, jack fruits, coconuts, wood apples, the two varieties of jambu fruits, kilikkirinji fruits, kommedi madalam fruits, kama-mattam, muralam, palai and plantain fruits were offered and distributed. In this manner the total number of fruits offered every day amounted to 1200. During the festival, the Tirumanjanam of the Utsavar and Nachchimar took place in the Ulagamundan flower garden mantapam. The festival was celebrated for five days in the Tamil month of Masi; the ankurarpanam started in the Punarvasu nakshatram and the Sathumurai in the Puram nakshatram. There is also an endowment for food offerings in connection with this festival in 1562 A.D.

(xvi) Visesha Tirunal and tingal divasams during ages in Tirumala.

Epigraphs which are our main source of information give us valuable information about the details of the festivals conducted in the temple

No. 633-T.T. and No. 428-G.T. give full and complete details about the several festivals conducted on different dates for Lord Venkatesvara at Tirumala as follows:—

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

10 Brahmotsavam running for 14 days each with the processional Images seated on each of the 14 days in the unja-mantapam constructed by Tirumalaraya opposite to the Dhvajastambham (flag-staff) in the Sampangi-Pradakshinam, the second circumambulatory passage, as a renovation and enlargement of Saluva Narasimha's mantapam;

The Anna-Unjal tirunal (lightly swinging on the swan-shaped sea-saw of the three processional Images) for 5 days, instituted by Saluva Narasimha in 1473 (No. 197-T.T.);

The Pavitrotsavam (purificatory ceremonial festival) for 5 days (instituted by Saluva Mallayadeva Maharaja in 1464 (No. 157 - T.T.).

The Sahasra-nama-archana festival (actually Ashtottara-Sahasra-nama, 1008 appellations through the utterance of which Venkatesvara is invoked in worship), to run for 5 days; Nowadays these 1008 names are recited during the forenoon Archana worship with flowers and tulasi, every day; and probably in the 16th century it was not in practice, and only Ashtottara-sata-nama, 108 names, were recited; hence a new festival with 1008 names recitation was perhaps inaugurated then).

The Sahasra-Kalasa-Abhishekam festival for 1 day only (the ceremonial ablutions of the processional images with water filled in 1008 small silver vessels). This is an Arjita festival now, *i.e.*, conducted by the temple only on payment of the prescribed fee by any devotee, and not one performed as a routine by the temple. The fee for it is now Rs. 2,500/- No. 428-G.T. provided an offering to Venkatatturaivar (Ugra-Srinivasa) on this day.

The Adhyayanotsavam for 25 days in Margali month with the recitation of several parts of the Tamil-Prabandham;

The Vasantotsavam, the spring festival for 5 days, instituted by Tirumalarajayya;

The Damana-arohana-Vasantotsavam with the covering of the bodies of the Images with the sweet-smelling damana herbs, for 5 days in Ani;

The Unjal festival for 9 days;

The Pendli-tirunal or Vaivahikotsavam, marriage festival for 5 days (instituted by Tallapaka Tiruvenkatanatha alias Chinnanna in 1546 (No. 669-T. T.),

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The Lakshmidēvi festival for 5 days.

The Kodai-tirunal, summer festival, for 20 days;

The float festival for 9 days;

The Pallavotsavam for 5 days;

The Phalotsavam for 3 days;

The Adhyayanotsavam for Udaiyavar (Ramanuja) for 6 days;

These 15 festivals, other than the 10 Brahmotsavams, are termed Viseshatirunal, special or extra festivals.

There are tingal-divasam (monthly days) occurring in each month of the year, on which special worship and offerings were arranged for the different deities:—

12 Masa-Sankramams, monthly solstices, the first days of the 12 Tamil months;

13 Amavasyas (new-moon days);

13 Purnamis (full-moon days);

25 Dasamis (10th lunar days of the bright and dark fortnights).

25 Ekadasis (11th lunar days of both the fortnights);

25 Dvadasis (12th lunar days of the two fortnights);

13 days of each of the stars such as Rohini, Mrigasirsha, Punarvasu, Pushyami, Uttara-Phalguni, Mula, Purvashadha, Uttarashadha, and Sravanam.

Likewise there are visesha-divasam, single religious and festivity days in the year, on which worship and offerings were provided to the deities, such as Sri-Jayanti, Uri-Adi, Utthana-Dvadasi, Arpasi-Purvashadha, Dipavali, Kartikai, Makara-Sankramam, Padiyavettai, Tai-Pusam, Tannir-amudu, Ugadi, Sri Rama Navami, Vaikasi-Visakha and Masi-Makha.

Besides these days, some devotees made provision for offerings and special worship and even for a festival and procession on the days of their own birth-stars.

Tingal divasams are certain special days of monthly occurrence and are either certain tithis of the bright or dark fortnight, or are days of certain nakshatrams occurring every month. For purposes of celebrating festivals the tithi or nakshatram is determined by the same rules as for Vratams. Visesha divasams are days in which a tithi or nakshatra in a particular month occurs. They commemorate the birth asterism of alvars or acharyas, the avatara

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

nakshatra (day of manifestation) of the incarnations of Vishnu or days commemorating great events.

The earliest mention of Vissha divasam occurs in an inscription of the year 1308 A.D. In this inscription it is stated that Snapana Tirumanjanam was performed for Tiruvengadam Udaiyan on the days of Kaisika Tirudvadasi, Margali, Tirudvadasi, Sankramanam and Chittirai Vishu. Subsequently in an inscription of the year 1488 A.D. (No. 142-G. T.) the monthly occurrence of the birth asterisms of certain acharyas and others are referred to as Tingal divasams.

Among Vissha divasams the following are mentioned in the inscription—Adiayanam, Arpisi Vishu, Makra Sankramanam, and Chittirai Vishu; Sriyanti, Mahanavami, Tirukkartigai, Kanu, Tiruppudiyadu, Tai Amavasya Panguni, Uttiram, Vaikhasi Visakham, and days of solar and lunar eclipse. On these days Tirumanjanam was offered. These appear to be in consonance with present day classification also. In 1504 A.D.(No. 271-T.T)we find that some more days were added. These are Arpisi Puradam (the birth asterism of Senai Mudaliar), Ani Puradam, Ani Pusam, Sri Rama Navami and Vastana Purnami.

A fairly comprehensive list appears in an inscription of the year 1562 A.D which gives full details as follows:—

<i>Vissha Tirunal</i>	<i>Days.</i>	<i>Vissha Tirunal.</i>	<i>Days.</i>
Ten Brahmotsavams of		<i>Carried over</i>	.. 151
13 days each .. 130		Lakshmidēvi festival .. 5	
Anna Unjal Tirunal .. 5		Pendli-tirunal	
Pavitrotsavam .. 5		(Vaivahikotsavam) .. 5	
Sahasra namarchana festival .. 5		Vasanthotsavam	
Sahasra Kalasabhishekam for		(Summer Festival) .. 20	
Ugra-Srinivasa .. 1		Tiruppalliodam	
Damanarohana Vasantotsavam 5		(Floating Festival) .. 9	
		Pallavotsavam .. 5	
		Phalotsavam .. 3	
	151	Adhyayanotsavam for	
		Tirumalai Udaiyavar .. 6	
		Grand Total	204

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

<i>Tingal Divasams.</i>	<i>Days.</i>	<i>Tingal Divasams.</i>	<i>Days.</i>
Masa Sankramanam (days of the Sun's entry into the 12 Nīrayana Zodiacal divisions)	.. 12	The following nakshatrams in the year Carried over	.. 113
Amavasya or New moons	.. 13	Rohinis	.. 13
Purnimas or full moons	.. 13	Mrigasirshams	.. 13
Dasamis (tenth tithi of the bright and dark fortnights)	.. 25	Punarvasus	.. 13
Ekadasi (eleventh tithis)	.. 25	Uttirams	.. 13
Dwadasis do.	.. 25	Mulams	.. 13
		Puradams	.. 13
		Uttiradams	.. 13
		Tiruvonam (Sraavanams)	.. 13
	<hr/> 113 <hr/>	Grand Total	<hr/> 217 <hr/>

<i>Visesha Divasams.</i>	<i>Days.</i>	<i>Visesha Divasams.</i>	<i>Days.</i>
Uriadi (Uthla festival)	.. 1	Carried over	6
Ennaiyadal (to Sri Krishna)	.. 1	Makara Sankramanam	.. 1
Sri Jayanti (Krishna's birth)	.. 1	Padiyavettai	.. 1
Bottu festival	.. 1	Tai Pusam	.. 1
Dipavali	.. 1	Masi Makham	.. 1
Kartikai	.. 1	Srirama Navami	.. 1
	<hr/> 6 <hr/>	Vaikasi Visakam	.. 1
		Grand Total	<hr/> 12 <hr/>

The number of days of visesha Tirunals was 204, of Tingal divasams 217; and of Visesha divasams 12 days. The total of all these is 433 days in a year of 365 days. There should therefore have been many overlappings.

The visesha divasams as devised in 1819 A.D. when the East India Company took over the temple, as seen from archival record were (1) Anivara-Asthanam (the commencement of Adi month) with food offering of $11\frac{1}{2}$ seers rice (2) Varalakshmi Vratam (a new item) (3) Sraavana-Pournami; (4) Gokulashtami (not Sri Jayanti) (5) Uthla festival (for Ugadi) (6) Vinayaka Chaturthi (a new festival) (7) Anantha Chaturdasi (a new festival) (8) Dipavali Asthanam

FESTIVALS IN TIRUMALA TEMPLE

on the occasion of the Swami Pushkarini getting filled with water (a new (9) Kaisika dwadasi (10) festival) (11) Kartikai diparadhanam (12) Abhishekam of Alwar at Chakra Tirtham (a new festival) (13) Dhanurmasam for 30 days (14) Tiruvadhanotsavam for 25 days (15) Premakalaha Utsavam (a new festival) (16) Tanyaniramudu festival (17) Mukkoti festival (18) Sankranti (Makara) (19) Ramakrishna Tirtham Mukkoti, probably the old Navalurru festival revived (20) Ratha Saptami (21) Kshetra palaka abhishekam (a new festival) (22) Kailavar Tirumanjanam (23) Samvatsaradi (23-a) Samvatsaradi Asthanam (a new festival) and (24) Srirama Navami. From the above list it will be seen that many visesha festivals were classified as visesha divasams and that eight new festivals were added most of the latter showing a distinct non-vaishnava influence in the administration of the temple. The tasdik provision for food offerings on these days was also reduced considerably,

The present day arrangement is as follows:—

	<i>Days.</i>
Ekadasis and Dvadasis, 25 of each in a year	.. 50
Nakshatras-Sravana, Rohini, Arudra, Punarvasu (Endowment festival); Chitra (endowment festival) thirteen days each	.. 65
Samvatsaradi asthanam	.. 1
Vasanthotsavam	.. 3
Nityotsavam following the Samvatsaradi Asthanams	.. 2
Teppotsavam following the Samvatsaradi Asthanams	.. 2
Teppotsavam (Floating festival)	.. 3
Dhanurmasam	.. 30
Adhyayanotsavam	.. 25
Radha Saptami	.. 1
Brahmotsavam	.. 10
	—
	190
Brahmotsavam in adhika month once in four year.	.. 10
	—
	200

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

(i) Introduction.

THE sthala mahatmyam of the temple of Sri Venkatesvara is called 'Sri Venkatachala Mahatmyam.' This is mentioned in several puranas like Varaha purana, Padma purana, Garuda purana, Brahma purana, Markandeya purana, Vamana purana, Brahmottara purana, Khanda purana, Aditya purana, Bhavishyottara purana and Harivamsa. Of these, the most important are the Varaha purana and Bhavishyottara purana.

There are other innumerable collections of legends and stories about Tirumala and about the presiding God Sri Venkatesvara or Srinivasa. An inscription from Tirumala mentions a Venkatachala Mahatmyam that was being recited in the temple before the Lord. It is not possible to say if this work is the same as 'Sri Venkatachala Mahatmyam' which is now available in print as the stala purana of the temple.

Most of the incidents in the sthalapurana describe the sanctity and the greatness of the Hills of Tirumala and of the numerous tirthas situated on them.

(ii) Author of the sthala purana etc.

The sthala purana was compiled by a certain Pasindi Venkatatturaivar alias Jiyar Ramanujayyan who lived in Tirupati during the last quarter of the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

15th century, for, a record (No. 253-T.T.) of his charity in Sri Venkatesvara temple dated in the Saka year 1413, cyclic year Virodhikrit, on the 7th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the Mithuna month, being a Monday combined with the star Uttirattadi or Uttarabhadra, equivalent to the 27th June 1491 A.D., registers an implied sufferance of the authorities of the temple for reading, at a tiruvolakkam (asthanam or levee) in the presence of the deity, "the Tiruvenkata-Mahatmyam compiled and humbly presented by him," during one of the days of the Adhyayanotsavam conducted in the month of Margali for Tiruvenkata-mudaiyan at Tirumala, to wit, on the day of the repairing of the path-way to the waterfall Akasaganga, from which water is daily brought to the temple for His ablutions and other rites of worship.

This is the earliest reference that we get, in the inscriptions, to the "Tiruvenkata-Mahatmyam," and it is explicitly mentioned that it was "humbly presented" by Pasindi Venkatatturaivar. Consequently we may take it that the piecing together of the pertinent extracts from the twelve different Puranas by Pasindi Venkatatturaivar, together with additions of his own, based on the mangalasanams (adulatory verses) of the Alvars or Tamil Vaishnavait Saints who sang in praise of God Venkatesa, was completed on or before the Saka year 1413, Virodhikrit, i.e., 1491 A.D. And it is possible that the "Tiruvenkata-Mahatmyam" mentioned in the epigraph is the same work as the present "Venkatachala-Mahatmya" published by the Devasthanam and as such formed the original of the Devasthanam publication.

This "Venkatachala-Mahatmya" was first published in book form in Tefugu script in 1884 A.D., by the Devasthanam under the authority of His Holiness the late Sri Mahant Bhagavandasaji, the then Vicharanakarta, and republished, with the omission of extraneous matter, in 1896 by his grand-disciple the late Sri Mahant Ramakisoradasaji and reprinted in 1928 by the latter's disciple, His Holiness Sri Mahant Prayagdasaji, the last Vicharanakarta of the Devasthanams. Meanwhile two Devanagari editions of the "Mahatmya" were also issued, the second of which was in 1904. Since then a Hindi rendering of it was brought out in 1930.

It is this compilation which goes by the name of "Sri Venkatachala-Mahatmya." It commences with an account of the Varaha-kalpa as given in the Varahapurana delineating the Sveta-Varaha-avatara, for the double reason that this kalpa witnessed the origin of the mundane world and that God Sveta-Varaha chose this hill for His dwelling ever since his rescuing the earth from the patalaloka, for which cause both the hill and the surrounding country have come to be known as the Varaha-kshetra.

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

(iii) The story of Sveta varaha kalpa. .

The sthala purana mentions a conference of all rishis and munis at Naimisaranya, where Suta, the apara vedavyasa was asked to describe to the assembled saints the pre-eminent place among the kshetras sacred to Lord Vishnu. Suta related to them the story of such a kshetra wherein the Lord performed the various kridas and also the incidents of His life connected with the varaha kalpa viz., Seshachala. The hill is described there as a sacred place which possesses the powers of causing the realisation of all desires and as capable of bestowing immense prosperity on men. The story given is as follows:

At one time the oceanic waters swelled and enwrapped the earth deep. That was Kalpadi (the beginning of the aeon) when Vishnu was lying supine on a banyan leaf as Vātapatrasayi in the Maharloka. For a thousand yugas the water did not recede and the omnipotent Vishnu bethought Himself of re-creation.

The Munis desired to know in detail as to how Pralayakalpa (the great deluge) occurred, how and wherefrom such a large quantity of water arose and where the earth and the mountains then lay; and, in compliance thereof, Suta explained thus:—

One thousand chatur-yugas make a day for Brahma and the same a night. At the end of such two thousand chatur-yugas, Sun vomited fire through his rays and there was no rain for years together. Men and tapodhanas (i.e., munis), living on earth at the time, forsook it and took their abode in the janaloka at the approach of night, when the forests and mountains were consumed by fire and reduced to ashes. Then Vayu (wind) blew furiously for some long years and big clouds formed and rained in torrents without intermission. The earth melted and sank down to the patalatala. Then the sapta-sagaras (seven oceans), joining together, rose up to the maharloka as one expanse of water, and so remained for a thousand yugas during a part of that night of Brahma. Immediately past midnight, Vishnu, the Creator, Protector and Destroyer, determined to rescue the earth—an act impossible of accomplishment by Brahma and Siva—and so went in search of it into the Patalaloka in the form of Sveta-Varaha (white Boar). There ensued a frightful encounter with Hiranyaksha which by and by passed into a malla-yuddha (wrestling contest) lasting for a long time. Sveta-Varaha, becoming infuriated, tore the huge body of the demon, which was as big as Mount Meru, in twain with His tusks, and the demon's blood, mixing up with the water, caused it to turn red. The munis of the janaloka, noticing the redness, perceived

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

from their supernatural powers of samadhi, dhyana and yaga that this terrifying feat was performed only by Varaha whom they praised from their own residence. Sveta-Varaha whom they praised then slashed the water and brought up the Earth on His tusks, and, placing one foot on Adishesha, stood up in the janaloka like a huge mountain. Presently Brahma and the Devaganas, Siddhas and Paramarshis extolled Him with the chanting of the Vedamantras; simultaneously were showered flowers; Apsaras danced; devadundubhi, vina, muraja and mardala were heard to have been played. And they all praised Varaha as the skilful slayer of Hiranyaksha and as the Supreme God, and prayed to Him to establish the Earth firmly as heretofore.

This is the thirty-third Chapter of "Sri Varaha Purana" describing Sveta-Varaha's slaying Hiranyaksha, and forms the first Chapter of "Sri Venkatachala-Mahatmya."

(iv) Fetching Kridachala from Vaikuntha by Garuda.

Varaha fixed the Earth and delimited the saptasagaras and the saptalokas as formerly. He next called on Brahma and bid Him create the jagat as before; and accordingly Chaturmukha created the Sun and Moon as previously. Dhara-Varaha longed to reside on Earth for a time in order to protect the people and so commanded Garuda to bring from Vaikuntha the Kridachala together with the parishat (divine assembly) and the Suras headed by Vishvaksena. Soon afterwards Garuda started to bring the Kridachala, and Hari, in the incarnation of the Boar, having established the Earth, eagerly waited for the arrival of Garuda, selecting a sacred spot which was sixty yojanas (600 miles) south of the Gomati and five yojanas west of the eastern sea and adjoined the Rukmanadi (Svarnamukhi river) on its north; and which also formed the abode of the Punya-janas (holy people).

Starting under command of Bhu-Varaha, Garuda reached and espied the Kridachala, an extensive natural hill, consisting of precious stones and gold, containing lofty peaks and appearing in the form of Panchopanishat. It was found to be resplendent with tall trees growing both on heaven and earth and plants and shrubs of sweet scented flowers; ever resounding with the melody of the singing birds; abounding in wild beasts; inhabited by Kinnaras and Kinnaris singing incessantly; filled with delightful streamlets; and adored by Muktas, Nityas, Kamarupas and Namarupas. Being known as Narayana-giri, it served as the sporting hill of Parameshthi (God). In extent it was three yojanas wide and thirty yojanas long and in shape resembled Sesha. It was a fit place to receive the saviour of humanity. It formed the conch

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

of Hari and was a coveted place for all beings. Excellent in form, it bestowed great merit and afforded Moksha even to its devoted visitors.

Carrying that stupendous hill on his shoulders with all the divine servants in it, Garuda flew back to Varaha. Varaha asked him to deposit it at the place, and, getting on it, stood as Sveta-Varaha within the pure and divine Vimana—shining with many gopuras set with different kinds of precious stones, adorned by the Mahamani-mantapa with gem-set pillars, most gratifying to the sight but indescribable in words, and adjoining on its west the Svami-Pushkarini situated in the sacred forest, to the south of which the lotus-eyed Vishnu, the Supreme God, the holder of the conch, the discus and the club, and the abode of Lakshmi, chose to dwell underneath a Vimana later on.

This is the 34th Chapter of “Sri Varaha-Purana” describing the bringing of the Kridachala from Vaikuntha, and forms the 2nd Chapter of “Sri Venkatachala-Mahatmya.”

(v) Vishnu appearing in Tiruvengadam.

On being prayed to by the Devas, Munis, Lokapalas, etc., Vishnu consented to assume the Saumya form since His form as the slayer of Hiranyaksha was terrible, and gave an assurance to them that He liked Venkatadri more than Vaikuntha and promised to rest with Sridevi and Bhudevi on that Hill and grant the prayers to all men.

On the request of the temple munis, Sveta described the mahatmyam of the Swami pushkarini as follows:

It confers religious merit and destroys sins. Being a pleasure-tank of God in Vaikuntha, it is beloved of Sri and Bhumi. Its water is holy, fragrant, agreeable and auspicious. It is the birth-place of the Ganges and other sacred rivers. It is here set down by Garuda for the sport of Vishnu. Like the Viraja river, it dispels sins, such as those arising from the theft of gold, from the drinking of intoxicating liquors, etc., and grants temporal prosperity to those who only bathe in it every day, and yields desires through mere sight, touch, smell, taste or even thought alone. It is impossible to dilate upon its mahima. Though it may appear to men like an ordinary hill, still their devotion becomes pure on this mountain; and in consonance with the intensity of their bhakti will they realise their objects.

The bath in the Swami-Pushkarini, the adoration of the feet of a proper teacher and the observance of the Ekadasi-vrata, these three are greatly difficult of attainment. So also being born as man, also living to the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

full age of man, and the bath in the Swami-Pushkarini are highly impossible of achievement. Consequently the merit attaching to the Swami-Pushkarini is impossible to be fully described. The power inherent in the Swami-Pushkarini, of destroying the mahapataka is amply exemplified in the case of God Subrahmanya who killed Tarakasura. While the merit attaching to the performance of the daily rites and sacrifices will accrue to those who only visit the Venkadri, the performance of the naimittika (occasional sacrifices) here will remove bodily deformity, as is clearly illustrated in the case of Vasava (Indra). In short, for all men who desire the attainment of the four human ends, as Dharmai etc., for women, for sudras, for sinners and in particular for those who lack the sustaining ability to perform the prescribed rites completely, there is doubtless no refuge other than Venkatadri; and this truth is ever fulfilled.

This is the 35th Chapter of "Sri Varaha-Purana" narrating the prayer of the Devas to Sveta-Varaha, and forms the 3rd Chapter of "Sri Venkatachala-Mahatmya."

(vi) The divine kridas of Sri Varaha.

At the request of the munis, Suta then described the various kridas of Varaha on the Hill as follows:

Since the fixing of the Earth by Varaha and the bringing of the Kridadri from Vaikuntha by Garuda, that is to say, from the beginning of the Kalpa, Varaha has been amusing himself with Lakshmi beside river-beds and on torrent ridges and over valleys on this mountain; and even now He abides here, sometimes seen by men and sometimes unseen. Brahma has also affirmed that He will so continue till the end of the Kalpa, now and then presenting Himself before godly men. As in each Kalpa He rescues the Earth as Sveta-Varaha. His age is called the Sveta-Varaha-Kalpa by the Munis. Whenever evil overtakes the pious, dharma deteriorates and adharma prevails and the wicked wax stronger, then He manifests Himself as Naradeva befitting such occasions, eradicates adharma, and firmly establishes sudharma, protects the virtuous and encourages Vedavidya, and from His abiding place reveals Himself to all living beings. He rambles always on the Seshasaila along with Rama (Lakshmi), accompanied by Nityas, Muktas, Devas and Kamarupas; and therein dwells on the Venkatanaga, since He delights in it more than in Svarga, Suryaloka and His own Vaikuntha.

(vii) The divine power of Kridadri due to the Lord resting on it.

In as much as the hill is dear to Bhagavan and is encircled by the sacred crest, here lies the certainty of fructification of human efforts in the different

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

spiritual fields, such as Mantra-siddhi, Tapas-siddhi, Yagna-siddhi, Kamyasiddhi and other siddhis (acquisitions); and no obstacles intervene. Even small deeds on this hill tend to the attainment of the desired objects. All holy tirthas (bathing pools) abound on this hill. A constant worshipper with faith and devotion, who desires knowledge obtains knowledge; who longs for riches acquires much gold; who desires children begets sons; who covets a kingdom secures a state; who wishes for the removal of bodily deformity derives a perfect and lovely physique; and likewise whatever men may desire that they shall obtain.

Through various causes, the Kridadri has received different names and they are as follows:—

Chintamani, for the reason of its granting the desired objects.

Gnanadri, through its power of conferring knowledge.

Tirthadri, from the situation of all kinds of tirthas on it.

Pushkaradri, owing to the plentiful growth of the red lotus on it.

Vrishadri, or Dharmadri, from the performance of penance thereon by Dharmadevata for his own prosperity.

Kanakadri, from the abundance of gold found in it.

Narayanadri, due to the severe penance of the Brahmana named Narayana for being permitted to impart his own name to the hill.

Vaikunthadri, for the reason of its having been transplanted from Vaikuntha.

Simhachala, because of the assumption on this hill of the Nrisimha form by Hari for slaying Hiranyakasipu and protecting Prahlada.

Anjanadri, owing to the performance of penance by Anjanadevi on it and her begetting Hanuman, who rendered help to the Devas.

Varahadri, for its being the Varaha-Kshetra in it.

Nilagiri, owing to the permanent residence of the Vanara chief Nila on the hill.

Venkatadri, through the combination of amrita or moksha (bliss), the derivative significance of the root Ve, and aisvarya (prosperity) of the root kata.

Srinivasa-giri, because of the appearance of God on this hill as Srinivasa (the abode of Lakshmi) to the Devas, who named it Srinivasagiri.

Anandadri, named by the dwellers of Vaikunthapura, because of the plenitude of divine sport exhibited on this hill.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Sri-saila, owing to its power of bestowing prosperity and to the abiding of Lakshmi on it, the roots of the compound word having acquired their significance through the three means of sabda, yoga and rudha.

And similarly through the change of Kalpas, the hill has gained different names through different causes. It possesses also admirable powers as multitudinous as God's Himself. Its mahima is indescribable even by the four-faced Brahma, the six-faced Subrahmanya, the thousand-eyed Indra or the thousand-hooded Adisesha.

The Rishis of the Naimisaranya were not fully gratified by this description of Suta, for their curiosity was roused to know more thereof.

This is the 36th Chapter of "Sri Varaha-Purana" describing the divine grandeur of Sri Varaha who chose His abode on the Kridadri, and forms the 4th Chapter of "Sri Venkatachala-Mahatmya."

(viii) Lord Venkatesa on the Hill.

The Suta then described the various divine acts of Sri Venkatesa on the Hill.

Once upon a time He was rambling over the northern region of the hill with Rama (Lakshmi, His divine consort) in the manner of a lover. Certain Munis, who are blessed souls, who know the twenty-four tattvas and hence are capable of appreciating the meritorious deeds and performing them, who have recognised the merit-begetting powers of the hill, and who desired to undertake penance on it and dwell there permanently, determined to make a sacrifice on that hill in contemplation of Vishnu, in as much as the hill confers great punya and contains the different kinds of animals of a tame nature fit for sacrifices, is free from the annoyance of the wicked demons, grows various sorts of fruits and roots, abounds in water-falls, and is surrounded by all sorts of trees fit for sacrificial rites as well as for the resting of the tapasvi (sages) underneath them, with its scenery pleasing to the eye and enticing the mind. And they commenced the yaga in consonance with the injunction of the Sastras.

At that place arrived mysteriously God Vishnu accompanied by Lakshmi and stood near the pit of the sacrificial fire. He was then clad in a pitambaram (yellow silk) of a lovely hue, with a turban round the head, a sword in His left hand, with a lotus-coloured face brightened by the chewing of the betelnuts, with odours pervading all directions from the musk smeared over His body, with broad eyes resembling the lotus, with a conch-shaped neck,

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

with long arms, with a beauty enticing the world equal to the bewitching beauty of Kandarpa (Cupid), with a golden Yagnopavita, and with a soft, smooth and lovely body; in this manner did he enter into the midst of the Yagna-sabha composed of the Mahatmas. All the Munis saw Him with eyes resembling the white lotus, in company with the female consort who was habited in the fashion of a damsel holding a lotus in Her hand for frolic; whose body put on the colour of melted gold (*i.e.*, yellow), of the pistil of the lotus and of the turmeric; who coqueted often; who had curly forehead hair; whose face, resembling the white moon of the autumn, was graced by the chewing of the tambula (betel-nuts); whose two eyes were long reaching to the ears; who was as glaringly bright as the sunlight; who possessed a well proportioned physical frame never before had by any; and who looked like Lakshmi. Having beheld the couple, the Munis were struck with wonder, and they accosted Him thus: "O King! Who are you that looks a royal prince, that seems fit to rule the earth, that possesses the thirty-two marks of royalty, and resembles Rama, the son of Dasaratha? What has brought you hither? Which place is your habitation? Who are your mother and father? And what is your name?

To these queries Bhagavan replied as follows:—"I am neither a king nor a Brahman; I am devoid of Jati or caste; I own no mother or father; I have no fixed abode, and I am present everywhere and eat everything; I move through all space and assume all forms; I am nameless and possess no marked qualities; and I have come to see you. O sages, who are tapas-sreshtas, versed in Veda and Vedanta, tell me how the bark of the fig-tree tied with the tiger's skin while the udgata psalm is recited can become sacred. So he questioned the Munis with regard to the defects of the ritual of the yaga. On this the Munis consulted together and, fearing that the proper moment for offering the sacrifice might pass off, they forthwith made the offering of the vapa-homa of good odour into the flaming fire, agreeable to the precepts of the Sastras. Instantly He approached the place of the offering and received the vapa with both His hands, at the same time appearing bedecked with Sankha (conch), Chakra (discus), and Gada (club); with the Srivatsa mark on His chest; with Sri (Lakshmi) ever dwelling on His bosom; and adorned with all ornaments. Dazzled with His brightness, the Munis were struck with stupor, and for a moment stood motionless like pictures. And God, after expressing to them His satisfaction as to their yaga, suddenly vanished from their view.

The Munis were thereon joyed to find that Vishnu Himself came in person to accept their vapa offering and hence felt that their good fortune was

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

unequalled; and they also felt that their lives became blest; and with these happy thoughts they completed the remaining rites of the yagna.

(ix) The legend of the youth.

On a certain occasion Venkatadhisa (Venkatesa), while recreating Himself on a peak of the mountain in the form of a lovely youth, observed an old Brahmana whose limbs had lost their grit and tightness, whose eyes were sunken and were bereft of sight, whose knees were rickety, and whose body was tormented by hunger and thirst. Having lost his way on the mountain, he rested at a place from where he called aloud for his young son, wondering at the same time if his son had wandered away, leaving him an old man of a hundred years, alone. By his frequent crying, his throat was choked and his palate and tongue became dry and stiff. The youthful Venkatesa asked the old Brahmana as to whom he was calling and told him that no young man of the name of "Kaundinya" was at hand. The old man besought Him for the means of reaching his distant asrama in his then state of approaching death, and uttered in disgust why he should, being too advanced in age and debilitated in body with which he could not carry on his daily rites, and devoid of riches and bereft of his relations, still be suffered by God to live on. The merciful God thereupon questioned him, as if in jest, whether the old man desired to live longer, notwithstanding his frail body, wrinkled eye-brows, and sightless eyes; to which he replied that no such desire to prolong his existence haunted him, except for the fulfilment of his obligation to the Devas for the day through the completion of the nityakarma and jyotishihoma on that particular day. On this reply God offered His hand to the old Brahmana and led him a short distance, pointed out to him a pool of water, and, asking him to bathe in it, told him that after his bath they might proceed to his asrama. Accordingly the old man bathed in it and forthwith became transformed into a youth of sixteen years. And instantly God appeared to him with a thousand mouths, a thousand faces, a thousand heads and a thousand arms. Then repaired to that place the Devas and stood high up in the sky in great astonishment. Showers of flowers rained and the Deva-
dundubhi was sounded; and all the Devas praised Him heartily. He directed the old Brahmana to continue to perform his daily rites for which purpose, He said that He will also endow him with riches. And immediately He vanished. Then the Gods declared that, in as much as that sacred flowing water transformed, the old man into a youth, that stream shall be denominated the Kumaradharanadi and shall be known by that name in the world. He who bathes in its waters at the three intervals of the day continuously for

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

three months shall acquire control over his human passions; shall be cleansed of all his sins, and shall attain the holy feet of Vishnu. Thus announcing, the Tridasas returned to their place, filled with astonishment.

(x) King Sankhana's recovery of lost kingdom.

In the city of Sankasya there reigned a king of the Soma-vamsa (lunar-race) of great prowess, by name Sankhana. He ruled over a wealthy and extensive state which comprised many kingdoms and which he inherited from his forefathers. At one time, owing to the decline of his punya (merit of good deeds) he was dispossessed of his kingdom by his Samantarajas. He was therefore obliged to flee his country in great sorrow with his queen and ministers; and, proceeding southwards in the direction of Ramasetu, he caught sight of it and bathed in the sacred sea-water near it. Thence he turned back and gradually reached the Suvarnamukhari river and bathed in it as also in the padmasaras situated on its northern bank. He sojourned there for a time and performed his daily religious rites. He felt very sad and thought to himself, "I lost my throne and I am constrained to live in the forest. My power and authority are usurped and exercised by my enemies, and my paratantram, *i.e.*, condition of subjection to others, which causes much grief, is more painful to bear than the pangs of death. How shall I make a living and under whose protection? Where shall I wander and what is my refuge?" With these tormenting thoughts he fell asleep.

To his hearing, an asariravak (a voice from the blue) thus uttered: "You, long-armed king, do not grieve but assume fortitude. To the north from here at a distance of a kros (two miles and a half) runs a hill, famous on earth as Venkatachala. Kamapati who is a Kamadhenu (wish-giving celestial cow) to the suppliants, a Suradruma (boon-granting heavenly tree) to the afflicted, and a Chintamani (the celestial stone which has the power of granting prayers) to the sorrowful; who is merciful without cause and who yields the wishes of the devotees, abides on that hill. On it is situated a tank which is resplendent with the red lotus growing in it and is named as the "Swami-pushkarini." Adjoining it on its west bank rises an ant-hill; proceed thither, erect a hut for yourself, and, resting there, take a bath in the tank at the three hours of the morning, mid-day and evening. In that ant-hill dwells the four-armed Venkatesa bedecked with the Sankha (conch) and the Chakra (discus), the grantor of boons and a manifestation of Hari (Vishnu). With all your mind meditate on Him and worship Him for six months, and your royalty (svamitvam) will return to you."

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

On hearing the voice of the incorporeal being, his sorrow abated and he ascended the hill to its summit which is holy and on which grow different kinds of trees, live numerous yaks and musk-deer, as well as many sweet-voiced birds; and, searching for the Swami-Pushkarini-tirtha, he found it and was overjoyed. The tank contained pure water, abounding in water-lilies of a red hue and fishes and tortoises, and its banks were shaded by various sorts of flowering and fruit-bearing trees. There he put up a hut and lived in it, had the three ablutions daily at morn, noon and night and worshipped Venkatesa, observing a regulation of food at the same time as a vrata (observance) and thiswise resided there for six months.

Then from the midst of the Swami-Pushkarini rose up to the sky a divya-vimana (divine chariot), shining as brightly as many suns together and illumining the ten directions. Within it was standing in all grandeur God, the Lord of Sri or Lakshmi, holding the Sankha, Chakra and Gada (club) in His hands and accompanied by Sri and Bhumi (Goddess of Earth). And there came the Devas headed by Brahma, Munis, Siddhas, Vidyadharas, Kinnaras, Dikpalas, Vasus, Sapta-Rishis, Sadhyas and Rudras, and high up in the sky were heard the sounds of the bheri (kettle drum) and muraja (small drum), and all Devas sang and danced, and played their musical instruments; and extolled God with the Veda-mantras. Immediately Sankhana stood up in astonishment and prostrated himself before the Lord, and, praising Him, prayed to Him thus:—"O Devadeva (Lord of the Gods)! Jagannatha (Lord of the world)! who is ever intent upon protecting the world, I have obtained your darsana (vision of your manifestation). My kingship was usurped by my enemies and I am deprived of my kingdom. O Ocean of mercy, the liberal grantor of boons, and the ruler of the world! Pray, protect me. I am not conversant with the process and observance of rites and vows, rectitude, prayer and meditation. But, however, I have feasted myself with your excellent manifestation." To this the dark-necked Sriyahpati replied:—"Do not sorrow; I have bestowed on you kingship which you previously enjoyed, inasmuch as you have exhibited great devotion. Whoever bathes in the Swami pushkarini obtains swamitvam (sovereignty). In proportion to the integrity and devotion they bring to bear on their performance of ablutions, shall they surely attain swamitvam of the corresponding degree and magnitude, and shall never be under subjection to others. You, ruler of the earth! Go quick and rule your kingdom undisturbed." Having thus addressed him in the presence of the Devas, God disappeared from their view.

The Tridasas (Devas) then exclaimed, "The designation of "Swami-pushkarini" which the ancients applied to this tank through the process of

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

rudha was well merited on account of its being the queen of tanks; and now God himself has significantly derived the term from its inherent power of granting "swamitvam." This tirtha possesses superb virtues and destroys sins even by the mere sight of it. And the dwellers of this region are holy and blest." So saying, they retired to their abode with a joyful heart.

And in a joyous mood Sankhana Maharaja, accompanied by his wife, got down the hill and wended his way towards his own country. Meanwhile the enemy kings who had wrested the kingdom from him grew jealous of one another, fought among themselves for sole mastery and thereby exhausted themselves. Realising their weakness and unfitness to rule, they urged the people to trace their king Sankhana and beseech him to return and rule the state. The messengers found him out on the banks of the Godavari river and intimated to him that his enemies had bestowed the kingdom back on him and requested him to go and rule over his subjects. On their importunities Sankhana returned to his country called Kambhoja, when all the princes and chiefs unanimously crowned him king. Having thus secured his throne, Sankhana, through the grace of Venkatesa, ruled the kingdom in peace.

(xi) The legend of Atmarama.

In the Madhya-desa (Central India) lived a famous Brahmana named Atmarama, born in a noble family and engaged in the adoration of Gods and Brahmanas. His father too was a renowned Brahmana, learned in the Vedas and Vedangas and intensely devoted to the worship of Vishnu. Like the father, the son also was modest and was beloved of all learned men. After the demise of his father, he lost the ancestral wealth which he came by, became devoid of the means of livelihood and ceased to be respected anywhere. He thought within himself, "How does it happen that I, being born in a high family, should suffer this destitution and degradation? Ill-fame has attached itself to me and to my great ancestors. Whither shall I wander to seek relief?" In this sorrowful mood he journeyed on and reached the Venkatadri (hill), came to the Kapila-tirtha adjoining the shrine of Kapilesvara, bathed in its water and, ascending the hill, took a bath also in the seventeen tirthas commencing from the Kapila-tirtha. With this bath his sins were washed off and his mind became calm and clear; and, seating himself in a secluded spot, he began to ruminate over his poor condition and the way out of it.

At that time he observed near by, in the midst of a cave, Sanatkumara-yogindra deeply absorbed in dhyana and yoga and resplendent as the sun. Believing that this yogindra was not ordinarily accessible to men and that he

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

might intuitively know the life-story of the entire humanity, and desiring to learn something of himself, he prostrated himself before the sage and said, "Owing to my evil deeds I suffer greater torment than is to be endured in hell. I seek your protection and conjure you to suggest means of escape from my distress." The sage concentrated his mind for a time on the Brahmanas' condition and then briefly told him, "Wake up, son. Having wrought sinful deeds in your past life, what can avail your sorrowing in the present life, when the fruit of those sins is ripe for effect. In your previous life you caused grave impediments to charitable gifts through discouraging both the giver and the receiver; you gave trouble to the happy souls in various ways; you did not, even in the least, deign to make gifts of money, house, land, cows, grain, clothing, ornaments, etc.; you only committed impious acts and never did a good deed; and you failed to place faith in and adore Vishnu who is the dispeller of the sorrows of the devotees and the grantor of their wishes. As such, how do you expect to be happy in this life? However there is a way out; hear me and I shall intimate to you."

On hearing these words, the Brahmana, with palms joined in deep reverence, addressed him thus, "O sage, you are like an ark to me who am immersed in the ocean of sorrow, like the shower of rain to the sun-scorched vegetation, like a treasure to the poor, and like a physician to the sick. Through the grain-worth of my good fortune I have found you here. Pray protect me, the worst sinner, and extend your kind looks to me." Being thus extolled, Sanatkumarayogindra replied, "Son, I shall explain to you the tattvartham which is a great secret."

On being thus initiated by Sanatkumara, the Brahmana Atmarama was flushed with joy mingled with astonishment and awe. Repeating this mantram, he climbed the hill and, feeling that his life thenceforth became blest and witnessing the running waters here and there on the way, reached the Swami-pushkarini, which equals the heavenly Ganges and the Viraja rivers, which confers punya (merit) on persons bathing in it and in which holy sages perform their ablutions. In this Swami-pushkarini Atmarama took his bath in the manner prescribed by the sastras and his body soon became lightened of a heavy burden. He then saw a fine forest close by as well as a lofty vimana (dome) protected by the Siddhas, adorned with many gopuras and mantapas, set with gems and built of gold, vying with Gandharva-nagara (Alaka), enticing both the eye and the mind, shining (causing pleasure) through dance and instrumental music, and worshipped by the assemblage of Gods.

The Brahmana was taken by surprise at the sight of this wondrous vimana, and with the increase of his merit he proceeded towards it and within it saw

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

Venkatesvara, the Lord of Sri (Lakshmi), with eyes resembling an open lotus, adorned with the Sankha and Chakra, with the varahasta (hand held to point down so as to indicate the grant of boons), graced with a kirita-makuta (crown), shining with the kundalas (ear-rings), embellished with all ornaments, wearing the yellow silk robe and looking as beautiful as countless Kandarvas (Cupids), and accompanied by Sri (Lakshmi) and Bhumi (Earth); and praised by Brahma and Siva as the sole repose of the world and as the absolute refuge, manifesting Himself as Brahma the creator and Mahesvara the destroyer of the world.

To this omnipotent Venkatesa the Brahmana Atmarama made a humble obeisance and, rising up, exclaimed, "Lord! You are omniscient, since you dwell in all souls, and I bow to you," and stood still, overcome with awe. God Srinivasa, who is all-knowing, all-merciful and supreme, divining his object, addressed him thus:—"Fear not; grieve not; in consideration of Vyuha-Lakshmi, whom you have invoked, all your evil acts are condoned; prosperity is bestowed on you so as to last long; and long life, health and wisdom are also granted to you. O excellent Brahmana, enjoy long the wealth conferred on you." While hearing this divine utterance, Atmarama prostrated himself before God, and, on rising up, found that both God and the forest had disappeared. So he retraced his steps to the Swami-pushkarini in great fright and cogitated within himself whether all that had happened till then was merely a dream, or a freak of the mind, or a mystery of God, or an actuality, and exclaimed, "O Lord! I am unable to know the truth of this vision and I trust that it comes true." Then he descended the hill and, taking up his abode near the Venkatadri and obtaining peace of mind and wisdom, happily lived long.

(xii) The mahatmya of the Seventeen tirthas.

The Suta then addressed the sages about the mahatmya of the seventeen tirthas beginning with the Kapila tirtha as follows:—

1. *Kapila-tirtha*:—At the foot of the hill is enshrined Kapila Lingam which was formerly worshipped by the sage Kapila in the Patala-loka. For some cause it split the earth and rose to its surface and all the Devas prayed that it might rest there alone. Making an opening in the earth in front of it, appeared a kapila-pasu (tawny cow) later on and this hole is the Kapila-tirtha which possesses powers of destroying all sins.

2. *Sakra-tirtha*:—Above the Kapila-tirtha lies the very holy Sakra-tirtha, by a bath in which Indra became released of the curse of Gautama for his illicit connection with Ahalya.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

3. *Vishvakṣena-saras*:—Above this second one is the sacred Vishvakṣena-saras where Vishvakṣena, the son of Varuna, rendered penance and obtained an identical form with that of Vishnu together with the commandship of Vishnu's forces.

4—8. *Panchayudha-tirthas*:—The Five tirthas named after the five weapons of Vishnu, viz., Sankha, (conch), Chakra (disc), Gada (club), Sarnga (bow) and Nandaka (sword), which are all very holy pools, are situated above the Vishvakṣena saras.

9. *Agnikunda-tirtha*:—This lies above the Panchayudha-tirthas and is inaccessible.

10. *Brahma-tirtha*:—Above the last one is situated the Brahma-tirtha which confers great merit.

11-17. *Saptarshi-tirthas*:—Near the Brahma-tirtha are the Saptarshi-tirthas which contain holy waters. Of these seven tirthas the first one possesses ten times as great merit as that of all the previously mentioned tirthas taken together, and each successive one among the seven similar possesses merit ten times greater than that of each prior one.

(xiii) Legends of the tirthas.

The Suta then continued as follows "Once upon a time a certain Brahmana was preparing to start on a pilgrimage to the holy waters and Kamaladhisa (Vishnu), appearing to him in a dream, asked him why he intended to go on that religious tour and intimated to him, "On this Pushkara-saila are situated seventeen excellent tirthas and among them the Kapila-saras is the most holy. By bathing in these seventeen tirthas as enjoined in the sastras will doubtless accrue to you the merit resulting from the bath in all the tirthas on earth." Accordingly the Brahmana gave up his programme of his intended tirthayatra, proceeded to the Venkatachala, bathed, in order, in the seventeen tirthas and obtained merit, I was informed, just as it was declared by God. The inherent powers of the three crores and a half of the tirthas situated in the three worlds are existent in this Harigiri. O Munis, all men desiring to encircle the earth will derive the concomitant merit by the circumambulation only of this auspicious Venkatagiri which abounds in holy waters and sacred spots. I also learn that, by the mere sight of the top of the peaks of the Venkatachala, Balarama obtained, in full measure, the merit attaching to a tirtha-yatra.

(1) The mahatmya of the Pandava-tirtha:—On the advice of Sri Krishna the five Pandava brothers came to the Venkatachala and lived for a year at

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

a certain tirtha on it protected by the Kshetrapalas, making use of its water for bathing, drinking and other purposes. At the end of the period Dharma-raja dreamt one day that, inasmuch as they had lived for a year at that mahatirtha, their sins had vanished, giving place to goodness, by the accession of which they would secure victory in war and regain their kingdom. Since the time of their habitation the tirtha has come to be known as the Pandava-tirtha.

The mahatmya of the Jarahara and other tirthas:—The three tirthas, Jarahara-tirtha, Valignna-tirtha and Rasayana-tirtha, lie on the Chintamanigiri in the caves of the hill on the eastern side of the Swami-Pushkarini, within a distance of twenty-two arrow-shots; but they have become evanescent through the maya (illusion) of God; and even the Devas have not seen these wonderful tirthas.

In the Kanakachala exist mines of the eight kinds of metals and, consistent with the fruit of their meritorious deeds in the different yugas, do men know them. The ascent of the hill in deep devotion will yield strength of legs and rapidity of motion to the lame; give clear and beautiful eyes and vision to the blind; bestow learning and wisdom upon the dumb; endow the deaf with sound hearing, and grant many children to the sterile woman, and wealth to the poor. All these results are attained only through bhakti (faith) centred in the hill as to its powers of atonement. What person knows fully and accurately the true nature and form of the Venkatadri? It is sometimes called Srinivasagiri and sometimes Kanakachala; sometimes it appears as an embodiment of knowledge and wisdom and sometimes in the form of gems; and sometimes again shines as Lord Srinivasa decorated with ornaments; and owing to the change of times it presents itself to some as a common natural hill. As such, which person can perceive the greatness and sanctity of this hill?

A little of what I heard and saw I have rehearsed to you, as it is not possible to narrate everything that I had heard."

(xiv) The advent of Srirama to Venkatadri.

The Suta then described the visit of Srirama to Venkatadri as follows:

"Rama, who had eyes resembling the lotus, who possessed all good qualities and who was learned in all sastras, was the son of Dasaratha. During the progress of his expedition to kill Ravana, he camped with his army on the auspicious Venkatachala in company with Saumitri (Lakshmana), the swift Hanuman and the high-souled Sugriva. After leaving the woody banks

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of the Pampa-saras, and after having performed his ablutions in the Swami-Pushkarini he destroyed his enemy Ravana together with all his followers he victory in battle. So have I heard of this legend which I will now relate to you. Follow me closely.

As soon as Rama the archer reached the Seshachala with all the numerous Vanaras (monkeys) from the Rishyamukachala with the avowed object of annihilating Ravana, the blessed Anjanadevi, the mother of Hanuman, greeted him and prayed to him, "O long-armed Rama! I am here eagerly expecting your august presence, and like-wise are several Munis residing in this same forest engaged in long and constant self-mortification, awaiting your visit to this place; please therefore favour us all and bless us, and then resume your march." Rama replied, "My time is so fleeting as not to allow me to proceed to that place of penance of the Munis. My business on hand is heavy and urgent, and your request will be complied with on my return journey." On this reply of Rama, Hanuman humbly suggested, "Since the huge Vanara army is very much tired with the rapid march, it is desirable to make a halt somewhere near by; and this hill too is on the way. It is called Anjanagiri and it abounds in trees bearing flowers and fruits at all times, in numerous waterfalls and torrents, caves, peaks and plateaus and in edible roots and bulbs. Here honey is available in plenty in the hives on the trees growing at the caves in the hill. You are yourself aware of these facts and you may act by your inclination." At this suggestion of Hanuman, Rama said, "O son of Anjanadevi, I am, no doubt, acquainted with these things and I also heed your words. But you must proceed in advance on our present business." So directing the chief of the monkeys, Rama advanced with his Vanara army to the excellent Venkatadri containing great varieties of trees, flowers and fruits, and singing and chirping birds.

In the northern region of the hill a certain learned Brahmana, named Nirloma, was doing penance in contemplation of Svayambhu (Brahma) with the desire of attaining the Brahmaloka. At one time Brahma appeared to him and intimated to him that he might enter the Brahmaloka soon after paying his obeisance to Rama in the company of Saumitri (Lakshmana). Accordingly this Nirloma met Rama, presented him with offerings of fruits, bulbs and other edible roots and addressed him thus, "By the sight of your lotus-like face my life has become blest and the long penance I have been practising has now borne fruit. O Lord Rama, permit me therefore to pass to the Brahmaloka." Rama granted the prayer of the Brahmana and then got up the hill. There he unburdened certain Yakshas of their curse and reached the asrama of Anjanadevi situated near the Akasaganga. After

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

receiving adoration from her at her hermitage, he moved on to the Swami-pushkarini, in which tirtha, which grants universal victory, bathed Rama, Lakshmana, Hanuman, Sugriva, Angada, Jambavan, and Nila; and Rama, having procured a collection of fruits and roots, made a gift of them to the Munis, agreeably to the precepts of the sastras. Here on the south-west of the Swami-pushkarini Hanuman put up separate cottages for the different Vanara leaders, secured sweet fruits, roots and honey in large quantities and worshipped Rama with them. Rama was exceedingly pleased with it and he rested there quite happily, as if in his own palace, in the midst of Sugriva and other chiefs. And the various kinds of monkeys, big and small, feasted themselves with flowers, fruits, roots, bulbs, honey and sweet water and other food substances, and, becoming fattened and inspired with these fills of food, they roamed about the hill and amused themselves in large groups. Some of them lived deep into the water and some just below the surface; some roared and some jumped; some leaped from peak to peak and some from tree to tree and thus onwards from forest to forest; and so the monkeys roved and exerted themselves from feelings of joy and pride of strength. Some mounted on others and some took hold of the tails of their playmates and jumped on towards others, while some, catching their fellows, kissed their ears. These monkeys in groups exclaimed, "We will burn Ravana with our sight alone in the battle; or we will pull out Lanka with its foundation or drag up the Trikuta mount on which Lanka stands; we will cross the ocean infested with crocodiles, bring down the moon and the sun by the force of our arms and for the sake of Rama we will break all mountains and cut all trees and enter the Patala, the Maharloka or the Rasatala in whichever of them the wicked Ravana may seek shelter; and we will ourselves destroy this warrior who is the scourge of the world. Why does the all-merciful Rama delay to decapitate Ravana?" And these valiant and huge-bodied Vanaras rambled over the meritorious Venkatadri in countless numbers making up an arbuda (one hundred crores) which exceeds many crores, and sojourned on it in amity among themselves.

(xv) Legend regarding the presence of Lord Srinivasa on the Hill.

The Brahma purana has the following legend about the reason for the Lord Srinivasa being present on the Hill.

Once, Vishnu wanted to have a change from his usual abode in Vaikuntha. He asked Narada to suggest a place on this earth which would be suitable for diversion and sport. Narada suggested the neighbourhood of the place

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

where Seshachala came to be located, later on. Subsequently, Vayu and Sesha disputed their relative strength and entered into a serious dispute. Sesha wound his long body round a part of Meru and challenged Vayu to move it. Vayu did his best to shake the hillock but could not. Ultimately, Sesha opened his mouth to breathe and taking advantage of it, Vayu entered his body and blew off part of the hill. After the hill had travelled a long distance, Meru interfered and requested Vayu to leave it there and the latter did so. Ashamed of his defeat, Sesha did penance thinking of Vishnu. Vishnu appeared before him and offered a boon. Sesha, assuming the shape of a hill, requested the Lord to stay on his head, wanted the hill to be known as Seshachala. Vishnu thought of Narada's suggestion, made previously, and agreed to live on Seshachala.

The Bhavishyottara Purana narrates another story which is as follows:—

Once a number of Rishis assembled on the bank of the Ganga and got things ready for the performance of a Yajna. Narada came to them and asked them which god they intended to please by performing the sacrifice. The Rishis were nonplussed and requested the sage, Bhrigu, to solve the problem. That sage undertook to solve the problem by examining the three chief divinities. He first went to the abode of Brahma and found him busy chanting the Vedas with one mouth, uttering the name of Narayana with another and looking at Vani with the third face. He took no notice of Bhrigu. Then the sage went to the abode of Siva. There again he found Siva fully absorbed in sporting with his consort and not taking notice of Bhrigu's arrival and presence. From here Bhrigu went to Vaikuntha and found Vishnu similarly engaged in amours with Lakshmi. Disgusted with this, Bhrigu kicked Vishnu on his chest. Vishnu immediately got up, massaged the Rishi's foot and enquired if it had been injured. Pleased with this kind attention paid by Vishnu, Bhrigu returned to the Rishis and advised them to dedicate the Yajna to Vishnu. Lakshmi was angered because Bhrigu kicked the spot which was her favourite resort on the bosom of the Lord and went away to Karavirapura or Kolhapur to stay there, leaving Vishnu. Unable to bear the solitude, Vishnu left Vaikuntha and wandered about. In course of time he came to Seshachala, found it sufficiently interesting and settled down on the mountain in an ant-hill, on the bank of the Swamipushkarini.

(xvi) Legend of how temples were built for the Lord.

Several puranas associated with the names of the several kings contain legends about the worship of the Lord on Venkatadri. Of these the following are a few:—

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(a) Story of Sankha:

Once, in the Krita-yuga, there was a king named Sankha in the solar race. He desired to do some thing which would last eternally and consulted his guru, Vasishtha. Vasishtha advised him to go to Venkatadri and pray to the Lord. The king came to the hill and did penance. The Lord appeared before him in a vimana and asked the king to build a vimana like the one in which he came and install in it an image which would resemble him. Sankha carried out the command and built a vimana and installed in it an image of the Lord. This temple was destroyed at the end of the Kalpa and the image got buried in the ground up to the knees; an anthill surrounded it and a tamarind tree grew up offering it good shade.

(b) Story of Chola king.

In the Kali age there was a Chola king. One day, he went out to hunt and wandered about killing many animals near the Seshachala. Halting at a place for a little rest, he found a handsome young woman plucking flowers. Struck by her beauty, he approached her and asked her for her antecedents. He was told that she was the daughter of a Naga, named Dhanamjaya, who lived in Patala. The king then conveyed to her his sincere love and asked for her hand. The Naga maid asked the king to obtain her father's permission but the king did not have the patience to go through the formal process. Ultimately, they married in the Gandharva way and spent the night together happily. Next morning the Naga girl went back to her place. On hearing of her matrimony, her father was pleased. Very soon, she conceived and delivered a beautiful boy. This child grew up into a fine young man. Once the boy asked the mother to show him his father. The mother told him who his father was and showed him the way to the earth. The boy followed his mother's instructions and went to the Chola King. The king forgot his relationship with the Naga woman and was doubting the veracity of the boy's story. Then a divine voice assured the king that the boy was his own son and advised him to crown the son. Pleased with this assurance, the king built a city on the spot where he met the Naga maid and installed the boy as its king. This ruler came to be known as the Chola-chakravarti.

One day, the keepers of his cows came and told this king that every day, as they passed by an anthill, one of the pots was being broken and its milk spilt over the anthill. That night, the king had a dream. A very handsome person black in colour appeared before him and told him "Oh king, I come from Srinivasa and live with him on Seshadri. He lives on the hill with Sri

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

and Bhu. You come and see him." The king followed him in the dream to Seshadri and there saw a brilliant vimana. Next day, a Sabara came to the king and told him a strange story thus—"Sire, I live on Seshadri cultivating priyangu roots. I offer some of them to the god and eat the rest. Once, I saw Svetavaraha spoiling the crop. I kept my boy to watch the field and myself went in search of honey. On returning, I found that the boy had eaten without the offering being made to god. I got angry and attempted to kill the boy but a divine voice told me that the god had partaken of the food before the boy and asked me to fetch you to Seshadri...." The Chakravarti asked his ministers to send behind him the milk of one thousand cows and himself followed the Sabara. When they reached the top of the hill, the Sabara showed an anthill to the king and suggested that it might be dug out. The king was afraid of doing so. He caused the milk sent by his ministers to be poured on the ant-hill. The ant-hill melted and out of it emerged the glorious figure of the Lord, bearing Samkha and Chakra in the upper hands, keeping the lower right in varada and the lower left in Katya-valambita. The king praised the Lord in many ways and requested him to stay where he was and as he was. The Lord agreed and asked the king to worship him daily. During the course of the worship he was talking to the king, as if to a friend.

Once a brahman, named Krishnasarma, came to the king accompanied by his wife and a baby, told him that he was on a pilgrimage to Banaras and requested the king to kindly grant an asylum to his wife and child till the time of his return. The King agreed. A separate house was assigned to the lady and provisions for six months given to her. She was asked not to stir out of the house. Subsequently, the king forgot about this brahman lady and her child. In course of time Krishnasarma returned from the pilgrimage and asked for his wife and child. The king sent a servant to fetch them but the servant came back and told the king in secrecy that only the rotten skeletons of the lady and her child were to be found in the house. The king was shocked at this and repented for his foolishness in not taking proper care of them. He told the brahman, however, that the lady has been to Seshachala to see the Lord and that he can meet her the next day. Having thus satisfied the Brahman, he ran to the hill and sought the protection of the Lord. The god commanded his general, Vishvaksena, to fetch some water from the Asthikuta tank and sprinkle it over the two skeletons. When this was done, the lady and her child assumed their former shape and form and got up as if from sleep. The king restored them to Krishnasarma.

Some time later, a demon, named Simhada, settled down on the hill. He did penance and obtained a boon to the effect that no celestial, semi-celestial

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

or human should be able to kill him. He started harassing the Devas thereafter. The Devas sought the protection of the Lord. He asked them to go to his devotee, the Chakravarti, seek his help and enter his body with their amsas and they did so. On hearing of their request, the king came to Seshadri and sought the Lord's guidance. The Lord gave him his own weapons, the Samkha and the Chakra and asked him to go and fight the demon. The king and his men went to the Papanasana-tirtha, where the demon lived, and challenged him to battle. During the bitter fight that ensued, the king used the Lord's chakra which served the head of the demon. The king came back to the Lord and offered his sincere thanks. He then returned the weapons but the Lord told the weapons—"Go and live in tirthas named after you. I want to live for some time without you. In the Kali age, for some reason, a man will invest me with artificial Samkha and Chakra. I will hold them thus to please the world"

(xvii) Legend of Rangadasa.

There is a legend about a devotee called Rangadasa which is found in the Brahmanda purana as follows:—

Once there was a Vaikhanasa brahman, named Gopinatha, in the Chola country. He was a great devotee of Krishna. He requested the Lord to grant him salvation. Krishna asked him to go to Seshadri and worship Srinivasa there and assured him that a sudra, named Rangadasa, would meet him on the way and be of use to him. The brahman came to the foot of the hill and there met Rangadasa. The two went up the hill and dug the image of the Lord from out of the ant-hill. They installed it in a mantapa with a thatched roof and built a stone wall around it. Rangadasa used to fetch flowers and make garlands out of them and Gopinatha was worshipping the Lord. One day, as Rangadasa was preparing the garlands, he saw a Gandharva couple sporting. Unable to control his mind he had an ejection. Repenting for this, he threw away the garlands and flowers, already prepared, had a purificatory bath, gathered fresh flowers, made new garlands and went into the shrine. Gopinatha chided him for being late but Rangadasa did not explain the reason for the delay because of shame. A divine voice told Rangadasa "Your mind is upset. You cannot do any good deed in this condition. Be born again and this time as a king. Enjoy all worldly pleasures. Then build a good abode for me. Once, some enemies will cause you trouble. I shall give you my samkha and chakra with which you will be able to overcome them."

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

Rangadasa died and was born as a king. He came to be called Chakravarti and the people of the Dravida country called him Tondaman. He lived at Narayanavanam and used to go every day to Seshachala and worship the Lord. In course of time he built for the god two prakaras with two gopuras, the Garbhagriha, kitchen, Yagasala, granary and Gosala. He presented many jewels to the god and instituted many festivals. Once a number of enemies invaded his territory and harassed him. The king went to the Lord and sought his help. The god lent him his own Samkha and Chakra. The king defeated and drove away the enemies and came back to the Lord. He then requested the Lord to stay as he was without the samkha and chakra and that his archa-image should be without them. The Lord agreed.

(xviii) The legend of how the Lord received a blow.

The following legend is found in the Bhavishyottara purana.

Once Lakshmi converted Brahma into a cow and Siva into a calf and sold them to the Chola king. The cow which used to wander over Seshachala, discovered the anthill in which the Lord lay, taking rest. Thereafter she used to shed her milk on the anthill and did not yield a drop to the milkman of the king. The queen took the milkman to task and blamed him for stealing the cow's milk. Next day, the milkman followed the cow and saw her pour the milk over the anthill. Incensed at this, he took an axe and wanted to kill the cow. The Lord came out of the anthill and took the blow upon himself. Blood gushed out of the wound made in his head. The milkman saw this and died of shock, on the spot. The cow went down the hill, reached the king and showed intense grief. The Chola king followed the cow, came up the hill and saw the pitiable sight. The Lord cursed him to become a pisacha and said "In future time an Akasaraja will give his daughter, Padmavathi, in marriage to me. He will then present me a kirita which I will wear on Fridays. As long as I wear it, I will not feel the pain of the wound on my head and from that time you will also be normal."

(xix) Lord Srinivasa's marriage.

The Bhavishyottara purana has the following legend of the marriage of Lord Srinivasa.

Once Srinivasa put on a fine dress and started for hunt. He chased an elephant and wandered a long distance and ultimately entered a garden. A beautiful young maiden and her companions, who were plucking flowers,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

ran away on seeing the elephant and took shelter behind a tree. This maiden was the foster daughter of king Akasaraaja and was named Padmavati. This Akasaraaja and his younger brother, Tondaman, were the sons of Suvira, a king of the lunar race. Akasaraaja found Padmavati concealed in a lotus while he was getting a piece of land ploughed in order to construct a Yagasala. Being childless, he took this child home, named her Padmavati and brought her up. Subsequently, he had a son, named Vasudeva. Srinivasa approached Padmavati and described himself as Krishna, son of Devaki and Vasudeva, and brother of Rama and Subhadra. He asked for her hand. The attendant maidens of the princess got wild and pelted stones at the Lord. His horse was hit by them and fell down dead. Srinivasa departed from there taking a northern direction.

The lord returned to his abode in the ant-hill and lay down in great grief. Vakula, who attended upon him, appeased him by many courtesies and found out that he had fallen in love with Padmavati. The Lord asked her to go to Akasaraaja and negotiate his marriage with Padmavati. Even before Vakula could reach the king's abode, he himself went there in the disguise of a gipsy woman and persuaded Akasaraaja's queen, Dharani, to give her daughter, Padmavati, in marriage to Srinivasa. Padmavathi was also struck by love and was pining for the young man she had met in the flower garden. When Vakula reached the king's palace the ground was already prepared and the marriage was settled. Srinivasa set out with all the gods and goddesses as his relations and married Padmavati.

Tondaman built a temple: Very soon after the marriage, Akasaraaja died and his brother, Tondaman, and son Vasudana, fought for the throne. Srinivasa interfered at the instance of Padmavati and divided the kingdom between the two disputants. Tondaman got the Tondamandalam part and Vasudana obtained the Narayanavanam part of the kingdom.

This Tondaman was Rangadasa in the previous birth. So, the Lord commanded him to build a fine abode for His residence, Tondaman constructed a temple. The Lord lived in it with great satisfaction. The king had many vehicles made and performed a number of utsavas for the Lord.

(xx) The other legends.

There are many other puranas which contain other legends.

The Padma Purana narrates the legend connected with the destruction of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha. These demons were extremely powerful

THE STHALAPURANA OF TIRUMALA AND OTHER LEGENDS

and could not be overpowered by the celestials including Vishnu. The Lord therefore cleverly obtained a boon from them that they would both die at his hands. The demons then prayed to him that He should kill them on a spot where there was no water. Lord Vishnu then enlarged his thighs, seated the demons on his thigh and destroyed them, with his chakra. To this day, the Lord of Tirumala is worshipped as Madhukaitabhari, that is, the destroyer of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha.

The Padma Purana also mentions the story of Bhrgu insulting Lord Vishnu, Vishnu coming down to earth at Tirupati and his being discovered by King Tondaiman.

According to the Brahmanda Puranam, the Lord of Tirumala is Lord Krishna who fed himself with the milk from the breasts of Putana, a female demon and then destroyed her. He is worshipped in the 'Sri Venkateswara Sahasranamavali' as Vasudeva and as One who delights in eating Navanita or butter. He is the one who delivered the celestials Nalakubara and Manigriva from the curse of the sage Narada. The legend connected with the above is narrated in the Brahma Vaivarta Purana. Other names of Vishnu such as Nandagopa Manohara, Brindaranya Nivasaka, Gopanganachelachoraya, Kaliyaphani darpagna, Rasakridaparayana, Rukmini Nayanotsava, and the connected legends described in the Brahma Vaivarta Purana and the Bhagavata indicate to us that the Lord of Tirumala is no other than Lord Krishna. Similarly, Vishnu names such as Kausalyatanaya, Dasakanta sirodhvamsi etc., in the Brahmanda Purana show that Lord Srinivasa is no other than Sri Rama. The connected legends are too well known to need repetition.

Shri J.H. Dave mentions a particularly interesting legend regarding the Swami Pushkarini from the Skanda. These legends are reproduced below:

"Skanda records this story of Dharmagupta, son of King Nanda. The latter in his old age adopted an ascetic life and left the kingdom to his son Dharmagupta. Once, this Dharmagupta while hunting spent some time in a forest at night. A lion pursued him; so the king climbed a tree. A bear also resorted to the same tree out of the fear of the lion who was sitting below, waiting to catch the prey. The king and the bear agreed to remain awake in turn, each for half the night and permit the other to sleep. First, the king slept and the bear protected him, remaining wakeful. In spite of the lion's entreaties to drop the king, the bear remained faithful to its promise to the king. After mid-night it was the king's turn to watch over the sleeping bear. On the lion's entreaties, the faithless king dropped down the bear as prey

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

to the lion. The bear woke up, assumed the form of a yaksha and cursed the king to be mad as penalty for his heinous and criminal breach of trust. His retired father, Nanda, was informed of this. Ultimately, they discovered the Swami Pushkarini late and after a bath in it, it is said, Dharmagupta was cured of his madness which was due to the fact that he had dropped on the ground the bear which was quietly and confidently sleeping, having placed its head and shoulders in the king's lap.

"A pilgrimage to Venkatachala and a bath in Swami Pushkarini also cured sage Kasyapa of his evil. Even though he had remedies to cure king Parikshit of the serpent-bite of Takshaka, he did not go to cure him and on being bribed by Takshaka with jewels, he returned home from mid-way and Parikshit died of the serpent-bite. Any one who has remedies must cure the sick and the injured till the last moment.

Skanda, quoting Ayurvedic authorities, gives this tip to doctors and Vaidyas. 'So long as there is the slightest chance of life, the dying man should be treated with proper remedies; for none knows the crooked ways of Kala.' Kasyapa failed in his duty and he had to make amends."

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

Section I: Tamil Literature.

(i) General.

The shrine of Lord Sri Venkatesvara on the Tirumala Hills is generally known as Vengadam or Triuvengadam (Tiru-beautiful) and the Lord Sri Venkatesvara as 'Vengadathan' or 'Tiruvengadathan.' From the earliest days of Tamil Literature up to the present day Vengadam and its Lord occupy a prominent place in Tamil literary works and His praises are sung. Further, the Tirupati Hills formed a land-mark in the topography of South India and are mentioned as the limit upto which Tamil was spoken, the place where all cultural streams of India met.

(ii) Academic period.

Tolkappiam, the earliest complete Tamil work extant, whose date is considered by scholars to be anterior to Panini, the Sanskrit grammarian, gives the extent to which Tamil is spoken as:—

வடவேங்கடந் தென்குமரி யாயிடைத்
தமிழ் கூறு நல்லகம்.

"The good land of the Tamil language which lies between the northern Vengadam and the Southern Kumari (Cape Comorin)."

This shows that Tirumala is known to South India from the earliest days of the Christian era.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(iii) Classic period.

In the classic period of Tamil Literature when the Sangam works like Pathupattu and Purananuru and the great epics like Silappathikaram and Manimegalai were composed we find mention of Vengadam in the epic Silappathikaram. This work is generally attributed to second century A.D., and is considered slightly posterior to Sangam works. Some scholars conclude from chronological evidence that this epic should have been composed in the eighth century A.D. Be that as it may, we find the Tirupati Hills distinctly called as 'தெடியோன் குன்றம்' (Vishnu's Hill) in this epic and its Lord is sung thus:—

வீங்குநீ ரருவி வேங்கட மென்னு
மோங்குயர் மலையத் துச்சி மீமிசை
விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறுந் திங்களும் விளங்கி
யிருமருங் கோங்கிய விடைநிலைத் தானத்து
மின்னுக்கோடி யுடுத்து விளங்குவிற் பூண்டு
நன்னிற மேக நின்றது போலப்
பகையணங் காழியும் பால்வெண் சங்கமுந்
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையி னேந்தி
நலங்கிள ரார மார்பிற் பூண்டு
பொலம் பூ வாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்க ணெடியோ னிந்த வண்ணமும்.

(*Silappathikaram, Kadukankathai, 41-51.*)

“(On the summit of the Vengadam decked with torrents on either side and radiant with the effulgent rays, as it were, of the sun and the moon, Lord Vishnu (தெடியோன்) of lotus eyes is in a standing posture adorned with brilliant cloth of gold round his loins and a beautiful garland on His breast bearing in His lotus-like palms, His invincible discus and milk-white conch. He is like a black cloud with lightning and rain-bow).”

Srirangam, Tirupati and Tirumalkunram are the three other great shrines described in this book and Vengadam has been given more space than the other two.

∴ This also proves that Tirumala was considered to be a holy place during the centuries of the classic period.

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

(iv) Hymnal period.

From the classic period we pass on to the hymnal period of Tamil Literature when hymns like Nalayira Prabandham and Thevaram were sung by the Vaishnavite Alvars and Saivite Nayanmars. Vengadam and its Lord find numerous references in the work of Nalayira Prabandham which is a collection of four thousand hymns sung by the famous twelve Vaishnavite Alvars of South India in praise of Vishnu and His Avatars. Of the twelve Alvars only two Mathura-kavi and Tondaradipodi have not sung of Tirupati. The hymns of the remaining ten Alvars have reference to Venkadam and its Lord.

Poigai Alvar, Pudattu Alvar and Peyalvar, are the three Alvars who were born in Tondai Nadu, the country adjacent to Tirupati including the present districts of North Arcot and Chingleput, and are believed to have been contemporaneous. Their dates cannot be fixed with any degree of accuracy but considering that they are called 'முதலாழ்வார்கள்' the first Alvars, and from internal evidence of their hymns, we will not be far from historical truth if we put them to about seventh century A.D. Each of these Alvars has contributed one hundred stanzas to the Nalayira Prabandham and Poigai Alvar mentions Vengadam in nine out of his one hundred stanzas. Vengadam is considered to be one of the four great shrines by this Alvar, the other three being Vinnagaram, Venka and Koval. According to this Alvar it is Vengadam that enlightens the gods, it is Vengadam that learned brahmins worship and its Lord is the Lord of the four Vedas.

Puthattu Alvar has eight stanzas on Vengadam in his century of verses in the Nalayira Prabandham. This Alvar says that Vengadam is the highest object to be desired and the Lord of Vengadam is the Lord of the Vedas, the God of gods.

Peyalvar's contributions of Vengadam are as many as fifteen stanzas and the word 'Tirumalai' is used for the first time by this Alvar in his stanzas 63 and 75.

This Alvar says that the sanctity of Vengadam is equal to if not more than that of 'Vaikuntha' and Parkadal (Ocean of Milk). Lord of Vengadam is described as the Supreme Lord thus:—

இறையாய் நிலனாகி என்திசையும் தானாய்

மறையாய் மறைப்பொருளாய்வானாய்—பிறைவாய்ந்த

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

வேளந்தருவி விளங்கொலிநீர் வேங்கடத்தான்
உள்ளத்தினுள்ளே உள்.

(*Peyalvar, Iyarpah 39*).

“(Vengadathan who lives on the Hill where a number of streams of sparkling water flow in a meandering course as the first phase of the moon is the Lord, He is the universe, He is the eight cardinal points, He is the four Vedas and their essence, He is the being that is seated in the heart of all beings).”

Thirumalisai Alvar who can be safely placed chronologically immediately after these Alvars has sung Lord Venkatesvara in both his poems Tiruchanda Viruttam and Nanmugan Tiruvandadi. The high veneration in which Vengadam was held in those days can be learnt from the following hymn:—

வேங்கடமே விண்ணோர் தொழுவதும் மெய்ம்மையால்
வேங்கடமே மெய்வினை நோய்தீர்ப்பதுவும்—வேங்கடமே
தானவரை வீழத் தன்னுழிப் படைதொட்டு
வானவரைக் காப்பான் மலை.

(*Nanmugan Tiruvandadi, 48*)

“(It is Vengadam that Devas worship. In truth it is Vengadam that frees us from all sins and diseases. Vengadam is the mountain of our Lord who has defeated the Danavas with his discus and saved the Devas).”

Tiruppanalvar has also been sung of the Lord though he has contributed only a hymn of ten stanzas (*அமலகைதி சிரான்*) to the Nalayira-prabandham. Vengadam and Srirangam are the only two shrines celebrated by this Alvar in his hymns.

Tirumangai Alvar, one of the most learned of the alvars, is one who has contributed the greatest number of stanzas to the Nalayiram. He has as many as 64 stanzas in honour of Vengadam and its Lord. He has recorded the military achievements of Nandivarman Pallavamalla in his hymns, who lived in 8th Century A.D. Therefore, Tirumangai Alvar must have flourished in the middle of the eighth century A.D. This Alvar's hymn headed '*தாயேதந்தை யென்றும்*' expresses the highest philosophical truth and in this the Lord is requested in all earnestness to save the Alvar from this worldly bondage. To translate the stanza:—

“(Till now I was fed up with the thoughts of my mother, father, wife, children and relatives. Oh! Lord of Vengadam, covered with beautiful gardens

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

full of flowers, I have come to you being animated with the desire of seeing you. Pray, accept me and shower divine grace on me)."

Kulasekara Alvar, the royal saint, has contributed 105 stanzas to the Nalayiram of which eleven are on Tiruvengadam. This alvar is also said to have lived round about 9th Century A.D. His poem on Vengadam headed ' *வெங்கடே* ' is exceedingly moving and of a very high literary merit. Here the Alvar expresses his desire to be born on Tirupati Hills as a bird or a beast, a fish or a tree, or be a stream or stone, a post or a statue in preference to all earthly riches and kingdoms, Lord Vengadavan is venerated as one who could free human beings from all sins; to be at least a step on the sacred hills is devoutly prayed for thus:—

"Oh! Tirumal who is capable of freeing me from all sins, Universal Lord, Lord of Vengadam! I would like to be feasting at the sight of your coral-like lips even if I could get the form of a stone-step in front of your temple at whose doors your devotees, gods and celestial nymphs crowd to worship you".

Periyalvar, a native of Srivilliputtur, in the extreme south of the peninsula has celebrated sixteen Vaishnavite shrines in his contribution of 473 stanzas to the Nalayira Prabandham and Vengadam is one of the shrines. The age of this Alvar is not definitely known but from the style of his poems and the use of a large number of Sanskrit words we can take him to be later in time than Tirumangai Alvar. Lord of Vengadam is the truth of the Vedas and by Him this Alvar has been freed from all sins and has attained the Supreme Bliss.

Andal, the only lady Vaishnavite saint, who is reputed to be the daughter of Periyalvar, has sixteen stanzas on Vengadam in her total contribution of 173 stanzas to the 4000. Her poem on Vengadam headed ' *வெங்கடே* ' is in the form of an address to the cloud asking it to be her messenger to convey to the Lord of Vengadam her deep love and reverence for Him and her request to have her wedded to Him. Here is a reminiscence of Kalidasa's Meghaduta.

Nammalvar, another saint of Pandiya nadu, whose contributions to the Nalayiram are copious and next only to those of Tirumangai Alvar has sung the praises of Vengadam and its Lord in as many as fifty-four stanzas. Though according to the orthodox tradition this Alvar flourished in the beginning of Kaliyuga (3102 B.C.) still it is believed that this Alvar should have flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.D. The Lord of Vengada is described as,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

‘*சுதிரமத்தி*’ (Supreme Lord) and the hill as one that will give Moksha. It is also significant that it is only this Alvar who addresses the Lord of Vengadam as the Lord of Alarmelmangai (*அலர்மேல்மங்கையறை மாநகர*). Probably the temple at Thiruchanoor, near Tirupati, attained prominence somewhere about this period.

(v) Epic period.

From the hymnal age we enter the epic period of Tamil literature. The outstanding work of this period is Kamba Ramayanam. According to orthodox tradition Kamba Ramayanam was completed in the year 885 A.D. (Salivahana Saka 807). But there is a good deal of literary evidence to show that Kambanattalvar was a contemporary of the Chola king, Kulottunga II and of Prataparudra I of Warangal. From epigraphic evidence the date of these kings is fixed in the twelfth century A.D. Hence, present-day scholars consider that Kamba Ramayanam also would have been composed in the twelfth century A.D. Vengadam and its sanctity are described in Kamba Ramayanam, Kishkindha Kanda, ‘Nadavitta Padalam,’ stanzas 26, 27 and 28 thus:—

“(Commanding his armies under different leaders to proceed in different directions in search of Sita, Sugriva says to Hanuman You will reach the cool Vengada Hill which is overgrown with forests full of bee-hives, which limits the boundary between the northern and the southern language, which contains the Truth enshrined in the Four Vedas and all the Sastras, which is the abode of all good deeds and which stands out as the eternal *Satya*. We have to worship the holy men that are on the Vengada hills even from here, holy men who do good deeds without any idea of reward, who have freed themselves from all *Karma* both good and bad, who look on riches and poverty alike and who have attained the highest bliss. The sacred Vengada Hill contains many rivers where a number of true brahmins bathe and has many Asramas where live a number of holy men of great tapas and of deep knowledge of the Vedas and hoary Sastras; cloud-topped slopes of the hill abound in precious stones and on this hill all animals, naturally inimical, sleep together forgetting their feuds, lured to sleep by the sweet music of Kinnara Vadya of the fair celestial maidens.)”

It may be mentioned that in the corresponding place in the Ramayana of Valmiki, Venkatachala does not find any reference at all.

The foregoing extracts from the Tamil classics will give a general idea of the nature of the Deity on the Vengadam Hills and the hoary sanctity attached

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

to them. Veneration has been bestowed on the hill and its Lord from the dawn of History.

SECTION II: SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

Vishvagunadarsa Champu.

This is a champu kavya in Sanskrit composed by Venkatadhvari son of Raghunatha dikshita and Sitamba. He was a native of Kanchi. This book is a champu written in a form of dialogue between two gandharvas Krisanu and Vishvavasu. The theme of the book is about different sacred temples and places in the country from Badari to Setu. The theme is developed by a novel technique by which Krisanu criticises every person and kshetra and Vishvavasu answers them thus presenting before the reader all aspects of the subject.

During the course of their pilgrimage from Badari to Setu they are said to have visited Seshachala and the Tirumala temple and there is a section in this kavya which refers to the temple and its practices.

Vishvavasu enjoins upon his colleague Krisanu to pray and surrender to the Lord and gives an account of the praises of Venkatachala who is a resident of the sacred hill, as the Lord of Lakshmi who showers grace on all her devotees. Vishvavasu, carries his description of the Tirumala temple, by saying that Lord Vishnu found the temple to be a better place to reside than Vaikunta and therefore left it and took his permanent abode here in this hill with Lakshmi. The Lord is praised by him as the essence of all vedas, who is nearest to the heart of the devotees, and an incarnation of Lord Krishna of the dynasty of Yadavas.

Krisanu retorts to the above adulation that the Lord is an usurer, who extorts with full interest, all the donations promised by a devotee, to avert any disaster, and that the Lord once sought some one in the forest for a few drops of water to quench his thirst and carried earth when somebody was digging a tank. Krisanu feels that such a person should not be praised by the men learned in the Vedas.

In reply to this so-called criticism Visvavasu gives a graphic description of the great qualities of the Lord. He again praises the Lord and compares him to Lord Krishna who gave immense riches to Kuchela in exchange for a handful of beaten rice. The hill is said to resemble Srirama and this hill

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

is also said to have several caves or guhas even as Lord Rama had a guha as a follower. Just as Rama was the source of the solar race, this hill was the source of the growth of the brilliant bamboos and like Rama being surrounded by his brothers, this hill is also surrounded by peaks. The Seshachala hill is said to contain hillocks, the word 'pada' used here having double meaning viz. both feet and hillocks.

In this way this Champu gives a graphic description of the temple and the Lord as it was known in the 16th Century.

SECTION III: TELUGU LITERATURE.

(i) Krishnadevaraya.

Krishnadevaraya of the great Vijayanagar empire makes a reference of Lord Venkatesvara in his work "Amuktamalyada." He was a great devotee of Lord Venkatesvara and visited Tirumala temple as much as seven times, and paid his respects to the Lord and presented invaluable jewellery and ornaments. He was also responsible for granting 30,000 varahas of gold for plating the Ananda Divya Vimana over the Garbhagriha of the Lord. Sri Krishnadevaraya is popularly known as "Sri Venkatagiri Vallabha Seva Paratantra Raya." His great work "Amuktamalyada" was composed in 1516 A.D. while the emperor was camping at Vijayawada enroute to Srikakulam when Andhra Jalajaksha appeared in a dream to him, and directed him to compose a work to be dedicated to Lord Venkatesvara who is identical with Andhra Jalajaksha himself. The word "Amuktamalyada" means offering a garland of flowers to the Lord after wearing it oneself which is found in the legends of that great Vaishnavite saint Andal, also called as "Sudi Koduththa Nachchiar."

The book deals with the lives of Godadevi or Andal and her foster-father Vishnuchitta. This is a book which is full of the episodes of saints and other legends found in the Puranas and expounds the basic philosophy of Vishistadvaita. This book is dedicated to Lord Venkatesvara of Tirumala and contains much information about the contemporary beliefs and practices of Sri Vaishnavites of that period.

(ii) Chayapati.

Chintalapalli Chayapati was another author who dedicated his Telugu "Raghavabhyudayamu" to Lord Venkatesvara.

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

The author belonged to a family of scholars and poets of the Devarakonda Velama Court, and at the invitation of Venkata Reddy of Boravelli wrote the poem dedicated to Lord Venkatesvara. He was a Telangana poet of the 18th Century who wrote at the instance of the Rajas of Boravelli which later got merged in the Gadwal Samsthanam of Old Nizam's State.

Sri Venkatesvara Laghu Kritulu.

The Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams Oriental Institute has compiled 19 Satakams and Stavams in praise for Lord Venkatesvara, from the manuscripts in its possession. These were edited by Veturi Prabhakara Sastry. A few of them are noted below:—

(a) Venkatachala Vihara Satakam.

This work describes graphically the misery of the people during the general massacre and pillage of Tirupati and Tirumala by the Muslim armies of the Nawab of Golconda in the 3rd quarter of the 17th Century.

(b) Venkatachala dhama Taravali.

This is perhaps a nindastuti which expresses regrets that Venkatesa the Lord of the universe should eat food made of unpounded rice and should stretch out his hands to receive even an uncurrent coin when Lakshmi the goddess of wealth shines on his chest. The poet expresses his innate devotion by obliquely referring to the practices of the temple.

(c) Pankajata Bhavandesa Satakam.

This manuscript describes the ten Avataras of Lord Venkatesa and concludes by saying that he would appear again as Kalki at the end of Kaliyuga. This makes a reference also to the Lord's Kirita, Kundala, Kaustubha, Ratnahara and permanent residence of Goddess Alamelumanga on his chest.

(d) The Venkatesvara Panchaka.

In this there is a reference to the upright Namam of the Lord. There is an unique reference in this work to the black hair of the Lord.

(e) Venkatachalapati Satakam.

The author states here that he had a vision of the Lord's Shankha and Chakra and tested the Pudukapu Tirtha and prasada. The author gives poetic expression in this work to his total surrender to the grace of the Lord.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(f) Venkata-Nagadhyaksha—Satakam.

This is also a collection of verses and complains that the Lord is bereft of all mercy and is very busy in the collection of *kasus* from villagers and hence apparently has no time to respond to the call of the devotees. The poet gives expression to his inner expression that the spot of the temple is Vaikunta itself and ends with a graphic description of the Shankha and Chakra of the Lord and describes the holy feet of the Lord as radiating *animadi asta-siddhis*.

(g) Sri Venkatesvara Kalyana.

This is a reference to the Puranic story of Bhrigu Maharishi where the Rishi is supposed to kick the three murtis Siva, Vishnu, and Brahma with his right foot, to find out who is supreme. Sri Lakshmi resided in the chest of Lord Vishnu, and on experiencing the kick, she ran away to Kollapuram and on Vishnu's beseeching her, promised to join him at Venkatagiri after proceeding to the lotus pond at Tiruchanur where she was known as Alamelumanga.

Venkamamba's Works.

The author Venkamamba had intense devotion to Lord Venkatesvara and on being forced to matrimony by her father, she forsook family life and devoted herself entirely to the service of the Lord. The author notes her father's name as Kanala Krishnayya and mother as Mangamba of Vashishta gotra belonging to Nandavara community. Her husband was Injeti Venkachalapati and hence her surname came to be Injeti.

The author probably lived in the second half of the 18th Century and the first half of the 19th Century. She took to intense yoga and practiced meditation in "Tumburukona" amidst the thick forest about ten miles to the north of the Tirumala temple. It is generally believed that she had visions of the Lord. Her Samadhi still stands in a garden on the north side of the north street in Tirumala. She offered a *mutyala hara* in a silver plate embedded with pearls in the form of one of the *dasavataras* each night to Bhoga Srinivasa Murti. This is referred to in the Kankairya Patti prepared by the English East India Company in Fasli 1230 or 1890 A.D.

She composed the following works on the Lord.

Matrusri Tarigonda Venkamamba Kritulu.

(a) Satakamulu:

(i) Tarkonda Nrisimha Satakamu.

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

(ii) Srikrishnamanjari (Krishna Satakamu).

(b) *Yaksha ganamulu*

- (i) Nrisimha Vilasamu.
- (ii) Sivanatakamu.
- (iii) Balakrishna Natakamu.
- (iv) Vishnuparijatamu.
- (v) Rukmini natakamu.
- (vi) Gopinatakamu.
- (vii) Chenchunatakamu.
- (viii) Muktikanta Vilasamu.
- (ix) Jalakrida Vilasamu.

(c) *Dvipadakavyamulu*.

- (i) Ramaparinayamu.
- (ii) Dvipada Bhagavatam.
- (iii) Rajayogamruta Saramu.
- (iv) Vasista Ramayanamu.

(d) *Padya Kavyamulu*

- (i) Venkatachala Mahatmyamu.
- (ii) Astanga Yogasaramu.

(e) *Others*

- (i) Tatva Kirtanalu.
- (ii) Some miscellaneous Poems, Kirtanas etc.

A few are noted below:

(a) *Sri Rama Parinayamu*

This is a dvipada kavya by Venkamamba describing the marriage of Lord Venkatesa and Lakshmidēvi interspersed with local episodes.

(b) *Sri Krishna Manjari*

This contains 137 couplets by Venkamamba and begins each one with an invocation of Lord Venkatesa whom she considers to be an incarnation of Lord Krishna. The author says a perusal of this poem is equal to chanting the name of Krishna. This is a simple, lucid and pleasing work, and mentions that Lord Krishna taught her the supreme principle of utter surrender of her Atma to the Lord without bothering anything about other dharms etc.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(v) Yerra Pragada Kavi

This author lived in the 14th Century and was known as Shambhudasa and Prabandha Parmesvara

He completed the unfinished portion of Aranya parva of the famous Telugu Mahabharata which was composed by Nannaya Bhatta and Tikkana Somayaji. He composed "Narasimha purana" dedicated to Lord Narasimhaswamy of Ahobilam. In the last few stanzas of this work, the poet states that Sankhyas, Yogis, Saivas and Pancharatras and others worship the same Narasimhaswamy in different forms and names. In one of his verses he makes a reference to Lord Venkatapati and makes a complete surrender of his soul to the Lord of the universe.

(vi) Chadalavada Mallayya kavi

In his 50th stanza of the 3rd canto of his "Vipra Narayana Charitra" the poet describes the rising sun as the absolute Brahma which different people worship in different forms. In this also there is implicit reference to Lord Venkatachalapati.

(vii) Tallapaka Annamacharya

this famous composer who is credited with having composed nearly 32,000 Sakirtanams to Lord Venkatesvara has also written a book called "Venkatesvara Sataka." This is an interesting book depicting the episodes pertaining to the Consort of the Lord namely Goddess Alamelumanga.

He closes the work with a fervent prayer that he the poet is an unfortunate person, leading a hard life and seeking refuge at the holy feet of Goddess Alamelumanga, and that he yearns for her merciful looks, and worships her with the full bloomed fowers of words.

(viii) Pedda Tirumalacharya:

Pedda Tirumalacharya the son of Annamacharya translated into easy Telugu verses in dvipada metre the suprabhata and designated it as "Sri Venkateswara Prabhata Stava." This is intended to awake the Lord in the morning and to receive the adoration of his devotees. The Lord is said to have lived in the reigns of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevaraya, Achyutaraya and Sadasiva Raya. A peculiar and unique remark is made in this work that Krishnadevaraya did not evince any special favours towards the Lord but that Achyutaraya and Sadasivaraya patronised Him and granted Him villages etc.

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

(ix) **Revanuri Venkatarya:**

Annamacharya has by his second wife Akkamba a daughter by name Tirumalamba, who married Revanuri Tirumala Kondaraya. Their son was Revanuri Venkatarya who lived in the 16th Century and wrote the Telugu poem called "Sripada Renu Mahatmya". In this work the author praises the divine qualities of the Sripadarenu and entreats the Lord to bless him always with the renu so that he may get divine inspiration for his poetry. The Lord is said to have taken the form of Dhanavantri to cure diseases and the poet attributes to the Sripadarenu the power of curing dumbness, deafness, ignorance and stammering. The poet describes it as an efficient cause in all the avatars of Lord Vishnu and states that the Sripadarenu was the source of the great success of Annamacharya otherwise known as "Sankirtanacharya."

(x) **Kakamani Murtikavi:**

This poet who lived in the 16th Century dedicated his work "Rajavahana Vijaya" to Lord Venkatesvara. In dedication the poet euphemistically says that he is marrying his Kavya Kanya to Archavatava of the Lord of Venkatachala, and in the course of this description, praises the Lord in exquisite verse as Timmappa a shortened form for Tirumala Appa. An interesting statement in this work is that pilgrims from Kataka, Kalyana, and Delhi regions resort to Tirumala for Brahmotsavam of Venkatesvara. He concludes his work with a fervent prayer that there is no other god as magnanimous as Venkatesa the Lord of Seshachala in bestowing gifts on all his devotees.

(xi) **Siddhiraju Timmaraju:**

Siddhiraju Timmaraju was the governor of Kondavidu. He was a nephew of Aliya Ramaraya of the Aravidu dynasty. He composed a poem "Parmayogi vilasa" and dedicated it to the Lord of Mangalagiri. In a sisamalika metre stanza, he refers to Lord Venkatesvara's tranquil pose, his left hand resting on his hip, his golden ornament, his right varadahasta pointing to his feet as the sole refuge of the afflicted, his merciful looks, his strings of pearls and his lustrous Tirita, Shankha and Chakra.

(xii) **Tarigoppula Mallan:**

This poet, a native of Chandragiri, wrote the poem 'Chandrabhanu Charitam,' in which he describes the journey of crores of pilgrims who came to worship Venkatesa with cheeks pierced with wire, locking their mouth,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and rolling their bodies on the floor in angapradakshina. He gives a graphic description of the Govindaraja temple and the difficulties of the pilgrims who ascend the hills with great difficulty.

(xiii) Pingali Suranarya:

He was a protege of Krishnaraja of Nandyala. In the second canto of his work 'Manikandhara,' the disciple of Narada is said to have made an intensive pilgrimage and reached Venkatesvara temple at the end. He then gives a graphic description of the temple as it must have looked in the 16th Century when the poet composed his work. After spending three days and nights on the Venkata hill, the pilgrim described his descent down the hills and his going to Kanchi.

(xiv) Sreshtaluri Venkatarya:

This poet has written a Telugu kavya in dvipada metre entitled "Srinivasa Vilasa Sevadhi." A condensation of this was published by the T.T.D. in 1954.

In this work the list of the nine tirthas in the Swamy Pushkarini is given as follows:—

- (a) Varaha tirtham at the north west corner.
- (b) Kubera (dhanada) tirtham on the north side.
- (c) Galva (arishi) tirtham on the north east.
- (d) Markandeya tirtham on the east.
- (e) Agni tirtham on the south east.
- (f) Yama tirtham on the south.
- (g) Vasistha tirtham on the south west.
- (h) Vayu tirtham on the west (in the shade of an asvattha tree).
- (i) Sarasvathi tirtham in the Centre of the Swami Pushkarini.

The work goes on to describe the adventures of the legendary king Tondaman who is supposed to have built the temple of Tirumala. The various festivals and the Vahanas described in this work are as follows:—

- (a) Sesha vahanam for the devotees.
- (b) Hamsa vahanam as a mark of having instructed Brahma whose vahana is hamsa.
- (c) Simha vahana indicating his slaying Hiranyaksha.
- (d) Pushpaka vahana indicating that the Lord and Padmavati (or Sita as mahisuta) travelled in it to the spot.

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

- (e) Garuda vahana to denote Gajendra moksha.
- (f) Hanuman vahana—to denote the bhakti of Hanuman who carried the Lord in his shoulders.
- (g) Gajavahana as denoting royalty when Sri Rama ruled riding on a gaja called "Satrunjaya."
- (h) Suryavahana denoting the immanence of Surya.
- (i) Rathavahana to denote his lila as Sarathy to Partha.
- (j) Turanga vahana to indicate his victory over the demons.
- (k) Sibika Vahana—A palanquin adorned with nine gems which the Lord adorns on the 9th day, going to Adi varaha's shrine and receiving the holy water of Swami Pushkarani, indicating his desire to protect his devotees.

This work is important in showing the legends as they existed in the 17th century.

(xv) Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi:

He composed a work "Venkatesvara vilasa" and dedicated it to the Lord.

(xvi) Challapalli Narasa Kavi:

He lived in the early part of the 18th Century and wrote 'Venkatesvara vilasa' on the subject of Lord Venkatesvara's marriage with a Chenchu maiden.

(xvii) Krishna Kavi:

This poet of the 19th Century translated Sakuntala of Kalidasa into Telugu and dedicated it to the Lord.

(xviii) Divakarla Tirupata Sastry and Charlapalle Venkata Sastry:

These are modern poets who have written upwards of hundred works, of which many are dedicated to Lord Venkatesvara.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

SECTION—IV.

MUSICAL LITERATURE.

(i) **Annamacharya:**

Tallapaka Annamacharya was the earliest known musician who composed songs in praise of Lord Venkatesvara. His grand-son has written that his grand-father had composed upwards of 32,000 sankirtanas. In the 1920s from a small cell sealed with loose stones in the Vimana pradakshina of the Tirumala temple about 2590 copper plates were recovered each having three sankirtanas engraved on either side. The rest of the Sankirtanams are lost. Some are said to be in Ahobila Narasimha Swamy temple and some in Srirangam temple but they have not been traced up to now.

He was a Telugu Nandavara born in 1408 A.D. and lived up to a ripe old age till 1503 A.D. Annamacharya's songs on Lord Venkatesa are so well known that they need no elaborate description.

(ii) **Pedda Tirumalacharya:**

He was the son of Annamacharya and was also a profound scholar, philosopher and composer. He was told by his father at his death bed, that he should compose atleast one sankirtan each day and sing it before the Lord. He is the author of many "Sringera Sankirtanas" and "Adhyatma Sankirtanas," on Lord Venkatesvara.

(iii) **Chinna Tirumalacharya:**

Pedda Tirumalacharya's son Chinna Tirumalacharya followed the foot steps of his father and grand-father and assumed the duty of Sankirtanacharya of the temple. He also composed Sringera Sankirtanas and Adhyatama Sankirtanas in praise of Lord Venkatesa. For his proficiency in Ashta Bhasha or eight languages, he was given the title "Charutara Ashta Bhasha Chakravarthi." This is stated in a work written by his third younger brother.

(iv) **Purandaradasa:**

Purandaradasa the famous Kannada musician and poet is practically the author of modern Carnatic music. His patron diety was Lord Vithala of Pandaripur.

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

He lived in the early years of the 16th Century. According to tradition Purandaradasa is said to have come to Tirumala on hearing the fame of Annamacharya. Tradition has it that on the occasion of their meeting each other, they jointly composed a song which, though, it is the same song, is differently addressed to the respective deities of the composers, with Trivenkatanayaka being invoked by Annamacharya and Purandaradasa invoking Lord Vithala by prefixing his own name to the name of the god as his special ensign of the authorship of the song.

During this visit, Purandaradasa is said to have composed some poems in honour of Lord Venkatesa some of which are as follows:—

(a) “Kande Kande Svamiya bedi konde,” in which he praises Lord Venkatesvara as resplendent like a crore of suns. This song is in Mukhari raga and Madhyatala.

(b) In another song composed in Kapi raga and Ata tala beginning with the words “Dhaniya nodideno Venkatana, mana dhaniya no dide sikhamani Tirumalana,” he stressed again his visit to the Lord of Venkatadri wearing Pitambara, wearing shining rubies and gems, and adorning himself with a Vijayanti, Bhujakirti, a thick namam on his fore-head, being famous (even in those days) as an extractor of kassu as interest, and with his body fully decked with chandanam and kasturi.

(c) In a third song in Navaroj raga and Adi tala entitled “Nambide Ninna padava Venkataramana nambide nina padava,” he prayed to Lord Venkatesa as the lifter of the Mandara hill, and requested him to lead him (the devotee) in the right path since the devotee had totally trusted only the lotus feet of the Lord.

(d) In Saveri raga he has composed another song “Baraya Venkataramana Vakutara manige,” he praises the Lord in the names of his ten avatars, as adi-Kachchapa, mudadi sukara, Sadaya narasimha etc.

(e) In another song in Bilahari raga and Ata tala Purandaradasa again addressed Lord Venkatesa praising him for his ten dasa avatars and calling upon him to forgive his sins of commission and omission.

(v) Vyasarayya:

Vyasarayya, otherwise known as Vyasa-tirtha was considered to be a guru of Purandaradasa. He was patronised by Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

empire. He is said to have composed a song on Lord Venkatesa as Srinivasa in Todi raga and Rupaka tala entitled " Ninna nodi, dhnya nadenno, Sri Srinivasa."

(vi) Other Songs:

Other Kannada dasas have sung on Venkatesa. Some of the songs are:

- (i) Sri Venkatesa Paliso, ninna Sri Pada sevaroda nadiso (Nathanama-kriya raga).
- (ii) Bhushanake—Bhushana yadu bhushana Seshagiri vasa Sri Vara Venkatesa (Kambhoja raga).
- (iii) Venkatesa bhava sankata parihariso ninna varava nenito (Kambhoja raga).

There is an interesting and unique satirical song on Lord Venkatesvara as being covetous and miserly like a merchant, though unfortunately the name of the composer is not now known. The song begins with the Pallavi " Bandevayya Govinda setti " in which the Lord is addressed in nindastuti as " Radu lobhi setti," " maruva setti " and " Kesavanarayana timma setti " etc., etc.

(vii) Thyagaraja:

Thyagaraja the famous composer of Carnatic music was born in 1769 A.D. He belonged to the Kakarla Vamsa and Bhardwaja gotra. Thyagaraja was a great mystic saint who revelled in the name of Lord Rama like Pothana to whom Bhagavatham was his daily food. Thyagaraja spurned all worldly honours and rewards and lived in and for Sri Rama alone.

He is said to have composed over four thousand songs. Of these, only about seven hundred are now extant, and of these only two hundred are in actual vogue. He has handled 47 melakartas and has rendered 211 ragas. Thyagaraja is a Sahaja Vaggeyakara and has divinised music.

Thyagaraja has composed two Kirtanas on Lord Venkatesvara and has mentioned him in another.

In his Kirtana beginning with " Venkatesa ninu sevimpanu padi vela kannula kavalen ayya " in Madhyamavati Raga, Adi tala, the poet praises

TIRUMALA IN LITERATURE AND SONG

Lord Venkatesvara and says that ten thousand eyes are needed to fully comprehend and know him and that as a result of some of his past punya he was able to reach the Lord. .

In another famous song “Tera tiyagarada naloni tirupathi venkataramana matsaramanu” in Goulipantu raga and Adi tala he prayed to the Lord to remove the screen of envy lurking in his mind and which was drawing him away from dharma, artha and moksha.

In his famous ‘ghana raga panchaka’ in Arabhi beginning with “Sadinchane O manasa” there is also a reference to Lord Venkatesa.

(viii) Muthuswamy Dikshita:

Muttuswamy dikshita also belonging to the 18th-19th century, was another famous contemporary of Thyagaraja. Being a great scholar in Sanskrit, most of his compositions are in that language, though he knew many other languages. He is said to have praised various gods in about three hundred compositions. There are five songs by him on Lord Venkatesvara as follows:

(a) The first song beginning with “Prasanna Venkatesvaram bhajare” is in Vakulabharana raga and Triputa tala. In this the Lord is said to be an ocean of mercy and the giver of ananda to the bhaktas and as being praised always by Alamelumanga.

(b) There is second song by him in Surati raga and Adi tala beginning “Sri Venkatagirisam alokaye vinayakaturagurudam.” In this the Lord is said to be accompanied always by his Consort Alamelumanga.

(c) In a third song in Purna chandrika raga and Rupaka tala, Muthuswamy Dikshita praises Lord Venkatesvara as follows “Sanka Chakra Gada Panim aham vande, Sri Saranga Nandaka Kaustubha dharinam vande.”

(d) In a song “Sheshachala nayakam bhajami vishesha phaladayakam” in Varali raga and Rupaka tala, he again praises the Lord of Seshachala who gives special boons to his disciples.

(e) The fifth song in Kapi raga and Adi tala is a unique one beginning with “Venkatachalapate ninnu nammiti vegame nannu rakshimpu mayya.” This is composed in three languages Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit and is a manipravala kirtana.

(ix) Shyama Sastry:

Shyama Shastri the third of the famous triad of the Carnatic musicians also lived in 18th-19th Century was a contemporary of Thyagaraja and

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Muthuswamy Dikshita. He was originally named as Venkata Subramanya but his pet name given to him by his parents was Shyama Krishna. He has composed nearly three hundred songs in various ragas and tradition has it that he composed one on Lord Venkatesa which unfortunately is not now available.

(x) Subbaraya Sastry:

Subbaraya Shastry the second son of Shyama Shastry is also a famous composer and he has composed a song beginning with "Venkata saila vihara nive gati brova rada" in Hamir Kalyani raga, Adi tala, where he seeks the Lord to save him when he has surrendered his all on seeing the Hill, the gopuram and mantapam of the Lord.

(xi) Vina Kuppier:

Vina Kuppier was a direct disciple of Thyagaraja. He has composed "Pancharatna" kirtanas on Venkatesvara as follows:—

- (a) "Mammu brochu" (Simhendramadhyama raga; Adi tala).
- (b) "Nannu brovumika" (Mukhari raga; Adi tala).
- (c) "Sarojakshuni" (Saveri raga; Adi tala).
- (d) "Niva dikkani" (Darbar raga; Adi tala).
- (e) "Bagu miraganu nato palukagarada vada" (Sankarabharana raga; Rupaka tala).

(xii) Patnam Subramania Iyer:

Patnam Subramania Iyer (1845—1902) is a well known musician. He has composed many songs some of which are on Lord Venkatesvara as follows:

- (a) "Samayam ide nannu brova jalamela talajala"
(Kedara raga; Rupaka tala).
- (b) "Raghuvamsa Sudhambudhi Chandra"
(Kadanakutuhala raga; Adi tala).
- (c) "Sarasiruhana Srirama"
(Brindavana saranga raga; Adi tala).
- (d) "Paridanamichchite—"
(Bilahari raga; Misrajati Jampa tala).

(xiii) Srinivasa Iyengar:

Patnam Subramania Iyer's disciple was Sri Ramanthapuram Srinivasa Iyengar. He has composed some songs on Venkatesa. One famous and well known song "Saraguna Palimpa Samayamuraniku" in Kedaragoula raga and Adi tala.

(xiv) Narayanaswamy Naidu:

This musician flourished in the beginning of this century and has composed many songs. Of these the following four on Lord Venkatesa have been noted.

- (a) Ni dasuda nani vedite nira dayun davai nanu brovuemi
(Begada raja; Adi tala).
- (b) Endu bodura Rama Nivasa enta vedukonna Inntaina daya radu
(Saveri raga; Adi tala).
- (c) Ikanaina na mora vinarada Inakula Chandra idi samayamura
(Pushpatilaka raga; Adi tala).
- (d) Ika nevarito vinnavintura Inavamsahdhi soma
(Balahamsa raga; Adi tala).

There have been many other less well known musicians and poets who have composed many songs in honour of Lord Venkatesvara.

From the above brief review, it will be seen that Lord Venkatesvara's fame had been extensive in the past five hundred years or so and the Lord has been the theme of many compositions both in music and in literature.

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

I. Introduction.

The word 'Tirumala' means only the holy hill. Thus any hill may be called 'Tirumala' and the temple on it could also be known as 'Tirumala Temple.' But in normal practice, the most sacred of all hill temples viz., the temple of Lord Venkatesvara on the Vengadam hills is only known as Tirumala Temple.

It is impossible to determine the date of construction of this temple. There is no direct evidence to help us in this connection, and any attempt must therefore be based wholly upon inference from circumstantial evidence.

The architectural development of the temple can however be broadly traced from a study of the various structures and the inscriptions in the temple. A stylistic comparison of many of the architectural features of the temple would also give us some general idea about how the construction of the temple and its various structures progressed through the ages. This evidence could in many cases be supplemented and also corrected by epigraphical evidence, since many pious devotees from emperors to ordinary temple servants had made donations to keep the sacred temple in good order and these give us valuable data on contemporary conditions. In some cases the repairs carried out were very extensive and several additions, alterations and renovations consistent with the prevailing customs and needs of the time have been made. The temple as we view it today is the end product of all such renovations.

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

At the moment the temple does not present much of ancient architectural features in its structures. A cursory examination of the architecture of the temple suggests that except for some pieces here and there which are in late Chola style, the rest are in Vijayanagara style of architecture, and many are in very modern styles. A study of the architectural development of the Tirumala Temple based upon literary evidence, stylistic comparisons of individual architectural features, and inscriptional evidence has not upto now been undertaken in a consistant and methodical manner. An attempt is here made to do it.

II. Introduction to temple architecture with reference to Agamic rules

(a) Agamas and Vyaha theory.

Before studying the development of the construction of Tirumala temple, it may be useful to have a broad idea of the agamic rules for the construction of temples. Temples in general are intended for the external worship of the Deity as conceived by the ancients. These were consecrated for worship in conformity with the procedure laid down in the Samhitas. The Samhitas are numerous; some expound the tenets of the Vaikhanasa Agama and some others the tenets of the Pancharatra Agama.

The images of the Dhruva Murti are generally made by the Silpis or sculptors well versed in the Agamic rules for the manufacture of such icons. Some temples have murtis whose origin is not traceable. Some others have been installed by Siddhas or Rishis or Devas or some are said to be Swayamvakta where the Lord manifests himself out of his infinite grace.

The Agamic rules or the Agama Samhitas lay down procedures for the construction of the temples which are to be built by man and in which murti worship is to be carried on. The Agamas for Vaishnavite worship are two, the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra. Each claims for itself greater integrity, sanctity and superiority. To a modern reader the points of agreement in both the systems are so numerous that the differences would appear to be not of very great significance, in as much as the great Acharya Purushas have accorded equal recognition to both.

The fundamental postulate accepted in Hinduism which is intended to be translated in temple construction and worship is the principle of the evolution of the one Infinite into the varied forms of the manifested world,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and the stages by which man in his ignorance can remove these shackles and slowly ascend to his original level of divine consciousness. In this process such well known concepts like Nishkala Brahma, Sakala Brahma, Saguna Brahma etc., are all defined and codified. The ultimate goal of the individual is to free himself from association with the endless cycle of births and deaths and attain a state of eternal communion with the Paramatman. The four ways of reaching this goal are Japa, Homa, Dhyana and Archana. This broad approach is the basic method in its external form to temple construction and worship.

There are two other concepts to be noticed here namely the 'Vyuha avatara' and the 'Vibhava avatara' Vishnu. In the first step of the Vyuha avatara the one infinite Paramatman brings forth into existence, a huge anda or what is technically called 'a golden egg,' which is sub-divided into four further grades called amoda, pramoda, samoda and vaikunta lokas. The jivas are expected to enter from amoda loka to vaikunta loka and to the jiva, Vishnu the Paramatman appears in each of the Lokas, as a graded Deity called Vishnu, Maha-Vishnu, Sada-Vishnu and Sarvavyapi Narayana. The perceptible forms of these amsas (which are intended for image worship) are technically known as Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha. These are called the Vyuha forms of Vishnu and they are four in number, and these have a well defined niche in any temple for worship. In the Agamas besides these four, as many as twentyfour further sub-vyuhās are defined. Each of these has an idol and a specific place to be installed and worshipped in the construction of a temple.

The Vibhava Avatara on the other hand, is the concept of the Paramatman manifesting himself in human and other forms in order to show the correct path of rectitude to the devotees. Popularly the Vibhava Avatara are said to be ten or the well known Dasavataras—Mathsya, Kurma, Varaha, Vamana, Rama, Balarama, Krishna, etc. The images of these Vyuha avatars are also to be worshipped in the temples.

The Vyuhamurthis and also other deities like Brahma, Sankara, Indra and other Devas have all their respective allotted places assigned to them in the architectural design of the temple, as defined in the Agamas.

In the Pancharatra theory these vyuhās are accepted but forms are not derived from four Brahmagunas accepted in Vaikhanasa but from another set of six gunas. Apart from this all the vyuha stages are acceptable to both the two Agamas, the difference being only the priority to be given to each.

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

In the Vaikhanasa agama the purusha is placed on the south side of the east face of the Garbhagriha facing the east, the satya in the south wall, achyuta in the west wall and aniruddha in the north wall. The Pancharatra places the vyuha vasudeva on the east where the Vaikhanasa agama puts the purusha, and in the south will be placed sankarshana and so on in a reverse order of divinity. Thus commencing from the east the Vaikhanasa agama places the vyuhas in the clockwise ascending order of divinity while the Pancharatra places their vyuhas in the descending order.

(b) Different types of agamic temples.

In the design of the temples the agamas follow closely the description given in the puranas. There have been a number of classifications of the temples like the vertical type, the trimurthi type and the dvimurthi type etc., etc. The agamas contemplate different extensive designs, the ideal temple consisting of 12 tiers. Such temples are extremely rare and have been mentioned mostly only in the texts

(c) The Eka murthi temple.

This type is the commonest one now available and has served the test of times. In this type the representation of the vyuhamurthis and some of the Vibhava forms are in vogue. Brahma, Rudra, Markandeya and Brigu are installed in the Garbhagriha as parivara devatas, though in course of time the representation of Brahma and Rudra images was given up.

(d) Nava-Shat-Pancha murti alayam.

Temples of this type may be built in three tiers or two tiers or on the ground floor alone. The overall dimensions of the building would range from nine hastams square to sixty one hastams square in arithmetical progression of two hastams to each side. Thus each side of the square would be 9, 11, 13, 15 to 61 hastams. There could therefore be twenty seven sizes of temples. Temples of a size less than 9 hastams side are also permitted. But they would be so small that kanuka berams for all the nine, six or even five murtis could not conveniently be given accommodation. So they will have to be placed in alcoves in the garbhagriham (abhyantaram) walls.

The walls of the garbhagriham are called 'abhyantara bhitti' and the outer walls are called 'bahya bhitti,' both being Sanskrit words for the inner and outer walls. There will be a doorway left in the middle of the east inner

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

wall and four doorways in the middle of each of the four outer walls. Each side of the garbhagriham will be three hastams; wall thickness one hastam and the width of the corridor round it one hastam. This allocation holds good whether the temple has three or two tiers or is only a ground floor structure. The compound wall is called 'bahya kudyam.' The corridor space left between the abhyantaram and the bahya bhitti walls is called 'alindram.'

If the temple is built in three tiers it is called a Tritala alayam; if in two tiers, Dvitalam and if only on the ground floor it is called Eka-talam.

(e) Tritala Nava murti alayam.

In this type the centrally situated twenty five squares, (which is the same thing as saying the space allotted for the garbhagriham and the abhyantaram walls) will be left vacant without any murti being placed therein. On the other hand the ground floor would be built substantially so as to act as a sound foundation and basement for the second and the third tiers. On all the four sides of the alindram (or corridor) the vyuha murtis will be installed—Purusha in the east wing, Satya in the south wing, Achyuta in the west wing and Aniruddha in the north wing. There will be a flight of steps leading to the second tier. The bahya bhitti walls will have large openings in each wing and be provided with jalakam (or trellis pattern bay window) so that the murtis installed in the alindram could be seen from the mukha mantapam in front of each.

(f) Dvitala alayam.

In this type the Adi murti Vishnu would be installed in the ground floor (adha stalam) in the middle space (nine small squares) in bhoga asana posture. In the alindram surrounding the garbhagriham the Vyuha murtis would be installed as described already with this difference that Purusha Murti would be to the south of the east door way of the garbhagriham abutting the abhyantaram wall. All will face outwards. In the second tier, in the central space will be installed the yoga sayana murti.

(g) Pancha Murti alayam—dvitalam.

Adi murti Vishnu would be installed in the second tier. On the ground floor Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha as before on the four sides obtained either by blocking up the central nine squares alone or the central twenty five squares. All the murtis would face outwards.

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

If it is found difficult to have separate Vimanams over each of the Dhruva Murtis, the Eka tala temple might be provided with a single Vimanam so as to cover the entire space occupied by all the Murtis.

(h) Eka tala Eka Vimana Nava-Shad Pancha Murti alayam.

The type is a cheap alternative and could be constructed so as to be less than 9 hastams square, if so desired. The sides would be divided into nine equal parts each way so as to give 81 equal small squares. Or each side might be divided into 11 equal parts, resulting in the formation of 121 equal small squares. In either case the central 25 squares will be allotted for the garbha-griham and the abhyantaram walls. According to the second method the alindram would get 56 squares and bahir bhithi 40 squares. In other words the garbha griham will be three units square, the abhyantaram wall and the bahir bhithi one unit thick and the alindram would get a little more space. The Adi murti and the Vyuha murtis would be installed as before. Narayana, would be near the south west end of the south face of the alindram; Nrisimha near the North West end of the west face and Varaha near the North West end of the north face.

(i) Eka tala Ekamurti alayam.

The Eka tala Eka murti alayam is not only confined to a single floor but is also dedicated to the worship of a single Dhruva Murti and its Kautuka Beram. Its Vimanam covers only the garbha griham. A simple design of a skeleton temple (Ekatala Eka Murti) of the current type will have the garbha griham and the mukha mantapam, which is its ante-chamber as an integral structure up to the roof. The Vimanam would cover only the garbha griham, its walls and the terrace. Mukha mantapam will have only the terraced roof. The width of the mukha mantapam would be about the same as that of the garbha griham; but its length would be such that the area of its floor space equals the area of the Vimanam at its base. When the murti to be installed is in the standing or sitting posture the garbha griham would be square in shape. The floor space (and therefore one side of this square space) is usually calculated after deciding on the area of the base of the vimana (which determines the height or the vimanam also). The rule of thumb practice is to make the area of the garbha griham $1/3$, $2/4$, $3/5$, $4/7$, $5/9$ or $6/11$ th part of the base area of the Vimanam. In the design of the Nava Shat Pancha murti alayam (Eka tala Eka Vimanam) the rule was much cruder still. There will be an open space left at the terrace level on all the sides of these two

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

structures (excepting on the front side) which space is called antaralam. This open space separates the two structures from the corridor which surrounds them on all sides. This corridor is called the 'antarmandalam.' The antarmandalam corresponds to the alindram of the Nava Shat Pancha murti alayam. The roof of the antarmandalam is carried on walls on the outer side and on a row of stone pillars on the inner side on the three sides excepting the front. The slope of the terrace would be outwards. On the front side the antarmandalam widens into an ardha mantapam or snapana mantapam and is also called vesaram. Right below the antaralam opening and at the ground level there will be a fairly wide cutstone drain running round the three sides. The drainage water from the garbha griham will find its way into this drain by an outlet in the north wall of the garbha griham having a carved face, like the face and mouth of a cow and therefore called gomukham. The rain water flowing down the Vimanam will also fall into this drain. All the drainage water will be led into the Pushkarini or the holy tank which is usually situated on the north side of the temple and near the outer-most prakaram or compound wall. No part of the roof of the corridor (antarmandalam) will rest on or have contact with the garbha griham walls. On the front side the corridor roof would rest on the east wall of the mukha mantapam.

It will be seen that the garbha griham, the mukha mantapam antarmandalam have doorways placed centrally on the east side only. Attached to the east face of the antarmandalam will be an asthana mantapam used for festival purposes. This mantapam would be an open cutstone structure carried on 16, 32, or 64 pillars.

It is usual to have the shrine of Garuda (the Divine Eagle) in the middle of the eastern fringe of the above mantapam. The Dhvajastambham and Balipitham would be to the east of this Shrine. There are however alternative sites assigned for these which will be explained later.

The walls of the antarmandalam are also known as the first avaranam or prakaram walls. There will be a fairly wide quadrangular open space running round these walls and the asthana mantapam. This space is enclosed by another set of quadrangular walls (massive and high) known as the second prakaram or avaranam walls. There will be one wide and high opening on the east wall, corresponding to the doorways in the garbha griham, mukha mantapam and the first avaranam but very much higher and wider giving an imposing appearance. The roof will be surmounted by a gopuram. The opening is usually called a mukhadvaram. Very many temples are content

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

with having this second avaranam, its mukhadvaram and gopuram. A few have another set of quadrangular walls, mukhadvaram and gopuram with the open space between the second wall and this one made much wider than the second avaranam space.

These three avaranams play an important part in the daily rituals of worship. Important Devas and Devatas are presumed to occupy their allotted places therein. Although at one time they were represented by images it is not the practice now.

(j) The Garbhagriha Padavinyasa.

The division of the floor space of the garbha griham into four zones, each outer zone surrounding the next inner one is called in the language of the Agamas, Garbhagriha Pada Vinyasam. This division is made so that the images in the garbha griham may be arranged in the order which the Agamas prescribe. If the temple is consecrated for installing a Dhruva Murti and a Kautuka Beram the division will be in one way; if there is no Kautuka Beram and a Dhruva Murti alone is installed and worshipped the division is effected in a different manner. The four zones are named thus. The central zone is called Brahmyam; the one which surrounds it is called Daivikam; the third zone which surrounds the Daivikam is called Manusham; the outermost one is called Paisacham. The import of these terms is so patent that no lengthy explanation is necessary. If the temple has in the garbha griham a Dhruva Murti and its Kautuka Beram, the Kautukam should be installed in the central zone called Brahmyam. Most part of the daily archana will be to the Kautuka Beram and through it to the Dhruva Murti. If the temple was consecrated without the Kautukam, then the Dhruva Murti would occupy the Brahmyam space. All archana would be done to the Dhruva Murti directly.

The Murti should be located on the pitham which consists of four planks (Dharmam, Jnanam, Aiswaryam and Vairagyam) bound together by three glittering bands called Trimekhala running round the four sides and spaced at equal intervals. On the pitham and under the murti is the eight or sixteen petal Padmam.

(k) The other Devatas.

In the more ancient temples these images could be seen even now. But in recent constructions they are omitted. During the daily puja however they have to be thought of and nyasa flowers in their name deposited between the feet of the Dhruva murti. These devas are of two classes. Some are

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

presumed to be present at all times and under all conditions. Others are permitted to be present when the Dhruva Murti is in certain Sthitis; such as Yoga, Bhoga and Vira.

Dvara devas, dvarapalas, Vimana palas, Vishvakṣena, Sri Bhutam and Garuda will always be in their respective places. They are anapayins. Brahma, Sankara, Markandeya, and Bhrigu will not be present in certain Sthitis. But during the daily puja they are treated as being present and nyasam is done for them and the flower placed between the feet of the Dhruva murti. Their names and the place they occupy will now be given.

Vishvakṣena:—He is as it were the commander-in-chief of the divine forces or, Vishnu ganas. His place is at the north-east corner of the north side of the first avaranam close to the foot of the Vimanam facing south. He is agni colour, wears yellow (pita) clothes; has all Vishnu's abharanams excepting Srivatsam and Yagnopavita; has two hands; wears flower garlands; holds sakti dandam; Jayapati; Srunga ketu.

There are several types of Vimanams, three of which are Santika, the Paushtika and the Jayada types. Enumeration of the several types would interest only those who study the architectural side of the temple, and will therefore be omitted here. The more common type has a square base and is in height about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 times the side of the base. It may consist of two, three or more tiers. Images made in stucco are usually set up on the four faces in each tier and at the angular points. The neck portion between one tier and the next one above are also adorned with images.

The agamas also lay extensive detailed rules for the placement of the dvitiya avaranas and the tritiya avarana devatas and places for the devatas of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th avaranas and dvarapalas also where such extensive temples have been built.

It is possible to make out a chart showing the devas, dvarapalas in the avaranas whatever be their number and the precise place allotted to the several images according to the avaranas. This will be of interest to a serious student of agamas. The Tirumala temple broadly follows the above injunctions of the agamas.

III. First phase on the construction of the Tirumala temple (An open mandapa).

Legends have it that the Tirumala Temple was originally built by a King called Tondaman who was the younger brother of Akasa Raja of the Junar

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

race. The Akasa Raja found Goddess Padmavati in a lotus and brought here up and ultimately got her married to Lord Srinivasa. Very soon after the marriage Akasa Raja died and his brother Tondaman and son Vasudana fought for the throne. Lord Srinivasa, the son-in-law of the family interfered in the dispute, and divided the kingdom between the two disputants, the Tondaman getting Tondaimandalam and Vasudana getting Narayanavanam. This king Tondaman was in his earlier birth the famous devotee Rangadasa whose story is found in the Brahmandapurana. So in continuation of the previous birth, the Lord commanded Tondaman to build a fine temple for the residence of the Lord. Tondaman constructed this temple and this is the Tirumala Temple of the Lord Venkatesa. The above is a legendary story connected with the construction of the Temple.

It is the universal belief that Vengadam with the Lord Venkatesa has existed from times immemorial and that the Deity is 'a self-created or a 'Svayambhu' one.

The term 'Vengadam' meaning the name of the hill is found in the ancient Tamil grammar Tolkappiyam composed by about the 1st Century A.D. Mamular, the Sangam poet of the 2nd Century A.D. also calls the hill by the same name and gives a vivid description of the fairs and festivals held there. These two do not specifically mention the temple. The famous Tamil classic 'Silappadhikaram' of the 1st Century A.D. makes a clear reference to the Deity and the Hill.

The Vaishnavite Alvars who flourished during the later Pallava period say by the 8th Century A.D. have sung innumerable poems in praise of the main Vishnu shrines of South India. They have sung songs about the image of the Lord located at Vengadam but do not refer specifically to the temple. All the Alvars except Thondaradippodi, have sung in praise of the Deity and the hill. Descriptions of the temples and their prakaras in other sacred places like Srirangam, Kanchi etc., are found in the Nalayira Divya Prabandham but not about Tirumala. Alvars like Kulasekhara Alvar and Tirumangaimannan, while describing Srirangam refer to the extent of the temple and its prakaras; but when singing about Vengadam they praise in ecstatic terms only the Deity and the hill but only casually if at all mention the existence of a temple there. Thus upto 8th Century A.D., there is no evidence whatsoever about the temple or its technical features as such.

The earliest inscriptional evidence available to us about the temple is found on a slab at the Vahana mantapa at Tirumala and is now preserved

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

in a platform in the same temple. This fragmentary inscription mentions that a son named Bhupala was born to the victorious Vijayaditya, who bore the burden of the earth like Sarika birds being born on the earth. The similitude of a Sarika bird's birth to a crowned prince is not only inapt but also inept. It is generally believed that this inscription commemorates the birth of king Vijayatiya, son of the Bana ruler Manali Banaraya who from other historical evidence is known to us as having lived round about 790 A.D.

The inscribed stone on which the above epigraph is found is a loose one not forming part of the temple. It is therefore extremely doubtful whether it could be said that this formed part of the architecture of the Tirumala temple at the close of the 8th Century A.D.

IV. Second phase of the construction of the Tirumala temple

(A rudimentary enclosure).

The above facts would indicate that there is no evidence that there was at all a temple as such to Lord Venkatesa till the end of the 8th Century through the image might have stood for all to see and worship from a very long time, in an open mantapa.

The above inference would gain support and strength from the following deductions that could reasonably be drawn from the evidence of the hymns of the Alvars.

One of the Alvars Tirumalisi Alvar has clearly stated that the Lord Venkatesa could be seen from all sides and from anywhere. This statement taken literally would clearly indicate that the image of the Tiruvengadamudayan or Sri Venkatesvara could be seen from anywhere only because it was located in an open mantapa without any enclosures. On the other hand Kulasekhara Alvar expressly mentions that one of his ambitions in his life is to be born again and again as a padi or a pedestal, before the Lord, so that he could always enjoy having the ecstatic darshan of the graceful looks of the Lord. This statement would indicate that when Kulasekhara Alvar composed this song, there were enclosing structures round the image, since a padi or pedestal would be impossible without some kind of enclosure.

Depending on the above statements, we could perhaps conclude, that originally the image of Lord Venkatesa stood on a pedestal in an open mantapa, and that an enclosing temple or Garbha griha was built between the times

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of Tirumalisi Alvar and Kulasekhara Alvar. Generally the accepted dates of the Alvars is about the 8th Century A.D. Hence it is possible to conjecture that round about the 8th Century A.D. there must have been a small temple to the Deity probably made of bricks. This is fully supported by our general knowledge of the evolution of temple architecture, since in South India architecture came into vogue only with the Vishnukundins, and the structural temples came into practice only in the later part of the 8th Century A.D.

It is therefore impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that by the 8th Century A.D. the Tirumala Temple had gone through two stages of temple construction viz., an open mandapa and a small enclosure between the times of Tirumalisi and Kulasekhara alvars.

V. The third phase of the construction of the Tirumala Temple.

(A regular Garbha and Antarala).

From the 8th Century A.D. to the 10th Century A.D. at an unknown date a regular temple with a regular Garbha griha and probably an antarala came into being. There is clear epigraphical evidence to prove this. On the north wall in the 1st prakara of the Tirumala temple is found the famous inscription of Samavai alias Kadavan Perundevi, queen of Sakti Vitankan, who, in the 14th year of the reign of Koppatra Mahendra Panmar I arranged for the daily propitiation (nimandam) with 4 nali of cooked rice (tiruvamudu, and one perpetual lamp (nandavilakku), for the conduct of ablutions (tirumanjanam) on the two Ayana-Sankranti and the two Vishu-Sankranti (days) and for the celebration of the Purattasi festival wherein to conduct a festival for two days before the commencement of the (main) festival and to conduct the (main) festival for nine days beginning with the seed-sowing (tirumulai-yatti) on the day of Chittirai (star), for the Manavalapperumal (image) made of silver and installed in the Tiruvilankoyil after performing special worship for the God presiding over the sacred Venkata Hill and after presenting for the consecrated silver image

- (1) 1 crown (tirumudi) containing 23 diamonds, 16 big pearls, 2 big central rubies and 3 cut rubies, in all 5 rubies.
- (2) 2 ornaments (of the shape of the) makara and 1 pair of coral koppu for the two holy ears.
- (3) 4 strings (malai) for the holy neck into which are set 14 diamonds, rubies, 11 big pearls and many (small red pearls),

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

- (4) 1 belt (udarabandhanam) of gold.
- (5) 1 girdle (tiruvarai-pattikai) with 4 rubies,
- (6) 2 circular ornaments for the arms (bahuvalayam),
- (7) 4 bracelets (tiruchchandam) set with 2 out rubies,
- (8) 4 circular ornaments (valaiyal) for the holy neck,
- (9) 2 solid anklets (karai) for the holy feet,
being ornaments made of gold set with precious stones, corals and pearls, totalling 52 articles;
- (10) 2 anklets with belts (padachayalam) and 1 luminous disc (prabha) of silver set with 1 big central ruby; the gold used in making these articles being 47 kalanju;

and the land given to this Manavalapperumal, for whom all these (ornaments) were presented and ablutions were also conducted and who was consecrated, comprises the pieces of land purchased from the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur situated in the Tirukkudavur-nadu in Sri Venkata-kottam and from Lakshmananambi residing in the Matham and for which was also paid money to the God Tiruvilankoyil-Perumal and which was made tax-free; the piece of land purchased from the Sabhaiyar; the pieces of land known as Nandi-erippatti, Nadupputtai, Lakshmananambi-adaikonda-nilam (land held by Lakshmananambi), Madhusudan-aviyarai and Purushottaman-patti, aggregating to 3 putti of land; measured with the kadikkai-kol (measuring pole) and reckoned to be 3000 kuli as equated with the rod of 16 spans; and this land has been purchased after paying the purchase money to the Sabhaiyar and to the deity, and made tax-free and presented to serve for the propitiation of Manavalapperumal.

The above detailed inscription clearly shows the existence of a regular temple with the utsava murthi at this time, the temple being called Tiruvilan Kovil. The consecration of an utsava murthi suggests the existence of an antarala.

Other epigraphic evidence in the temple also support this view. The eight inscriptions (218,219,220,223,229,232,233,234—G.T.) giving details about the Hill temple are found at Tiruchanur temple. The earliest of them is dated 826 A.D. This tells us about the existence of a proxy (second Murti) Tiruvengadathupperumanadigal also known as Tiru-

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

vilankoilperuman, in the Tiruvilankoil at Tiruchanur. A second inscription (of the time of the reign of Vijaya Aditya, about 870 A.D.) informs us of the existence of a third Murti, apart from the Mula Bera and His proxy, Tirumantrasalai Perumanadigal. Tirumantra Salai is the temple or the place where the converts to Sri Vaishnavite faith were initiated into Tirumantram. The third interesting inscription, in the time of Chola King, Parantaka I (945 A.D.) gives details about the burning of a perpetual lamp in front of Tiruvengadam temple. Tiruvilankoil and Tirumantra-Salai at Tiruchanur are not mentioned later than 1000 A.D.

For a long time after the construction of the Snapana Mandapa, there was no activity till the weakness of Chola power gave room for the local Yadava rulers and others to assert independence. In the latter part of the eleventh century, after the death of Sri Ramanuja (after 1150 A.D.), the development of the temple commenced and continued even to 15th and 16th centuries. It is the later Yadava rulers who were largely responsible for making the temple big and also sound in finance. When we examine the inscriptions on the Hill, they yield several interesting details regarding the construction of the various mandapas and gopuras.

The history of the temple upto this time would then be somewhat as follows:

Finding the Hill very inaccessible to devotees, a Tiruvilankoil to house the representative or rather the proxy of the Hill Deity was built in the Tiruchanur temple about the year 826 A.D. and an icon was consecrated in it to satisfy the cravings of the devotees to worship the Mula-Murti on the Hills with all the ecstasy in which the Alvars have sung Him. Another Murti was also installed at Tiruchanur about 870 A.D. Soon after that, Sri Parasaresvara temple, now in utter ruins and attached to the Tiruttani Devasthanam temples became prominent, supported by the ruling Chola prince. So, to avoid sectarian faction, the then leader of Sri Vaishnavite community thought it safe to transfer the worship of the Tiruvengadam God to His rightful place on the Hill. This happened when Sri Alavandar and his grandson Tirumalai-Nambi were alive—about 960 A.D. When Sri Ramanuja (born in 1017 A.D.) saw a small temple on an inaccessible Hill, he at once planned to enlarge it. Besides, at this time, the Chola king ordered the image of Govindaraja at Chidambaram to be thrown into the sea. That icon was brought by Sri Ramanuja to lower Tirupati. It was installed in a separate shrine erected inside Sri Parthasarathi temple now called Sri Govindaraja Perumal temple. Then lower Tirupati was made to serve as a base to

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

commence the upward pilgrimueg. Thus, the history of the Hill temple commencing from the Tirucnabar temple shifted to lower Tirupati and from there to the Hill.

(vi) Examination of the Architectural features of the Garbha griha.

For a detailed study of the architectural growth of the temple one has to start from the Garbha griha or the sanctum sanctorum cover the Mukkoti Pradakshinam, the first circumambulatory passage, then the second prakara or the outer pradakshinam. The architectural features noticed on the various structures help us to study broadly the architectural development of the temple.

At present the Garbha griha has an Ardhmantapa (now called as Sayanamantapa), and an Antarala (now called as Ramar medai) which form the first unit of the inner prakara.

Both the Garbha griha and the Ardhmantapa are square in shape, the measurement of the garbha griha being 12'—9' and that of the Aradhana being 13'—9'. The Antarala measures measures 10'—6" by 12'—9'.

The architectural peculiarities in the above are listed below:

(a) When their measurements are taken and checked, it is found that their walls are 7½ feet thick. But the wall thickness of the Snapana Mandapa built in front of the Antarala and the outer walls of the Mukkoti Pradakshina measure only 4' 6", which itself is high. Usually 3' 3" thickness is met with in temples of this kind.

(b) The building of two pials on North and South sides of the Antarala-Mandapa. Probably the door-ways in them were blocked up and pials were built to hide the new work.

(c) The absence of a Gomukhi in the Garbha Griha.

(d) Few original Inscriptions prior to 12th century seen on the outer walls

(e) The architectural features noticed on the outer walls, in cornices, roshams, stambha varis and bases. These peculiarities, to some extent, guide us to follow the architectural growth of this unit.

Some explanation has to be found for the above peculiarities, and especially for the nearly 8' thickness of the walls of the garbha griha. The probabilities are discussed below.

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(vii) The fourth phase of the construction of the Tirumala temple.

(The Garbhagriha assumes the present form and vimana is built).

The old Silpis used for their measurements the old bandam, hastam and manangulam which are the traditional units of measurement. Usually the thickness of the walls were in the units of a hastam or a half or a quarter and sometimes 1/8th hastam also were used. Traditionally 24 manangulams made up one hastam. In many temples as in those at Kanchipuram, the precise length of the hastam is actually engraved on the walls of the temple.

According to the old Silpa texts, the sanctum sanctorum had its size determined so as to be proportionate to the size and the posture of the Dhruva Beram. For a murti of the standing posture, with no other murti on the side, the agamas lay down that the Garbha griha may be in the form of a square called Ekatala or a single plot. The dimensions of the side of the square would depend on the height of the Dhruva Beram of the Lord. The hastam is usually the length of a hand and will vary from one sculptor to another. From the dimensions of the Garbha griha of Lord Venkatesvara, the hastam used by the Silpi for this temple would measure 17" in length.

Thus the inner measurement of the Garbha griha being 12' 6", comes to a 9 hastams square. In fact, this is the largest size mentioned in the agamas, and had apparently been adopted for this temple as the idol of the Lord is very high and as this is an Ekamurti temple.

The agama rules also lay down elaborate instructions about the thickness of the walls of the Garbha griha. The thickness bears a constant proportion which the inside floor space of the Garbha griha should bear to the base of the proposed Vimanam, which the walls have to carry. Normally the proportion would be $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, $\frac{3}{5}$ th, $\frac{4}{7}$ th, $\frac{5}{9}$ th, $\frac{6}{11}$ th etc., etc. In other words the proportion varied between half and $\frac{1}{3}$ rd.

The area of the base of the Garbha griha being $(12'-9'')^2$, and since on an average, the proportion of the area of the Garbha griha to base of the Vimana is $\frac{1}{2}$, the area of the Vimana could only be $2 \times (12'-9'')^2$ (i.e., 324sq. feet. The side of the Vimana square, which will be equal to the length of the wall of the Garbha Griha and twice the thickness of the surrounding wall, would be the square root of 324 or 18'. Deducting from this 12' 9", which is the inner length of the Garbha Griha, we have twice the thickness of the walls as 5' 3" or the thickness of each wall of the Garbha griha would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ " or slightly more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The thickness could thus have only less than two hastams as per the measurement laid down in the Silp texts.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

At the moment the overall thickness of the wall is 7' 9" a little over 5 hastams.

The above mathematical calculation clearly proves that there are two walls enclosing the Garbha griha an inner one being the original wall of the thickness of 2 hastams, and the second wall slightly of about 3 hastams in thickness so that at the moment, the wall gives us a thickness of five hastams.

The present thickness of the walls viz., 5 hastams might be made up either of the second wall closely embracing the inner wall or withan air space of say about 6" left between the two walls. Soundings from the walls of Mukkoti Pradakshina would indicate that there is actually an air space between the two walls. Such a space is also known to agamic text as antarmandalam or antaralam.

Hence it is clear that sometime later than the date of Samavai i.e., later than 10th century, the temple has undergone a fourth phase with the walls of the Garbha Griha doubled up. It is possible to approximately arrive at the date of this.

In one inscription which is well-known and which is found on the north wall of the 1st prakara of the Tirumala temple (No. 17—T.T.) there is mention of extensive renovations of the temple which is mentioned as 'Kovil Alvarukku Kovilukku Kovil Seyya' that is for the construction of a temple to the temple of Kovil alvar. The full text of the inscription is as follows:—

Hail, Prosperity! On the 20th day in the month of Arpasi in the 40th year of the reign of Nayanar Vira-Narasingadeva Yadavarayar, on the receipt of the order of Nayanar by the Sthanattar (to the effect) that, at the time of the commencement by Tiruppullanidasar, one of the Desan̄taris, of the renovation of the shrine of Koyilalvar, the old inscriptions engraved on the central shrine built in the past shall be re-engraved at the north corner on the outer side of the first prakara, and the Sthanattar having, in pursuance of the order, directed their re-engraving, this is the document so re-engraved on Friday combined with Uttiradam, being the 22nd day of the Chittirai month in the same year of reign, to wit,

In the 16th year of the reign of Ko-Vira-Rajarajendra-Panmar, "who,—while (his) heart rejoiced, that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become his wife,—in his life of growing strength, during which, having been pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kandalur-Salai, he conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles," Vengainadu, Talappadi

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(Nulamba-padi), Ganga-padi, Kadigai-vili (Tadigai-vali), Kudamalainadu,, Kollapuram (Kollam) and Kalingam,—“deprived the Seliyas of their splendour while (he) was resplendent (to such a degree) that (he) was worthy to be worshipped every where,”

The pattam (ornamental plate for the forehead) presented by the chief queen of him (the king) who slept (died) at the Golden Hall and the daughter of the Cheramanar (Chera king) is 52 kalanju of gold weighed by the kudri naikkal and contains 6 rubies, 4 diamonds and 28 pearls. This pattam Parantakadevi-amman presented to Tiruvenkatadevar.

Among Srivaishnavas the term Kovil alvar is a well understood one. It stands for a wooden structure of the usual type having a small room and a small mantapa of the same height of the room.

Hence somewhere during the renovation period between the 12th and 13th century A.D. a second wall was built round the first wall perhaps to take the weight of the Vimanam which must have been constructed only then while at the same time the Mukkoti Prakaram was also enclosed on all the four sides to make it the first avarana.

From other inscriptions of the temple it is seen that Sundara Pandya gold gilted the Kalasa on the Vimana and that Viranarasingaraya who was a feudatory chief of the Pandya king for sometime and who afterwards became an independent king himself, performed the tulabhara, and weighed himself against gold and made use of that gold to make the temple shine like a ‘Suragirt of the Devas.’ Thus during this period of the 13th century A.D. big renovation works had taken place and the whole vimana was made and gold gilted, and the outer walls of the temple were also constructed to take the weight of the vimana, leaving the mukkti pradakshina as the first avarana of the temple.

(viii) The fifth phase of the construction of the

Tirumala temple—the closure of Ramar medal.

We find that this first javaranam or pradakshinam deliberately built was soon closed. Two inscriptions on the south face of the south wall of the Ramar Medal go to show that this closure would have taken place sometime after 1262 A.D. when Sundara Pandya placed a gold gilt kalasam on top of the Vimanam and when in all likelihood Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

made a gold gilt copper sheet covering to thev imanam. The two inscriptions above referred to relate to one Vijayaganda Gopala, a Telugu Pallava chnieftai who was one of undara Pandya's adherents just like Vira Narasinga. The date usually assigned to him as a ruler is 1250—1285 A.D. But his political life should have commenced much earlier. There are fragmentary inscriptions on the inner face of the Mukkoti pradakshinam walls which go to show that some of his gifts were made before the construction of the new temple and of the new prakaramwalls. Of the two inscriptions which are on the south wall of the Ramar Madai one is a complete inscription and was presumably inscribed after that wall of the Ramar Medai was constructed. It extols Vijayaganda Gopala for his charitable disposition and states that every living being was benefited by him and that every one was grateful to him. The other inscription is an incomplete one and even fragmentary. The queen of Vijayaganda by name Devarasiyar presented cows for the perpetual lighting of three lamps in Sri Venkatesvara's temple. When an incomplete inscription of this type is seen on a new wall of a later date the inference would be that the stone was originally in some other place and was subsequently taken out and set in its present place. It would originally have been on the South wall of the new prakaram at itsjunction with the east wall. To form the Ramar Medai that end would have been cut open and the stones removed in the process used for the Ramar Medaiwall. The inscribed stone might have got mutilated in the process of removal andre setting. The surmise therefore is that the Ramar Medai was formed sometime between 1262 and 1285 A.D. The eastern end of the south and the north prak aram walls would thus have been opened out while walling up the Ramar Medai. Although the formation of the Ramar Medai blocked up the eastern wing, the other three sides of the pradakshinam were perhaps open to the public for some years. The doors and the walls which now completely seal the pradakshinam are of later date and are not in keeping with the other parts of the structure.

The reason as to why the Ramar Medai was closed cannot now be stated with complete certainty. Either it might have been done for the purposes of safety or it might have been deliberately done to frustrate any attempt to instal murthis in the niches of the Mukkoti pradakshina as a Kovil for two additional murthis, since perhaps after the religious reforms brought about Ramanuja, people might have been overanxious to prevent the Pancharatras by forming a chaturmurti alaya in the temple by putting up Pancharatra images on the outer faces of the south west and north walls of the Garbha griha.

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

In inscription (No. 17-T.T.) the old temple is called the Koyil alvar and the renovation work is called Koyil or temple. The latter was meant to serve as a temple to house the former, which even now is called Koyilalvars.

The old temple had a covered corridor surrounding it on all sides, with an open or covered antaram to permit rain water from the vimanam or roof to flow into the drain below surrounding the walls. These had to be demolished to make room for the foundations and walls of the new structure. The old prakaram walls should have been demolished before the foundations for the new temple were laid. The inscription does not speak of the old prakaram walls nor does it state in clear terms that new prakaram walls were built. It says that certain old inscriptions which were on the walls of the old temple and true copies of which were already taken (before building the new temple walls) should be reengraved on the outer face of the north wall of the first prakaram. That there were the old prakaram walls together with pradakshinam could easily be understood from the very large number of stones showing fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions which have been built into the inner face of the walls of the new pradakshinam and also the roughly dressed bald round stone columns used in the new pradakshinam. These columns do not go well with the architectural beauty and finish of the new temple walls. The inner faces of the new prakaram walls containing fragmentary inscriptions on the roughly dressed faces of the old stones present a sorry contrast to the walls of the new temple. The portion of the old temple from which these stones could have come should be the old prakaram. The new pradakshinam along with its prakaram walls is also called a temple in the inscription "Kovilalvarukku Kovil" (a temple for the temple of the Koyilalvar). It is unusual to call the first pradakshinam a temple. A temple usually contains an image for worship. So we must presume that this new pradakshinam was designed to hold within it one or more images for worship. The design of the outer face of the new Garbhagriham walls and the closure of the antaram space in the roof of the pradakshinam support this view. A look at the south wall will show that a niche is sculptured centrally in the body of the wall. There are similar niches on the western and northern walls also. There was (and probably still is) one on the east wall also, a little to the south of the doorway. This has been covered up by one of the thick walls subsequently formed which enclose the Ramar Medai. The space enclosed by these two bits of walls on the south and north sides formed the eastern wing of the new pradakshinam. This was however subsequently walled up. These niches form an essential feature

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of the design of garbhagrihams according to the Vaikhanasa as well as the Pancharatra agamas. The Vaikhanasas attach greater importance to them. In fact they would have had three more niches at corners on the south, west and north faces to instal deities in all these. It is with a view to preventing rain water from dripping upon and beating against the images that the antaralam or open space in the terrace was closed, leaving only small openings to admit a little light.

(ix) Sixth phase of the construction of Tirumala temple—and construction of Tirumamani mandapa.

This is a 16 pillared mukha mandapa built in front of the Snapana mandapa and is the eastern most mandapa in front of the garbhagriha. This 16-pillared mandapa was built by one Mallanna alias Madhava Dasa of Chandragiri in Saka 1339 corresponds to 1417 A.D. An inscription near the Yaga sala specifically mentions this.

Thus this is a mandapa built in the early Vijayanagara style. It is now called Mukha mandapa and serves as Asthana mandapa. Its pillars have flower like corbels. The mandapa with its pillars and stylistic corbels and kodugus and sculptures is an elegant example of the early Vijayanagar style.

(x) Seventh phase of the construction of Tirumala temple (Garuda temple).

At the eastern end of the Tirumamani mandapa is a small shrine to Garuda. A close examination of this shrine shows that it is a later addition in the mandapa being a structure standing in the end centre span of the mandapa and projecting a little outside from the front plinth line. This shrine of garuda is a very crude modern addition and must have been built very late long after the erection of the Tirumamani mandapa when the festivals got multiplied.

(xi) Other structures of Tirumala temple.

(a) *Madil-P-Patti Mandapas etc.*

The above four structures of the main shrine enclose the Vimana Pradakshina with big madil (compound) walls. The East wall is pierced to take the inner Gopura. The South, West and North madil walls have Madil-p patti Mandapas (Mandapas erected attached to and in front of Madil walls), structures like the Kalyana Mandapa and shrines like those to Sri Ramanuja. All these are in late Vijayanagar and modern styles. Except

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the Kalyana Mandapa, others are not worthy of note from the architectural view point. Their modern nature is evident from the style of the various pillars and their capitals and also from the scores of sculptures engraved on pillars based on several non-Agamic mythological anecdotes. The thick pillar with a warrior riding on a Yali on its base, Pushpabodhikai (flower capital) on top, several small figures and Kumbha-Pancharam sculptured on it, compel one to place the Kalyana mandapa in Vijayanagar period, before 1600 A.D. and after 1300 A.D.

There are three important shrines in this prakara—shrines to Varadaraja, Ramanuja, and Narasimha. In the first shrine, the outer walls are in late Chola style. The earliest inscription on them is dated as 16th regnal year of Sri Ranganatha Yadavaraya. Tradition claims that this shrine was specially built to house temporarily Sri Varadaraja, the famous utsava deity from Kanchi, during Malik Kafur's invasion of the South. Regarding Ramanuja's shrine its position clearly indicates that it must have been a later addition. It abuts a little into the north side prakara. Its architectural features, lion base pillars and highly ornamental kodungai are of Vijayanagar type. The earliest inscription on its walls is of the year 1476. We know well that Sri Ramanuja was very much associated with the Hill temple and that he did much to enhance its fame. At Tirumala, the next place to Sri Venkatesvara is given to Ramanuja. So, when a temple was built for him at lower Tirupati about 1200 A.D. it is probable that a shrine or an icon of his must have existed in the Hill temple also. Tradition claims that the shrines to Sri Ramanuja at Tirumala and Tirupati were constructed more or less in the same period. It is believed that a statue of Ramanuja was modelled in his presence at his 45th year and came to be installed at the Hill soon after his death, as ordered by Sri Venkatesvara Himself. The Guruparampara tells us that soon after his death Pillai-Tirumalai Nambi installed one image of Ramanuja in the shrine of Tiruvengadamudaiyan. Hence till the construction of the shrine, the icon might have been placed along with others in Sri Venkatesvara's shrine itself, as there could not be independent puja for any other deity except to Sri Venkatesvara. The shrine to Narasimha too is said to have been constructed to house either Sholangipuram or Ahobilam utsava deity. But it does not look so. This shrine is a make-shift arrangement and forms part and parcel of the madil-p-patti mandapa.

(b) Inner Gopura.

There are several fragmentary inscriptions on its base. The earliest of them narrates the pledge of Venkatatturaivar to carry on the Nandavanam,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Amudu Padi and Sattupadi Kainkaryams and it is dated about 1150 A.D. Among the complete detailed inscriptions, the earliest is 1220 A.D. But we know that the temple was largely renovated in about 1250 A.D. So it can be said with some certainty that the gopura must have been completed somewhere in 1250 A.D. The style of the sculptural works on it too agrees with the above date.

(c) Dhvaja-stambha Mandapa.

This is a simple pillared mandapa to house the holy Stambha and the Balipitha. Like in several big temples, both are located in the outer prakara. It is quite likely that first the Dhavaja-stambha and Balipitha were in the inner prakara and that when the Tirumamani Mandapa was erected in 1417 A.D., both were got shifted to the present position. There is not much of architecture in the mandapa. It is in late Vijayanagar style. Reference to inscriptions support the same. In the inscription (No. 18—T.T.) we hear of the consecration of a silver Murti, a representative of Sri Venkatesvara, for processional purposes. The Pallava queen who installed the icon, also arranged for the conduct of festivals in the month of Purattasi and Margali by purchasing and granting lands. Thus even so early as the 10th century, we understand that the original annual festival was celebrated in the month of Purattasi. This festival is usually known as Brahmotsavam, since it was originally instituted and conducted by Brahma according to the Venkatachala-Mahatmyam. From the inscription (No. 189—T.T.) we learn that in addition to the above two Brahmotsavams observed in the 10th century one such festival was established in the month of Adi by about 1300 A.D. Coming to Vijayanagar times we find that Harihara II instituted one another such festival in the month of Masi. As time advanced, we learn that before the middle of the 16th century, they became ten, distributed among ten months with the exception of Vaikasi and Ani. For performing Brahmotsavam Dhvaja-Stambha and Balipitha are necessary. So both must have existed from very early times, from 10th century onwards, if not earlier. First they must have been in the inner Prakara when the temple was small. When Tirumamani Mandapa was constructed, both must have got shifted to the present location to suit the festivals and endowments that got multiplied demanding more space and elaborate arrangements.

(d) Tirumalaraya Mandapa.

Its finely carved high pillars with warriors riding on horses etc., remind one of similar mandapas at Srirangam, Madurai and Sriperumbudur. They

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

are all late Vijayanagar types. This Mandapa is said to have been constructed by Saluva Narasimha in the middle of the 15th century for celebrating the Anna Unjal Tirunal instituted by him in the year 1473 A.D. The structure was subsequently extended in the 16th century by Srirangaraja Tirumalaraja. This is confirmed by the presence of heavy complex pillars with very elaborate floral designs on them supporting high terrace and placed on high basement, a common feature in post-Vijayanagar period.

(e) Four small mandapas at four corners.

The simple four-pillared mandapas at the four corners were constructed by Saluva Narasimha (1470 A.D.) in his name and in the name of his wife and two sons.

(f) Pratima mandapa.

In this mandapa we see a number of statues including that of Sri Krishna-devaraya with his two queens. It is a simple sixteen-pillared mandapa. It is modern. Elsewhere we find that such mandapas were erected only after 16th century when festivals became numerous and attracted huge crowd.

(g) Ranga mandapa.

This seems to be the earliest mandapa in this prakara. There is an abandoned shrine inside this big mandapa. It is believed that during the time of muslim invasion of the South, 1310-1360, the utsava deity of Srirangam was brought and temporarily installed in the shrine. It is said to have been constructed by Sriranganatha Yadavaraya, the local ruler, to accommodate Sri Ranganatha in the small shrine and the refugees who followed Him, in the spacious mandapa. Its high basement, massive single pillars with heavy capitals place it in early Vijayanagar period.

(h) Outer Gopura.

On its vyala-vari, in three places we see prominently the Pandyan emblem. The stambhas and the kodungai are in late Chola style with pushpa bodhikai and kudu with yali head. We have no inscription giving its exact date of construction. The earliest inscription on it is of the time of Yadavaraya Viranarasimha, 1217 A.D. Chronologically, the next inscription is dated 1260 A.D. But the most interesting one, though fragmentary, is the one in the first tier which refers to Sundara Pandya, 1251-1275. Hence, it can be

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

said that during the time of Sundara Pandya, it must have been renovated completely. The presence of the Ranga Mandapa having the two outer madil walls for its two sides points out that the outer madil must have existed prior to 1320 A.D. Later, we learn that Saluva Narasimha endowed the village of Durgasamudram for the purpose of constructing and repairing gopuras in about the year 1472-1482. So, at this time this gopura, as we see now, must have come out full-fledged.

(xii) Seven steps of temple construction.

An examination of the epigraphical evidence shows that very many Chola rulers constructed or repaired extensive portions of the Tirumala temple. The Pandya Kings and the Bhallalas placed their entire royal treasury at the feet of the Lord. The Vijayanagar emperors who were great devotees, made extensive donations to Lord Venkatesvara. The Matli family who ruled these parts as late as the 18th century also contributed to the glory of the temple.

Architecturally speaking, the Tirumala temple would appear to have been developed in the following seven phases:—

- (a) A standing murthi in an open mandapa from very early days perhaps from the first or second century A.D.
- (b) A small garbhagriha and ardha mandapa built between the days of Tirumalisai Alvar and Kula Sekhar Alvar since the former speaks of the Lord being visible from all the sides and the latter speaks of a padi or step in which he prays to be born again and again, and a padi is impossible without an enclosing structure.
- (c) (i) A regular temple with the garbhagriha and ardha mandapa at the time of Samavai, the Pallava queen, since she consecrated the utsava murthi.
(ii) The garbhagriha, Sayanamandapa and the Mukkoti Pradakshina with the Ramar medai portion being open in existence by about 9th or 10th centuries A.D. when perhaps the temple was known as Kovil Alvar.
(iii) The existence of the Snapana mandapa in the 10th century A.D. when the temple was known as Tiruvilan Kovil.

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

- (d) Extensive renovation during the time of Yadavaraya of 13th century when both he and the Pandyan kings gold plated the vimana. At this stage or in an earlier stage the walls of the garbhagriha were widened and the vimana was built and gold gilded.
- (e) Closure of the Ramar medai perhaps as a measure of safety or more probably to prevent the Pancharatra type of worship being performed at any time in the temple.
- (f) The construction of Tirumamani mandapa is in 1417 A.D. by Madhavadasa.
- (g) The modern Garuda shrine and the other mandapas in the architecture of the late Vijayanagar period.

Thus from a standing Lord with an open mandapa to a small closed structure, to extensive renovations by Yadavaraya and construction and gold plating of the vimanam by him and Pandyas, and through further and extensive mandapas being built in Vijayanagara days, the temple has grown enormously in popularity and sanctity.

But the architectural development has not grown on any pre-arranged or pre-chalked out plan but took place according to the choice of the donors and according to the circumstances prevailing in each century.

There is one peculiar feature in the modern Tirumala temple. In the present Aina Mahal where the Unjal utsavam is done, there is no inscriptions to show the name of the mandapa or the donor or the purpose for which it was originally built. All other mandapas could be dated either by the donor or the purpose for which they were constructed. From architectural features, it would appear that this was in the nature of a Yagasala originally but at present it has been converted to an Unjal mandapa.

(xiii) Summary of Conclusions.

To conclude, the Śrī Venkaṭeśvara temple at Tirupati has a hoary antiquity. *Śilappadikāram* of 3rd-4th-7th century A.D., refers to the standing figure of Viṣṇu on the high hill in the Vēṅgaḍam hill range. The type of structure in which the image is enshrined is not however mentioned. Probably it was a free standing image mounted on a base in a *śilā prākāra* similar to Śankarshana Vāsudēva of Nagari in Rajasthan. Subsequently it must have been enshrined in a *garbhagriha* with an entrance and a door step as we find mentioned in Tirumāṅgai-Āḷvār hymns sung in praise of Lord Venkaṭeśvara at Tiruvēṅgaḍam

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

It is quite likely that this shrine was on plan a rectangular shrine of seven feet with either a *śālakāra śikhara* or an *Ēkatala-vimāna*.

The present central shrine on plan now consists of a *mukha-maṇḍapa-Rāmar-mēḍai*, *sayana-maṇḍapa*, *antarāḷa* and *garbhagriha*. The *adhiṣṭhāna* consists of the mouldings, *upāna*, *kampa*, *padma*, *jagati*, *kampa*, fluted *kumuda*, *kaṇṭha* with *galapadaś*, *kapōta* and *vēdika*. The *nāsika* decoration on the *kapōta* and the *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings are beautifully carved.

The *bhitti* has closely spaced pilasters, *dēvakōṣṭhas* and *kumbha-paijaras*. The pilasters have square bases and the shaft is either of octagonal or circular variety. Tall *lasuna*, *taḍi*, *kumbha*, *padma* and *phalaka*—the crowning parts of the pilaster are well separated and sharply chiselled. The *pushpa bodhika* capital is noteworthy. The *kumbha paijara* in its form is developed. The fluted *kumbha* at the base, the highly faceted shrine model above, and the overflowing flowery patterns from the vase, are exquisitely carved. The *prastara* in its *valabhi* moulding carries *haṁsamāla*. The *kapōta* is a highly projected and overhanging one. Its underside is decorated with rafters and drops recalling wood work.

These features present a fully developed architectural decoration-meant to be seen and enjoyed by the visitors to the shrine, and not to be kept closed from their eyes. This has been closed from the view of the visitor by some at a later date who constructed a pillared *maṇḍapa*—and a plain screen wall all around. These pillars longitudinally to the shrine covering *garbhagriha* *sayana maṇḍapa* and *Rāmar-Mēḍai*. On the left side as we go into the shrine there is only one row of pillars while on the right there are two rows of pillars. These are erected on a raised platform which runs around the temple structure. The original drain that took away the rain water and the cistern in which the *abhishēka* water is collected was allowed to remain in their original position. The pillars are circular in section and have corbels with tenon and are typical of the Chōla phase. The ceiling is made of slabs covering the part of the eaves of the shrine complex.

The epigraphical evidence available at Tirupati and elsewhere provides us with an interesting data about the development of this shrine complex. The history of this shrine between c. 600 — 1200 A. D. is not clear. The Tiruchānūr inscription (219—G.T.) of Dantivarman Pallava in 51st regnal year registers the benefactions to Tiruchānūr temple and also refers to the temple of the Vēṅgaḍam hill. Another inscription dated in the 14th year of Kōppātra-Mahēndrapanmar, refers to a gift made by one *Sāmavai alias* Kāḍavaṇ Perundēvi, daughter of Pallavappēṛkaḍaiyār and queen of Śattiviṭṭaṅkaṇ *alias*

SEVEN PHASES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Śrī Kāṇḍapattigal to the god Perumāṇḍigaḷ who was pleased to be at Śrī Venkaṭam. This prince has been identified with the Kō-Pārthivēndravarman, contemporary of Parāntaka II Sundarachōḷa (c.A.D. 956—970). Scholars are divided about the identification of the above Kōppātra Mahēndravarman. While one set of scholars identify him with Kō Parthivēndravarman, the present author on the basis of imperial titles given to him, is inclined to identify him with Mahēndravarman Pallava (600—630 A.D.) son of Simhaviṣṇu. If this identification is accepted it establishes the existence of the shrine during the period of the imperial pallavas. An important epigraph in the history of Tirumala temple belongs to the time of Vira Narasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya. The main shrine of Śrī Venkaṭēśvara's temple was renovated in the 40th regnal year of Vira Narasiṅga Yādavarāya (A.D. 1245) and all the earlier inscriptions on the temple walls were re-engraved on the north wall after the repairs.

Probably the *garbhagriha*, *antarāla*, *sayana-maṇḍapa* were built during this period. The *garbhagriha* was enlarged which externally now measures about 24 ft. The enlarged fabric was needed to construct the *ānanda vimāna* which now stands on the *garbhagriha*. In the subsequent periods when Vijayanagar rose to prominence in South India, the shrine received regular and large scale benefactions. Numerous structures were added to suit the needs of the age. Two successive *pradakshinas* were provided.

Today there is a closed passage which runs around the sanctum called as *vaikuṇṭha pradakṣhṇa* which is kept open only on *vaikuṇṭha Ēkādaśi* day in the year. Who was the author of this addition to the temple complex. When did he do it, and why did he do it. Since the *garbhagriha* with all the artistic embellishments was intended to be open for view it could not be the work of Yādavarāyas who enlarged and improved the shrine. Since we find inscriptions of Kṛishṇa Rāya on the outer wall of the *mukha maṇḍapa*—which are partly covered by the *Vaikuṇṭha pradakṣhṇa* the same must post date the Kṛishṇarāya's reign. To the present author it appears to be the work of influential important *Vaiṣṇava Āchāryas* during the post-Kṛishṇa Rāyas period particularly under Achyuta and Sadāśiva who favoured *Vaiṣṇavism*. During this period *Vaiṣṇavism* became the dominant creed and influence of *Tāta-chāryas* was at its highest. It is quite likely that in order to highlight the supremacy of *Vishṇu* for whom the *Vaikuṇṭha Ēkādaśi* is the most sacrep *parvadina* they might have introduced this new custom of allowing the pilgrims in the inner circuit of *Vaikuṇṭha-pradakṣhṇa* by enclosing the Sanctum with a plain wall.

THE ARCHITECTURE SCULPTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

I. General

A study of the architecture of the Tirumala temple is interesting and throws light on some of the distinctive architectural features prevalent during the Vijayanagar period over a fairly long span of two or three centuries. Architecturally speaking, Tirumala temple does not present that variegated pattern or a mixture of different styles of architecture which we meet with in several other temples of South India. Except probably the sanctum complexes in the temple, when the walls of the Garbha Griha were thickened and a new Vimanam was built and gold-gilted in the 13th Century A.D. under the patronage of the Yadavaraya rulers, and possibly a few other minor shrines, the major part of the temple is built completely in the Vijayanagar style.

Even some of the Gopurams built during the 13th Century as for example, the entrance Gopura at Tirumala, have only retained the original basement whereas the super-structure has been continuously renovated throughout the ages. The Ananda Vimana has also been continuously and periodically renovated and gold-plated with the result that it is difficult to trace any architectural evolution in the structures of the temple.

The temple witnessed unparalleled patronage at the hands of the illustrious Vijayanagar emperors, and the impetus given by those rulers to the development

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of temple architecture is felt wholly and fully in Tirumala temple. It is, in Tirumala temple, that we can at one spot study the evolution of the different motifs of the temple architecture of that period.

II. General Introduction to Temple Architecture.

To study the architectural features of a temple it is very necessary to study carefully the details which the various architectural motifs have undergone during the ages. The changes in the motifs and the ornamentations have been so characteristic of the architects and the sculptors of the each age, that it is possible to postulate with some measure of accuracy, the period to which any particular feature belongs. In a very broad classifications we may say that the South India temple motifs can be divided into five epochs viz., Pallava, Early Chola, Late Chola, Vijayanagar and Modern times.

To appreciate this architectural analysis it is necessary to bear in mind that one has not only to merely see these features of a temple, but in the fullest term to comprehend them, so that one can evolve some general ideas and discover their underlying principles. In other words, the anatomy and the paleontology of a temple have to be studied in depth.

The above method of study of the evolution of temple structures, by architectural motifs, is based on the fundamental assumption, that works of art are not made at random from inspiration, but follow some well laid out methods, and principles enunciated in canonical rules. Whatever may be the genius or the originality of the work of art, it is rarely an isolated work, but is always connected with contemporary works and can be explained by links to anterior works. In other words the architect or a sculptor belongs to a school and the work belongs to a style, and there is nothing wholly individual about it. It is possible to distinguish one style from the other and to determine exactly the characters of each. Wherever it is possible these can also be cross-checked by epigraphical evidence.

Temple structures are broadly divisible into five parts viz., the plinth called the upapitha, the basement called the adhistana, the pillar called the stambha, the entablature called the prastara and the top portion called the sikhara.

Each of these has got its own sub-divisions with specific detailed names given to them in the agamas. Fig. 1 given below shows a modern temple with the names given to each architectural feature.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The following broad factors are to be kept in mind.

- (a) The upapitha is sometimes more simple and sometimes more ornamental than the one given in the figure above.
- (b) In the adhistana the moulding called padma is not indispensable. Similarly the Kumuda sometimes has a blunt corner but sometimes is also represented as a tore.
- (c) The pillar or stambha is sometimes square and at other times octagonal.

The main architectural feature on which the style could be determined is the pillar and the entablature or prastara mentioned above.

Fig. 2 below gives fuller details of a mandapa.

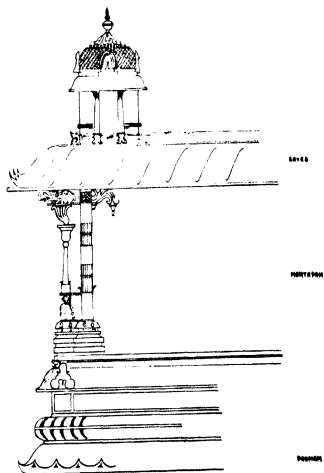
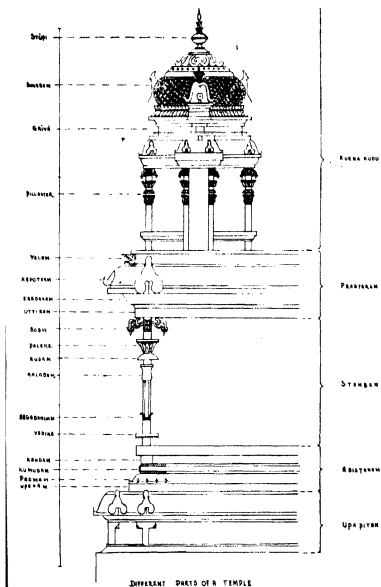
The pillar is always raised by a base asvapada. It is formed of three cubical parts called saduram and of two prismatic parts with facets called rattai. Normally in a modern pillar a little ornament called nagabandha resembling the hood of a cobra is seen.

Fig. 3 below gives the architectural features of a mandapa. The adhistana is identical with that of a temple and the pillars are made of the items mentioned above.

Figs. 4 and 4 (a) below represent two kudus on the top of an edifice, one ornamented and the other simple. The central part of the Fig. 4 (a) is called the Gandharva mukha, which term is self-evident. The central part is surrounded with lotus creepers called kodi. The upper part is adorned with a head of a lion called simhamukha.

Fig. 5 below shows the attic of different kinds of temples. These attics which are at the angles of the temples are called karnakudu. They have a roof of a square or circular section and are surrounded by a single stupi. Those which are placed in the middle are called salai. They have an elongated roof and have three stupis. Between the karnakudu and the salai are found some kind of little windows called panjaram.

There are two kinds of ornamentation of temple walls viz., (i) the gosta panjara which contain images of the subsidiary dieties, done in high relief and (ii) the kumbha panjara which is a pilaster and the role of which is purely decorative. Fig. 6 & 7 below illustrate them.



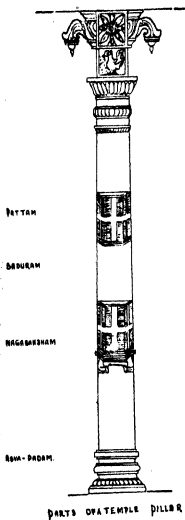


Fig. 3

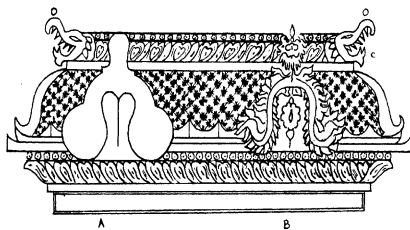


Fig. 4

CORNICE : (A) KUDU WITHOUT ORNAMENT (B) KUDU WITH ORNAMENT (C) YALAM

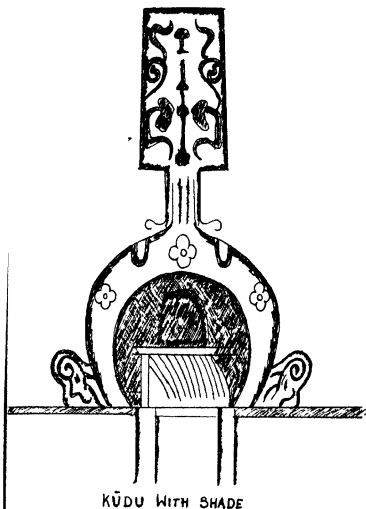


Fig 4 (a)

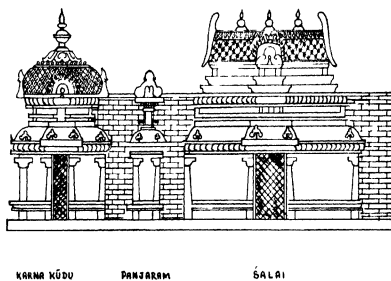
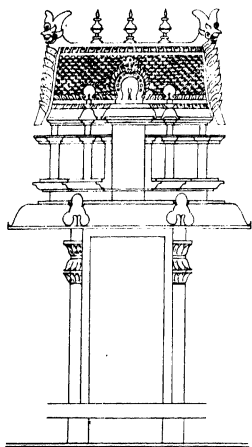


Fig. 5

NOTE: The size of the Karna Kūdu is double that of the Panjarā but it is only of the



KOSTA PANJARAM
OF
A TEMPLES

Fig. 6

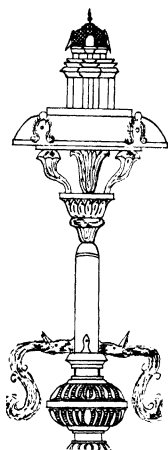


Fig. 7

THE ARCHITECTURE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

III. General Introduction to Sculptures and Iconography.

Tirumala temple like several others of its kind in South India, is a veritable treasure house of varied types of sculptures. They are found in different parts of the temple. The dividing line between iconography and sculpture of South Indian temples is not clear cut, for the sculpture itself is dominated by images of Gods and Goddesses. However, broadly speaking icons can be classified as enshrined images for which puja and offerings are made everyday. We can classify them into two broad groups viz., the Dhruva Berams or fixed images, and Bhoga or Utsava murtis that are used in connection with the ceremonies. Generally speaking, all the Dhruva Berams are made in stone while the Bhogamurtis are made of metal. But there are good number of exceptions to this rule.

So far as sculptures are concerned they are found embedded in the walls of the various mandapas and that too mostly in their pillars. In other words sculpture is a non-enshrined figure found in the mandapas, gopura dvaras, vimanam, etc., of the temple.

Just like the architectural features of the temple the spectrum of the sculptures of Tirumala temple presents a very representative cross-section of the Vijayanagar contribution to the development of the art in the Country. Under the Vijayanagar patronage increased importance was given to more and more facilities for public worship not only in Tirumala, but in a number of other places like Kanchi etc. Several ancilliary structures like, kalyana mandapa, Vasanta mandapa, Neerali mandapa etc., came to be built as a central place for congregation for pilgrims and devotees to celebrate the festivals of the Gods. Of particular mention is the concept of the kalyana mandapa to which for various reasons the Vijayanagar kings attached a great deal of importance. In many of the temples kalyana mandapas are found generally in the agneya or the north-eastern corner of the outer court of the temple. In building these mandapas with their massive pillars, though the architectural framework remained more or less the same, the sculptor had a wide range of original motives in which he could exercise his genius and his art. The embellishments on the adhistana mouldings, pillars, etc., became markedly rich during Vijayanagar times, and the artistic excellence of these intricately worked colonnades attained their high watermark. The pillars are tall and monolithic and all the space is sculptured with hunters, yalis etc. The composite columns themselves with cubes alternating with cylinders present a pleasant appearance to the eye. The fine varastile step entrance and some marvellous works in stone add colour to this.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The various kinds of sculptures in the temple can be classed as those representing (i) natural scenery; (ii) floral designs; (iii) animals and birds (iv) human figures; (v) portraits of kings and other personalities; (vi) Gods and Goddesses. All these are found in plenty in the kalyana mandapam and other places of the Tirumala Temple.

IV. The entrance Gopura and Mandapa of Tirumala Temple.

(a) *Architecture.*

This is a solid stone structure and the style of the pilasters on the outer walls indicates the late Chola style. There is an inscription here of the Yadava king of 1217 A.D. in which the queen made a gift of sixty four cows etc., for service to the Lord. There are a few more inscriptions on the Gopura basement belonging to 13th Century A.D. and hence this Gopura must have been built about that period. At the moment there are quite a number of stucco figures of Vaishnava Gods like Hanuman, Narasimha, etc., in this. This Gopura has been so heavily rebuilt and renovated till latest times that except for a trained expert the other architectural features are practically not traceable.

(b) *Sculptures of the Entrance mandapa.*

Plate 1: Putaki Vadha

In the mandapa near the entrance Gopura there is a sculpture of the killing of the Rakshasi Putaki by the Lord Krishna as a child. The Rakshasi is said to have lovingly invited the Lord with a smile in her face and offered to feed him with the milk from her breast, thereby trying to kill him. The Lord just like a child went near her and suckled the life out of her. The sculpture shows the Rakshasi with her hair done in artificial lumps, which stick out like a bunch of carrots or bananas in the figure. The smile which the artist has intended to bring out is very stilted and almost makes the figure look ghoulish. The skeleton-like body of the demon is also sought to be brought out. This is a poor specimen of art found here.

Plate 2: Gopi—Vastrapaharana Scene.

At the entrance Gopura mandapa is a sculpture of the Gopi Vastrapaharana scene. This is a famous incident in the Bhagavata purana. The Lord is said to have gathered the dress of the Gopis while they were having their bath and is said to have teased them for sometime. In the sculpture two of the

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Gopis are shown with folded hands praying to the Lord to return their sarees. Krishna is shown on the top of the tree which is carved artificially with rather stylistic features. The tree looks quite unnatural. One of the Gopis is depicted as half-hiding behind a tree probably on account of her bashfulness. This is a typical type of the representation of one of the famous lilas of Lord Krishna.

Plate 3: The Adimurthi figure of Lord Vishnu.

At the entrance mandapa is also found an interesting sculpture of Vishnu as Adimurthi. He is shown as standing on Adishesha. The body of the sesha is shown coiled in three circles and the five hoods are shown in the form of a prabhavali surrounding the Lord. The right hand of the Lord is in abhaya hasta and the left is in the kati hasta posture. The back two arms hold sankha and chakra.

Normally in icons of Adimurti, Vishnu are shown with the right leg hanging and left one folded and resting upon the seat. One hand normally rests upon the seat and the other on the left knee. In some ancient sculptures Brahma, Siva are also shown. This figure probably in consonance with the iconography of Lord Venkatesvara is shown in a standing posture with the hands in the abhaya and kati hasta postures.

V. Pratima Mandapa of the Tirumala Temple.

(a) Architecture:

The Pratima mandapa is so called because it contains the bronzes of the Vijayanagar King Krishnadeva Raya and his two consorts. The mandapa is in exquisite style and is full of sculptures typical of this period.

(b) Sculpture

Plate 4: A Pillar.

This is a general view of the one of the pillars of this Mandapa showing the Yali designed with the warrior riding on a horse and the typical Vijayanagar cornice and corbel with typical sculptures on pilasters in it.

Plate 5: Bronze of Krishnadeva Raya and his Queens.

This is a bronze statue of the famous Vijayanagar Emperor Krishna Deva Raya (1509—1529) with his two consorts Chinna Devi and Tirumala Devi standing in an Anjali pose before the Lord.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The bronze shows long cylindrical kirita, two beautiful gem-set haras, jewelled keyuras and jewelled bangles and rings to the King. His antariya is beautifully designed. The kati sutra and the golden belt round the waist are made with marvellous delicacy of style. The queens are dressed in embroidered silks. The lower end of the sarees are frilled and made to look like a fan, to appear pleasing to eye though it may appear artificial by modern artistic standards. It is interesting to note the type of ornaments which women of the Vijayanagar period wore. The queens are shown with a series of haras, the kanti with gem-studded pataka and a yagnopavita also. Their head is combed and is tied up with a bun at the back of the head. The simanta or the middle parting line has a central gem-set ornament. They wear ratna-kundalas in the ear and beautiful keyuras and costly rings.

The bronzes are well known and the artist has succeeded in showing the deep devotion and humility before the Lord of the Emperor and his queens.

Plate 6: Bronze of Tirumalaraya and his queen.

This is a fine bronze of the Vijayanagar emperor Tirumalaraya (1570 A.D.) and his queen. He was the beginner of the Aravidu dynasty after the battle of Tallikota where Vijayanagar lost its all.

He too has a fine cylindrical kirita like Krishna Deva Raya and several ornaments on his body. Unlike the previous king he wears a short antariya and the queen is dressed with thin silk garments with the hair tied up with a bun practically over the head and with a parting simanta with ornaments upon it.

Plate 7: Bronze of Venkata.

This is a bronze of the Vijayanagar emperor Venkata who was ruling at Chandragiri. He wears a typical long cap and a short antariya. He is also shown as wearing a tulasi mala on the neck and anklets on both the legs.

Plate 8: Bronze of Raja Todarmal, his queen and his mother.

The group of bronzes actually forms part of the Pratima mandapa. He was a general of the Nawab of Carnatic Sadatulla Khan who ruled at the beginning of the 18th Century A.D. His mother was Mata Mohan Dey and his queen was called Pita Bibi. The names of the ladies are inscribed on their shoulders.

THE ARCHITECTURE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The figures are highly stilted. The garment of Raja Todarmal is more like a skirt with a number of pearls held in the middle by a belt. His prominent well dressed beard and curling moustache seem to indicate that people had adopted the dress fashion of the muslim nobles at the Nawab's Court. The mother is shown with a full bloated belly, and the queen with a cylinder waist and prominent breasts and nipples.

The set of three bronzes looks completely artificial and stylised and there is not much of art in this.

Plate 9: Sita in Asoka Vana:

This is a sculpture showing Sita in the Asoka vana. Hanuman is shown in the form of a monkey on the top of the Asoka tree and Sita is depicted in a seated posture. The head is inclined to the left and is being held by her left hand in a very sorrowful posture.

Plate 10: Krishna stealing butter.

This is a sculpture of Krishna mounting a ladder in order to steal butter. This is also a well known episode of the Bhagavata purana. The sculpture is not of much artistic value.

Plate 11: Vishnu on the shoulders of Hanuman.

This is an interesting picture of Vishnu being carried on the shoulders of Hanuman. This might represent Rama being carried by Hanuman, though Rama here is shown with the two hands in the Varada and Abhaya postures and the two left hands holding the Shankha and Chakra.

Plates 12 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l).

Erotic sculptures.

These are erotic scenes shown in the sculptures in the Pratima mandapa. Such scenes are not unknown in temples. The sastras lay down that Kama is one of the purusharthas of life and the Vishnudharmottara which is a standard agamic text, specifically states that such erotic scenes should not be depicted in house-holds, but should be exhibited only in temples or in public places like King's darbars, courts, etc.

The idea in publicly portraying such scenes is based on the theory that for man, erotic ideas, cannot be eliminated from the human mind so long

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

as he is limited, and that it is much better to face these temptations and mental fantasies squarely and surmount them and sublimate them, if one has to think of communion with the Lord. Such is the basis for the scenes for the temptations offered by Mana to Gautama, the Buddha in buddhist sculptures.

As has been aptly stated by Kalidasa—

‘Vikara hetan sati vikriyante yesham
na chetansi tha yeva dhiraha’ *i.e.*,

the ‘dhira’ or one whose mind is steady, can be defined as a person who remains immovable even when there is an excuse or provocation for mental disturbance in the mind.

Control over man’s thoughts according to Hindu belief can never be obtained, by concealing what is so patent to human nature, or by shutting one’s eye to it. Quite in consonance with modern principles of psychology, Hindu belief, has always held that it is much better to face a problem however unpleasant it may be, squarely, so that one may meet it headlong and get over it.

This is the basic idea of portraying such erotic scenes, not merely scenes of normal sex, but also scenes showing phantastic perversities also, since human mind limited as it is, always allows its imagination to delve or all possibilities of erotics.

Such sculptures are thus deliberately portrayed in the mandapams of all temples, so that when a devotee goes through them he is reminded of his own mental failings and weaknesses, and one tries to purge and cleanse his inner soul before going to the Lord with a pure heart. It is this purpose which erotic sculptures serve in the temples though this significance of them has been lost sight of in many attempts at explaining these in various other matters.

In consonance with the above which are quite common in all Hindu temples, such scenes are also found in the Pratima mandapa and show erotic scenes of both male and female figures, couples embracing each other, kissing each other in several plays of the love game; and also engaging themselves in normal and abnormal sex.

Of particular interest is Plate 12 (f) above, which shows in the same pillar an amarus couple on one face, and a Rishi standing on one leg and his hands raised and doing the penance on the other side, to show that the life is composed of both good and bad and never wholly white or wholly black.

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

VI. Dhvajastamba Mandapa of Tirumala Temple.

(a) *Architecture.*

This is a very narrow mandapa in the western part of the Temple and has two rows of five pillars each in the north and the south. The pitha or base of this mandapa is covered in glittering gold plates. Apart from interesting sculptures in these pillars of this Mandapa, the Dhvajastamba itself carries small sculptures of Krishna as Kaliyamardana etc. Generally speaking it may be stated that this mandapa was built by about 15th Century A.D.

(b) *Sculptures.*

Plate 13: Matsyavatara.

This is found in one of the pillars and shows Lord Vishnu in the Matsyavatara. The sculpture is found in the second square of a pillar. The bottom portion of the sculpture is found like a fish with its fin turned to the left while the top portion shows the head of the Lord with four hands, the front two hands being in the Varada and Abhaya postures and the back two holding Shankha and Chakra.

Plate 14: Kaliyamardana.

This is also found in one of the pillars of the Dhvajastamba mandapa. Krishna is shown as dancing on the serpent Kaliya whose head is inclined to the left. Krishna's left hand is catching the tail of the serpent. The Lord is depicted as a child with anklets near the feet and a katisutra round the waist and with a yagnopavita and a garland of gems with a pendent hanging from it. Krishna is shown holding the navanita in his right hand. His hair is done artistically with a parting simanta with gems and pendants hanging from it.

Plate 15: Chaturbhuja Venugopala.

This is a rare image of the Lord as Venugopala showing the Lord playing on the flute with his front two hands, and the back two hands holding the Shankha and the Chakra. The Lord is depicted with his right foot hanging and with the left foot bent near the knee. He is shown as wearing a couple of tulasimalas both in the wrist and near the ankle. A typical kirita is also shown. This is a rare form of depicting Venugopala which is normally shown in a standing posture and with the legs crossed.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Plate 16: Gajendra Moksha.

This is an excellent depiction of Gajendra Moksha with the elephant done in a very artistic manner. Normally Gajendra Moksha depicts the elephant with the trunk upraised in a posture of total surrender to the Lord, and the feet gripped by the jaws of the crocodile. Here what is shown is apparently a later sequence in the story, after the elephant is freed from the crocodile, when it bows before the Lord with its trunk hanging down in devotion. The Lord is shown placing his two hands on the temple of the elephant probably to bless it. The back two arms of the Lord hold the Shankha and the Chakra. Vishnu also wears kiritamakuta in this sculpture.

Plate 17: Lord Srinivasa's kalyana scene.

This is an interesting sculpture showing the marriage of Lord Srinivasa to Goddess Padmavati. In the top of the sculpture are shown kinnaras, yakshas and gandharvas floating in the atmosphere. The scene actually depicts the kanyadana where the bride is offered with ablutions to the bridegroom.

Plate 18: Mohini.

This is apparently a representation of Vishnu as Mohini. The sculptor has taken some pains to show the figure as seductively as possible. There is an exaggerated attempt at showing the physical charm of the lady. The standing and reclining figure of rishis with coitus erectus is intended to show, that even rishis who have controlled their senses by penance are so overcome by the beauty of the celestial damsel when they are attracted by her. Of special interest in this sculpture is the type of dress she is wearing and especially the sandals which appear to be wooden planks supported by stilts.

Plate 19: Lord Vishnu on Garuda.

This is a picture of Lord Vishnu on Garuda. The Lord is shown in a squatting posture with his two feet resting on the arms of Garuda. The right arm is in Varada posture and the left in Abhaya posture. The back two arms hold Shankha and Chakra. There are three umbrella type of embellishments over the head of the Lord and over the Shankha and Chakra.

Plate 20: Gandabherunda.

This is a typical sculpture of the Gandabherunda, which is so well known as an emblem of Vijayanagar kings. The fish like body, the face like eagle,

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and the two elephants being held by the beaks and hanging in the air, which are typical features of a Gandabherunda are clearly depicted in this.

Plate 21: Surya.

This is a small image of Surya which can easily be identified by the two lotuses which he holds in his hands. There is a circular prabha behind the Lord. Only two horses are shown instead of the normal seven.

Plate 22: Narasimha.

This is perhaps a rare image of Narasimha in the urdhva medhaska posture which is found in the Dhvajastamba mandapa. Since however, association with Hiranyakasipu is not found in the sculpture, this may perhaps be identified as a fantasy of the sculptor in showing an animal representation.

Plate 23: A lay figure.

This is figure of a lay citizen showing the tulasi or Rudraksha mala in the neck, the hair in the head being done like a bun and a basket being carried in the front.

Plate 23 (b): Another lay figure.

These are also some lay figures of devotees found in the Dhvajastamba mandapa, their interest being representations on sculptures of the common man during Vijayanagar days.

Plate 24 (a): Hanuman carrying Sanjeevi.

This is a representation of Hanuman carrying the Sanjeevi mountain. Normally such sculptures are shown with Hanuman in a flying pose. But here he is shown with his feet planted on the ground. The gada of the Lord is also missing.

Plate 24 (b): Another pose of Hanuman.

This is another figure of Hanuman probably in the battle field as there are prostrate figures on the ground. Alternatively the figure below may represent Rama and Lakshmana when they fell down unconscious on account of Sammohini and who were revived later when Hanuman brought the Sanjeevi.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Plate 25: The Lord with Hatiramji.

This is found in the door jamb of the entrance near the Dhvajastamba mandapa and shows Lord Venkatesvara playing chess with Hatiramji. There is an interesting legend about the original Hatiramji (to the custody of whose Mahants the temple was handed over in the beginning of the 19th century by the British Government) as having played chess with the Lord. The sculpture is quite modern.

Plate 26: Srirama pattabhishekam.

This is also found in the door jamb near the Dhvajastamba mandapa. This apparently represents the Rama pattabhishekam scene. Hanuman is shown on his knee in the ground. Sita is shown as seated to the left of the Lord. Only two brothers with bows in their hands are shown in the extreme right.

VII. Tirumalaraya Mandapa.

(a) Architecture.

Originally this Mandapa must have been built by Saluva Narasimha and later extended by Tirumalaraya of the Aravidu dynasty of the 16th century after whom this mandapa is now mentioned. He was the brother of the famous Vijayanagar general Ramaraya who was beheaded in the battle of the Tallikota in 1565. This is also a pillar mandapa built in the typical Vijayanagar style. This has a central pillar surrounded by a smaller one, the main pillar having rearing horses with mounted warriors. There is a pavilion in black granite in the middle of the mandapa. Some of the best sculptures of the Tirumala temple in the finest or Vijayanagar school of sculptures are found in these.

(b) Sculptures.

Plate 27: Vishnu as Varaha.

This is an excellent picture of Vishnu as Bhuvarama. The karnakudu and the salai at the feet of the Lord are typical. The Goddess is represented as seated in the left lap of the Lord who has a face like the varaha. The right hand of the Lord is in Varada posture and the left two hands holds the Shankha and Chakra. The face of the Lord is turned towards the Devi as prescribed in the Vaikhanasa agama. Some of the snakes are shown as being trampled

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

by the Lord to indicate that he rescued the Goddess from the Nagaloka. The Lord here wears a kirita makuta. This is an excellent and rare piece of sculpture of Bhuvaraha.

Plate 28: Kodanda Rama.

This is a beautiful sculpture of Kodandarama showing him with the kodandam held in the left hand and bow of arrows to the back of the right shoulder. The Lord is standing and slightly bent in a tribhanga pose and holds an arrow in his right hand.

Plate 29: Astabhuja Venugopala.

This is an exceedingly interesting sculpture showing the Lord as ashta bhuja venugopala, with his two hands shown as playing a flute. The Lord is shown in a standing posture with bent hips and the right leg bent in the knees crossing over the left. The Dhenu or calf is shown to the left with its head upturned towards the Lord in rapt attention listening to the melodious music. The other ayudhas like Shankha and Chakra, Dhanus etc., are all shown in his various hands. This is a very rare and unique piece since normally Venugopala is depicted only with two hands playing the flute.

Of particular interest is the karnakudu and the salai which are shown in this sculpture also below the feet of the Lord.

Plate 30: Srinivasa.

This is a fine carved image of Lord Srinivasa found in the pillars. The right hand is in Varada posture and the left in the Katyavalambita posture. There is a makara torana on the prabhavali. The vanamala is fairly long and the kirita is also very high. Artistically this is one of the fine sculptures seen in this mandapa.

Plate 31: Hanuman in Anjali.

This is also a rare sculpture of Hanuman in the anjali posture standing in a prabhavali, which is usually found in the Vaishnavite temple. The urdhva pundra is also seen in the forehead of the Lord.

Plate 32: Ganagopala or Venugopala.

This is another figure of Venugopala shown with flute in the two hands and with the left leg bent to the knee and crossing the right. The Dhenu looking up to the Lord in rapt attention is also shown.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Plate 33 (a): This is a miniature gopura inside the Tirumalaraya Mandapa and shows the delicately carved pillars, basements, mouldings and the stupi in typical Vijayanagar style.

Plate 33 (b): This is the miniature mandapa which is inside the Tirumalaraya Mandapa and the pillars, carvings and lay out are also typical of Vijayanagar style.

Plate 33 (c): This is the present Kalyana Mandapa inside the Tirumalaraya Mandapa which gives a composite idea of the whole Mandapa done in typical characteristic Vijayanagar style.

VIII. Kalyana Mandapa.

(a) Architecture.

The spacious Kalyana Mandapa in the south-west corner of the Vimana Pradakshina is well known and very famous for its exquisite sculptures. Judging from the style of the architecture and some of the sculptures this was perhaps built in the 15th century A.D. The Kalyanotsavams were being performed here till a few years ago.

The four pillared central mandapa within the Kalyana Mandapa is a marvel and a masterpiece of artistic skill. It is made of very highly polished black granite and the wealth of details and the exquisite and delicate workmanship here makes it one of the greatest masterpiece of Vijayanagar art. The flexible kodungu, the sharply cut pushpabhodika-punumai corbel with its beautiful stoop, the lovely miniature sculptures that adorn all the facets of the pillars lend to it an exquisite charm and delicacy that makes it probably the greatest masterpiece of the Vijayanagar workmanship. In addition this contains many has reliefs showing many interesting scenes.

(b) Sculptures.

Plate No. 34: Yoga Narasimha.

This is a sculpture of Yoga Narasimha sitting with the two feet crossed and in an utkutika posture. A pattika or a piece of cloth is keeping his legs in position. The Lord's front two hands are hanging down gracefully over his knees. His left two hands hold the Shankha and Chakra. He has a kirita makuta and a stylised mane. He is shown as wearing several garments.

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Plate No. 35: Lakshmi Narasimha

This is another sculpture of Narasimha shown in one of the middle squares of a pillar in the Kalyana Mandapa. Goddess Lakshmi is shown seated on a left lap of the Lord. The right hand of the Lord is in abhaya posture while the left is crossed round the hip of the Goddess in a close embrace. The back two hands show the Shankha and Chakra. He is seated in Padmapita with the right leg hanging down in an ardhaparyanka pose.

Plate No. 36: Narasimha killing Hiranya

This shows the Lord seated with the right leg in ardhaparyanka posture and Hiranya lying on his lap, his front two hands ripping open his belly. The back two hands hold the Shankha and Chakra. The Lord is shown with a stylised mane. The anger or ugrakala is clearly shown in the mouth and the eyes of the Lord. The Lord is shown as having eight hands.

Plate No. 37: Another Narasimha killing Hiranya

This is a rare sculpture showing Ugra Narasimha with sixteen hands. Here the left foot is hanging down in the ardhaparyanka posture and the head of Hiranya is held on the right lap of the Lord. This shows the most ferocious aspect of the Lord. One hand is seen pressing the head of Hiranya and the other his legs. The front two hands are showing his tearing and pulling the entrails of Hiranya while the last two hands show his putting the entrails of Hiranya as a garland, round his head. The hands hold a number of weapons.

Plate No. 38 Narasimha on a lion:

This is a very rare sculpture of Narasimha shown as being seated on a lion. He is shown as having eight hands, the front two being held in the Varada and Abhaya postures and the other four shown as holding several weapons while the last two are holding the Shankha and Chakra. The Lord's right foot is hanging down in the ardhaparyanka posture. The similarity between the features of the face of the Lord and the lion on which he is seated is remarkable. This is a very rare piece of sculpture showing Narasimha on a lion which is not normally seen anywhere else.

Plate No. 39: Lord Vishnu as Trivikrama

This is an interesting sculpture of Vishnu in the form of a Trivikrama. The Lord is shown as standing on his left foot and the right foot extended

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

practically at right angles to it, the garment being fanned out artistically, with horizontal and vertical stripes, as if in a quadrant. The front left hand is kartyavalambita posture while the front right hand has a palm extended upwards as if in the tarjani posture. The back two hands hold Shankha and Chakra. Normally Trivikrama is shown with his right leg pointing heaven-wards, but here his foot is only at right angles to the perpendicular, indicating as it were, that the Lord is measuring the middle world. Such a posture of Trivikrama is also known from Ellora and is also prescribed in the Agamas.

Plate No. 40: Vishnu as Garudarudha

This shows Lord Vishnu as being carried in the two hands of garuda who is in alidasana posture which normally indicates movement. The Lord is shown having six hands holding several weapons. From the context it can be inferred that this represents Vishnu as flying in aid of Gajendra.

Plate No. 41: Lord Vishnu as Seshasai

This represents Vishnu as Seshasai where he reclines over Adishesha with his five hoods spread over the head of the Lord. Sridevi and Bhudevi are shown in attendance near the feet of the Lord. Brahma is shown as shooting from the nabhikamala of Vishnu. The legs of the Lord are not fully stretched out but are crossed one over the other. The Lord is shown as resting on his own hand.

Plate No. 42: Sudarshana

This is a very rare sculpture of Sudarshana. This represents the ayudha-purusha or Sudarshana the chief of the Vishnu weapons personified. Sudarsana is generally shown as standing within a circle of flames. Sometimes he is shown as standing within a circle of flames. Sometimes he is shown on the garuda and topped by adishesha. He generally has five faces and sixteen hands. In this sculpture Sudarshana is shown standing on alidasana with sixteen hands and wearing Karandamakuta and having flames around his head by way of jwalakesa. This is an excellent sculpture showing Sudarshana in one of his most ferocious aspects.

Plate No. 43: Mithuna

This is an exceedingly interesting sculpture of mithuna or amarus couple. The lady and the male figure are sculptured and caught in a graceful movement as if engaged in a dance. The lady has two hands held together as if begging

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the male figure to spare her from further attentions, while the male figure is perhaps teasing her with importunations. The graceful movement and the artistic love ploys would indicate that the sculpture intended to show, in a snap shot as it were, one moment in the love game between the two. The lady has her hair done in a graceful plait while it is curious to observe that the male figure is also shown as having the hair on the head done in the same fashion.

Plate No. 44: Mithuna pose

This represents perhaps a Chenchu and Chenchita since the lady is shown as having a bow in her hand and the male a flute. The lady has her right hand placed firmly over the shoulders of the male in a close embrace but with the face turned away as if to tease him and to egg him on further in the delights of love making.

Plate No. 45 & 45 (a): Rustic figures:

These two show rustic figures. The first is in a dance pose and the other is having a bowl in his left hand. The first figure has a short and pointed beard and the second has a well trimmed beard with bulging eyes. The first figure has a short close fitting funnel-like cap. Both have big eyes. Probably these two are caricatures of certain foreign servants who might have been employed in the Vijayanagara court.

Plate No. 46: A typical pillar with the Yali

This is a typical pillar found in the Kalyana Mandapa. The yali is shown as a powerful figure with his fine legs planted firmly on the back of an elephant which is being trampled underneath. The architecture, pillar, the cornice, corbell and other details are typical of Vijayanagara style.

Plate No. 47: Yali shaped balustrade

This is a typical balustrade found at the entrance of the mandapa. The parapet wall is shown as issuing from the mouth of the yali. This is also a powerful sculpture done in typical Vijayanagara style.

Plate No. 48: Kamadhenu

This is a rare sculpture of Kamadhenu shown in a middle square of a pillar. The Dhenu has a human face and is wearing a pointed cap. The left front of the paw is raised upwards. This is a very rare sculpture which is not found in plenty elsewhere.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Plate No. 49: Floral designs:

This is a typical floral design and natural foliage shown in a middle square of one of the pillars. This is also done in Vijayanagara style.

Plate No. 50: Ornamentation design

This sculpture is found in one of the middle squares of the Kalyana Mandapa pillar. This is purely an ornamentative design which has been sculptured to fill up empty space.

Plate No. 51: Hanuman and Jambavan

This is a rare sculpture showing both Hanuman and Jambavan with their hands held together as if praying to the Lord.

Plate No. 52: Ramayana scenes:

This shows several episodes connected with Lord Vishnu. The top frieze shows Valisugriva yuddha, the middle frieze shows Rama and Lakshmana with another figure probably a devotee praying to the Lord. The lower frieze shows Vishnu flanked by Bhudevi and Sridevi in a typical fashion. The right side of the frieze shows Vishnu as riding on garuda perhaps while going to the rescue of gajendra.

Plate No. 53:

This is an interesting sculpture showing Hanuman and Sita probably the scene depicting anguliapradana. Hanuman is shown in an attitude of devotion, with his mouth closed with his left hand. Sita is shown with full breasts and with her hair done in a bun in the typical Vijayanagara fashion though Valmiki depicts her as with hair loosened on account of her distress.

Plate No. 54:

This is a good sculpture of Lord Vishnu showing right hand in the varada posture and the left near the hip and back two hands holding the Shankha and Chakra. The Prabhavali with Makara on top is also shown.

Plate No. 55: Ranganatha

This is a sculpture of Ranganatha showing the Lord as sleeping on Adishesha and with Sridevi and Bhudevi in attendance near feet, and Brahma coming out of the Nabhikamala.

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Plate Nos. 56 and 56 (a):

These two represent the usual features of the Vijayanagara designs on the pillars done with exquisite florish and design which is as pleasing as it is artistic. Small miniatures of Kodandarama Varadaraja and Vishnu are shown.

Plate No. 57:

This is a representation of a yaksha probably Kubera which is shown in one of the pillars.

Plate Nos. 58 and 58 (a):

These two represent scenes from the Ramayana. The first is probably Valisugrivayudha and the second is Rama blessing either Sugriva or Hanuman.

Plate No. 59: Cow and Calf.

This is a sculpture of a cow and a calf found in one of the pillars of Kalyana Mandapa.

Plate Nos. 60 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l):

These twelve show photographs of the various vahanas which are now used in Tirumala temple for the use of the Lord. Some of them are very old and ancient and some of them quite modern. Even the antique ones have been so repaired and renovated through the ages that their original features cannot now be differentiated.

These vahanas are as follows:—

- (a) Kalpavruksha vahana
- (b) Hamsa vahana
- (c) Garuda vahana
- (d) Gaja vahana
- (e) Uchchaishrava vahana
- (f) Another garuda vahana
- (g) Adishesha vahana
- (h) Simha vahana
- (i) Vimana Vahana
- (j) The Simhasana of the Lord.
- (k) Hanuman vahana
- (l) Surya prabha.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

IX. Pavitrotsava mantapam.

(a) *Architecture.*

The architecture of the mandapa is the same as the Kalyana Mandapa and there is nothing special about it.

(b) *Sculpture.*

Plate No. 61: Narasimha

This shows Narasimha in the rajalilasana posture with the back two hands holding Shankha and chakra. The Lord is shown as being fully clad and is draped and ornamented as if for a fight.

Plate No. 62: Lakshminarayana

This shows the Lord seated with his right leg hanging down and with Laxmi seated in his left lap, and the back two hands holding the Shankha and Chakra.

Plate No. 63:

This is a sculpture of Vishnu in a seated posture with Shankha and Chakra in the left two hands and the gada in the right left hand. Such a posture is rather rare in Tirumala temple.

Plate No. 64: (a), (b), (c), (d):

These four show Krishna as a child in various poses:

(a) and (b) show Krishna tied down to the hull by a rope which he drew along upsetting two big trees who were really rakshasas. This is a well known episode in Bhagavata and this is a very rare sculpture found in Tirumala.

(c) and (d) show Krishna and the flute in different postures.

Plate No. 65 (a), (b), (c):

These three are sculptures of dance poses. (a) shows a dancer in an interesting karana with the head tilted to the left in a teasing posture while sitting at her heels. Similarly (b) shows a dancing couple in a typical dance posture. (c) appears to be a seated figure holding the Padma in the hand and the hair done in a bun in the typical Vijayanagara posture.

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

X. Vimana Pradakshina Mandapa.

(a) *Varadaraja shrine-Architecture:*

The Varadaraja shrine is inside the Vimana Pradakshina and immediately to the left of the gopura. The architecture shows a high adhistana, an antarala, a garbhagriha and a Vimana above belonging to the Vesara order. The doorway is flanked by a pilaster on either side surmounted by a Kapota decorated with nasikas with simhalalatas above... Above these there is another kapota over the walls which is similarly decorated, the balastrades containing four steps showing the surul coming out of the mouth of the yali. The pumunai and the details of the corbels and the cornice in the pillars shows that this is done in the Vijayanagara style.

(b) *Sculpture.*

Plate No. 66:

This is a view of the shrine as a whole.

Plate No. 67 (a) and (b)

These show the Vimana of the Ramanuja shrine and the garuda mandapa. These are modern.

Plate No. 68:

This is a pallaki said to have been presented by the Maharaja of Mysore and it is kept in the Vimana pradakshina mandapa.

Plate No. 69:

This is the garuda vahana kept in the Vimana Pradakshina mandapa.

Plate No. 70:

This shows a step in the Vimana Pradakshina.

XI. Ranga Mandapa.

(a) *Architecture.*

The Ranga mandapa is in the south-east corner of the court yard with a small portico. The Mandapa proper contains nine pillars. The front part of the shrine consists of an entrance flanked by a salakoshta on either

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

side. The kapota decorated with nasikas surmounted by simhalalatas surmount the entire front. On architectural grounds this may be slightly earlier and may be ascribed to the 14th century.

(b) Sculpture.

Plate No. 71:

This is an interesting sculpture showing Lord Vishnu as Vamana receiving the water from Mahabali. Vamana is shown as a person with danda on hand whereas Mahabali is shown wearing a crown.

Plate No. 72:

This shows Rama and Lakshmana with a central figure without any bow in the hands.

Plate No. 73: Lotus design

This is a lotus design shown in the Ranga mandapa.

Plate No. 74: Annamacharya shrines

This shows the annamacharya shrine in the Vimana pradakshina with two figures of the Tallapaka poets flanking the entrance.

Plate No. 75: Bala Krishna

This is an interesting sculpture of Bala Krishna, near the Annamacharya shrine. The curly hair of the Lord is done up nicely. Ornaments like golusu, tandai, valai, kundalas etc., are clearly shown.

Plate No. 76 (a) and (b):

These two show the figures of Tirumalacharya and Annamacharya the famous Tallapaka poets found near the Annamacharya shrine in the Vimana Pradakshina. Both of them are excellent and exquisite specimens of the ornate and charming style of the Vijayanagara school of art. The antariya, katisutra, the long cap, and the rich jewellery are typical. Of particular interest will be the shape of the tambura which both of them held in hand for sruti while singing. The shape of the tambura is completely different from the modern

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

tambura with which we are accustomed. In a modern tambura the big pot is held down on the lap, while the stem is held upwards and the fingers play over the wires near the bottom pot. Here the pot is held near the shoulder and the stem is held down with fingers playing near the top of the tambura. One of the hands is held out as if in *vismaya* or as if held out, out of sheer joy, showing as it were the mannerisms of musicians when they lose themselves in a song. Their feet show anklets with small bells attached to it. Perhaps in those days, they were accustomed to keep time with the pace of the leg and with the rhythmic jungling of the bells.

Plate No. 77: Another view of the tallapaka poets

This is found in a niche on the steps in the Swami Pushkarani tank. The makara torana is beautiful issuing from the mouth of the makara with *simhalalata* at the top. This shows the tallapaka poets on either side of Lord Srinivasa offering the Lord their music.

Plate No. 78:

This is a Lakshmi Narasimha showing the Lord with Lakshmi.

Plate No. 79:

This is a typical Rama, Lakshmana, and Sita which is found near Annama-charya shrine.

Plate No. 80: Rama

This is found in the corridor mandapa of the Vimana Pradakshina. This shows Sri Rama in a seated posture with one hand in the *gnana mudra* and the other placed on his thigh. Sita is holding a lotus. Lakshmana is standing with a bow. This is a rather curious depiction of Rama not generally found elsewhere.

Plate No. 81 (a) and (b): Scenes of Ramayana

(a) shows Rama blessing Hanuman and (b) shows Ramapattabhishekham scenes.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

XII. Narasimha shrine

Plate No. 82 (a), (b), (c) and (d):

(a) *A dancing lady:* This shows a beautiful dancing karana in which one leg is bent on the ground and the other held by the right hand taken over the head and the left hand showing a typical natya mudra. This sculpture clearly shows the highly sophisticated dance postures which were developed in Vijayanagara days. The movement of the chest muscles are so clearly shown in the sculpture, that the right and the left breasts of the dancer appear almost vertical. The frieze of the hanging garment in the front held by waist bands is typical. Similarly the hair style, the bun in which the loose hair is tied, the jewellery etc., are all clearly evidences of the highly sophisticated type of dance posture developed during Vijayanagara days.

(b) shows dancing girls doing Kolattam and doing other dance postures.

(c) shows a drummer.

(d) shows a lady mridangini.

Plate No. 83 (a), (b), (d): **Saraswathi**

These three are different sculptures of Saraswathi shown as riding her vahanas and as playing Vina etc.

Plate No. 84: **Bala Krishna**

This shows Bala Krishna as dancing on his right foot and sucking his left toe.

XIII. Miscellaneous sculptures.

Plate No. 85: **Alvar**

This is a seated saint probably Nammalvar with his right hand held in the usual mudra found in the back corridor.

Plate No. 86: **Hamsa**

This is a beautiful sculpture of Hamsa done in the best Vijayanagara style. This is a relief sculpture found in the back corridor.

Plate No. 87: **Vaikuntadwara pillar**

This is a pillar shown in the Vaikuntadwara and done in the late Vijayanagara style in black granite. The design and artistic and other details are typical.

THE ARCHITECTURE.....TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Plate No. 88: Dasavataras

These Dasavataras are shown in a gold plate on the door jamb of the Vaikuntadwara.

Plate No. 89:

This is a view of the Hundi of the Lord.

Plate No. 90 (a) and (b):

These two are the big bells kept in the Tirumamani mandapa. (b) has an inscription of the last century showing that it was presented on that day to the Lord.

Plate No. 91:

This is one of the four mandapas in the Sampangi Pradakshina probably built by Saluva Narasimha.

Plate No. 92:

This is a chain of moghul coins presented to the Lord.

Plate No. 93:

This is an aerial view of the main Vimana and gopura from the back side.

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE.

I. Introduction.

Tirumala temple like others in our country bears on its walls several epigraphs of various kings, queens, generals, other royal benefactors and common men who made gifts and endowments to the temple. These are of considerable interest, not only to scholars of history, to rebuild the political, social and economic history of the area, but also to those, who desire to know something of the ancient and time honoured institutions, endowments, administrative arrangement for management etc., of the temples of our country. These inscriptions of the Tirumala temple, along with others from the neighbouring and ancilliary temples in lower Tirupathi and Tiruchanur, making a total of well over a thousand, furnish a continuous and authentic record of the transactions of the temple and the neighbouring area for the last seven or eight centuries.

The systematic collection, decipherment, analysis, and publication of the epigraphs of the temple has been due, wholly to the untiring efforts of Sri Mahant Prayagdasji who was the Vicharanakarta of the Tirumala temple in 1920, and also of the then Dewan Peshkar Sri Doraiswamiah garu who later retired as a Deputy Collector in the old Madras State. Dr. F.W. Thomas of the India Office Library, and the late Rao Bahadur H.Krishna Sastry, a wellknown epigraphist of India, chose for this work Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry who was given adequate epigraphical training. Sri S.Subramanya Sastry took up this work in 1922 and in the course of the next ten years or so, copied the inscriptions on the walls of the temples of Tirumala, Tirupati and Tiruchanur, and also compiled an invaluable epigraphical report in two parts,

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the first relating to the routine of the temple and its administration, and the second about the political history of the area. The epigraphs have been published in original along with English introductory notes in six volumes over a period of years by the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam. The Devasthanam has thus done very valuable pioneering work in the field of proper epigraphical collection and publication of the inscriptions found on the walls of the temple.

2. Total Number of Epigraphs.

There were in all 1180 inscriptions secured by Sri S.Subramanya Sastry. 236 of these belong to the times Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas and the 1st Vijayanagar kings. There are 169 inscriptions of the period of Saluva Narasimha Raya, 229 of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, 251 of Sri Achyuta Raya, 147 of Sadasiv Raya and 135 of the Kings of Aravidu dynasty. The rest of the 13 inscriptions are miscellaneous ones.

During the same period between 1920 and 1930 the copper plate epigraphs of the famous Tallapaka poets containing sankirtanas and other poetical works, were also discovered from a closed small room in the northern wall of the Vimana pradakshina of the temple. These are inscribed on big copper plates. The composition of the Tallapaka poets are of two kinds viz., minor poetical works in Telugu mostly on grammar, ethics etc., and the Sankirtanas, viz., Sringara sankirtanas, Adhyatma sankirtanas and Vairagya sankirtanas. Some of the minor poems, and some of the sankirtanas have been edited and have been brought out by the Devasthanam. It is however a matter of deep regret that inspite of the fact that these were discovered more than 50 years ago, systematic attempts at complete and critical edition of these invaluable records is yet to see the light of the day. These copper plates of sankirtanas were known to have existed from a long time ago. Robert Sewell the famous indologist, was told of the existence of "two cartloads of copper sasanas" during the time of his enquiry in the epigraphs of South India. It is expected that if these are fully edited critically and published, they would add a great deal to our general knowledge of those times.

Of the 1180 and odd inscriptions which were copied between 1920 and 1930, 640 are from Sri Venkatesvara temple at Tirumala, 340 from Sri Govindarajawswamy temple at Tirupati and the remaining are from other small temples.

There are still about a 100 or more epigraphs in Tirumala temple which are yet to be copied and deciphered. This awaits the labours of future epigraphists and historians. Here also with all the modern facilities for research

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

available now, it is a great pity that the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam has not been able to complete this work.

3. State of Preservation of The Epigraphs.

The copper plate inscriptions of the Tallapaka poets are in an excellent state of preservation. These copper plates are unlike the normal copper plate of inscriptions to which historians are accustomed and are far larger and measure 30" x 20" or 40" x 30". The characters are in the 14th, 15th century Telugu and reading the epigraphs is a comparatively easy affair.

The epigraphs on stone belonging to the pre-Vijayanagar period are mostly fragmentary, incomplete, or damaged to such an extent, that they do not yield any information except a few disconnected syllables or words. This is mainly due to the frequent renovations carried on in the prakara walls and other structures in the temples, and especially due to large-scale remodelling done in the 13th Century A.D. to which reference has been made. Of particular interest in this connection would be the injunction of Sri Vira Narasimha Yadavaraya a feudatory chief of the 13th Century, communicated to the Sthanattars or the managers of the temple in the 40th year of his reign, while issuing orders on the petition of one Tiruppullanidasar for renovating the central shrine of Sri Venkatesvara, that they should invariably copy out the older inscriptions as they were found originally engraved on the particular parts to be repaired or rebuilt, and re-engrave them in their original position on the completion of the work. This clearly shows that the ancient Kings were fully aware of the importance of these inscriptions. Their respect and care for preserving these, might have been motivated more by the religious sanctity of the endowments, than by a desire for the preservation of historical records. At present, our knowledge of the existence of four Chola records in Tirumala temple is due to this order of Sri Vira Narasimha Yadavaraya and this shows that during those times, historical inscriptions were ordered to be re-engraved by royal mandate. However this is only an exception, and irreparable damage has been caused to the earlier epigraphs time and again during the repairs and renovations of the temple, with the result that a number of them are now either incomplete or merely fragmentary.

4. THE TALLAPAKA COPPER PLATES.

Besides the stone inscriptions about 3000 copper plates containing on the aggregate about 16000 devotional songs in the sankirtana style and other literary

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

pieces in Telugu composed by the group of the three poets of the Tallapaka family who flourished in the 16th Century A.D. under the patronage of the Vijayanagar kings of the second dynasty, and who were the hereditary musicians of the temple, were also discovered as stated above and also deciphered by Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry, the T.T.D. epigraphist. The grandson Chinna Tirumalacharya of Tallapaka Annamacharya in his poetical work "Annamacharya Charitamu" has mentioned that his grand-father Annamacharya composed 32,000 sankirtanas on Venkatesa. The copper plates discovered in 1920 s in the temple, had three sankirtanas engraved on each side of the copper plate and the copper plates were engraved on both sides. The total number of copper plates being exactly 2,590, at the rate of six sankirtanas per copper plate, the total number of discovered sankirtanas should come to 15,540. The correct total figure is 16582. Of these the compositions of Annamacharya are about 14,400, those of his son Pedda Tirumalacharya 1062, and of his grandson Chinna Tirumalacharya 1,120.

Enquiries have revealed that these copper plates were transported to Tirupati and were then deciphered by Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry. His readings were made in manuscript. These manuscripts were then taken over to the Devasthanam press Office which was then located at Madras. The work was carried on by Pandit V. Vijayaraghavachary, who succeeded Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry. After sometime the Madras Officer was transferred to another building, and the press manager while transporting the press and all other things, does not seem to have realised the importance of the paper manuscripts in which these sankirtanas were deciphered and these have been burnt as junk. Later on late Pandit Veturi Prabhakara Sastry who joined the Devasthanam Oriental Institute, has redeciphered these. He has done only a very small negligible portion-a few thousands out of the 16000 odd sankirtanas. Only very few have so far been printed. It is a great pity that the original decipherments prepared by Sri Sadhu Subramanya Sastry and his successor Pandit V. Vijayaraghavachary came to be burnt while the press office was shifted from Madras to Tirupati through sheer ignorance. The Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam, as a continuing body has to seriously take up the critical decipherment, edition and publication of these sankirtanas which are valuable not only for Telugu literature but also as a treasure of the legacy of Carnatic musiology of the medieval times.

5. RANGE OF DATES OF THE EPIGRAPHS.

The dates of the above-said stone records range from the 51st year of the reign of Ko-Vijaya-Dantivikrama Varman of the Pallava line (No.219-G.T.)

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(about-830 A.D.) when a certain Ūlagapperumanar of Solanur in Sola-nadu instituted the service of a nanda-vilakku, i.e., burning a lamp, down to the Kaliyuga year 5010, Kilaka(1909 A.D.) (No. 242-T.T.), when gilded kalasm was fixed over the vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara's Shrine at Tirumala during the regime of the then Vicharanakarta of the Devasthanams, His Holiness Sri Mahant Prayagadasji of Sri Hatiramji Matham, by his brother-disciple, the late Adhikari at Tirumala, Bavaji Ramalakshmanadasji. Though the records cover a period of nearly 11 centuries, they are not fully representative of all the South Indian dynasties, for there is a disproportionately large number of inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagara period, while the earlier dynasties are represented very scantily and the post-Vijayanagara times by scarcely any.

6. LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Except a few, almost all the epigraphs are in the Tamil language and alphabet interspersed with Grantha characters and only about 50 are in Telugu and Kanarese. Of the period prior to the time of Krishnaraya, we have only a single Telugu inscription (No.237-T.T.) of Saluva Mangideva Maharaya dated in Saka 1281 and two Kanarese inscriptions, one of Virapratapa-Devaraya Maharaya (No. 188-T.T.) dated in Saka 1351, and one of Saluva Narasimha (No. 8—G.T.) dated in Saka 1389. All the gifts of Krishnaraya and his two queens and one of Achutaraya are recorded in the three languages Telugu, Kannada and Tamil in their respective alphabets, while a copy of one of the above relating to Krishnaraya composed in Kannada language is engraved in the Nandi-Nagari characters. After Achyutaraya there is a conspicuous absence of both Telugu and Kannada in the inscriptions with the exception of the local chief Malti Anantarajayya (No. 269—G.T.) in Telugu of the Saka year 1550 and one in Kannada of Saka 1606 (No.263—T.T.)

7. BROAD CONTENTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Epigraphs of the pre-Vijayanagara times generally record services of lighting lamps in the presence of the different deities or elsewhere, in the evening or through-out day and night. For this purpose the donors paid a certain sum of money into the temple-treasury to carry on the service. In a few instances, they purchased cows and presented them to the temple. In later times certain donors adopted this latter course, when they arranged for offerings of milk and curds or offerings of food mixed with them. We find that ghee alone was used for all lamps inside the temple and this practice still continues at Tirumala.

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Besides gifts of lamps, we meet with also gifts of lands, jewels and money. Kings, chiefs and rich persons contributed their quota of offerings and endowments. The later inscriptions record provision for nitya-naivedyam (daily food-offerings) and for several festivals, processions and asthanams in the temples for the different deities. To this end gifts of lands and villages as well as of money and gold were made to the temples. Money and gold thus deposited were only in a few cases lent out at interest, but usually they were invested in the devadana (grant to God) villages belonging to the temple through the excavation of fresh irrigation sources or renewal of the existing ones which were in disrepair at the time. Some cases occur in which waste and uncultivated land in the devadana villages was brought under the plough and adequate water-supply provided by the donors at their own cost, and, in return for this service, the temple was required to arrange for food-offerings to the deities in their name. Likewise, in the devadana villages in which sufficient irrigation facilities were lacking and from which, therefore, full benefit could not be derived, certain devotees undertook the excavation of tanks, lakes and channels and thus provided for more extensive cultivation; and as a mark of recognition of such services the temple bound itself to perpetuate their memory by instituting in their name some charities, such as naivadyam (offering food) to the deities from the enhanced yield obtained from these villages and distributing the offered food among the devotees assembling in the temple to receive it.

A number of flower gardens comes to notice as having been formed through private individual efforts with flowerplants and trees reared and subsequently handed over to the temple for the utilisation of the flowers in the decoration of the deities daily and on occasions of processions in festivals. We find several Ramanuja-kutams or feeding-houses instituted both at Tirumala, and Tirupati, large number of them having been located at Tirumala, providing for the free boarding of the numerous pilgrims visiting the temple from all parts of the country almost throughout the year, and, more so, on the occasion of festivals.

A few inscriptions register sales of houses and of house-sites to the temple. It cannot be now surmised under what circumstances they were purchased and for what purpose. One epigraph records the demarcation of the boundary line between Tirupati and Avilali, about a mile to the south of the former, both being devadana villages.

8. ROYAL BENEFACTORS.

The inscriptions clearly indicate that the temples of Sri Venkatesvara at Tirumala and Sri Govindaraja at Tirupati enjoyed the patronage of sovereigns

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and chiefs who richly endowed them. Among this class of benefactors stand out most prominently:—

(i) The queen of Parantaka II Sundara-Chola, “the King who slept at the Golden-Hall”, and daughter of Cheraman. Who presented to Sri Venkatesvara a pattam or plate for the forehead, set with precious stones, in the 16th year of the reign of Rajaraja I (equivalent to 1001 A.D.) (No. 17—T.T.)

(ii) A Pallava queen, by name Samavai, who presented a kiritam (diadem), a necklace of four strings and other ornaments for the hands, waist and feet of Sri Venkatesvara, and consecrated a silver image of His under the appellation of Manavalapperumal, provided for processions for this image and endowed the temple with lands in Tiruchchukanur (Tiruchanur), sometime in the third-quarter of the 10th century, (Nos. 18 and 19—T.T.).

(iii) Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I (1250 to 1275 A.D.) who placed a glided kalasam over the vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara's shrine.

(iv) The queen of Vira-Narasimha Yadavaraya, a Chola subordinate of the 13th century, who instituted a fresh Brahmotsavam in the Tamil month of Ani for Sri Govindaraja, in addition to the primary one held in Vaikasi, constructed a four-faced car and made a gift of half the village of Paindappalli meeting the expenses of the newly started festival and for effecting repairs to the temple from the balance, if any.

(v) Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya, a subordinate of the last Hoysala king Vira-Vallala III, who granted, in the thirties of the 14th century, two villages to the temple as sarvamanya (tax-free) for propitiating the deity daily with food-offerings.

(vi) Saluva Mangideva Maharaja does not appear to have been keen about enriching the temples either in the form of lands or money. His fancy was for splendour and magnificence as testified to by his covering the vimanam or the tower over the central shrine at Tirumala with gilded copper-plate, and placing a gilded kalasam over it in Saka 1281. This must certainly have been an expensive undertaking, and the temple should have presented, as he desired, a noble appearance, enthralling the minds of the pilgrims by its beauty.

(vii) Devaraya II merited extensive divine grace through the help he rendered towards the revival of the Vedaparayanam in Sri Venkatesvara's shrine at Tirumala in Saka 1355. He had already granted three villages to the temple in Saka 1351 as the usual royal benefaction.

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(viii) Saluva Narasimha's devotion flowed in the usual channel of making gifts of villages in the several parts of the kingdom between the Saka years 1378 and 1410.

(ix) Krishnaraya not only presented diadems and ornaments set with precious stones, and gold and silver vessels, both for the Mula-Murti (the chief deity), viz., Sri Venkatesa, and the Utsava-Murtis (the processional images), but also endowed the temple with villages in the districts of Chandragiri, Udayagiri and Penugonda. His two queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi were present with him during almost all his visits to Tirumala and they shared with him the credit for the gifts and grants which were made by him between Saka 1434 and 1442.

(x) Varadajidevi-amman, the queen of Achyutaraya, comes next. She granted six villages to the temple so as to serve for the propitiation of Sri Venkatesvara.

(xi) Matli Kumara-Anantarajayya is the latest of the royal benefactors. An inscription of his enumerates his variegated charities at several centres of pilgrimage, among which Tirupati figures as the recipient of three golden asva (horse), gaja (elephant) and samarabhupala (chariot) vahanams (vehicles); one padma-pitham (lotus-shaped seat), one ratna-kiritam (gem-set crown), one naivedya-bhajanam (plate or dish for offering food), one unnata-keli-mantapam (a lofty porch for pleasure-swinging for the deities), one sopana-marga (flight of steps on the side of the front hill), and one agra (top or front) gopura (tower): all these services rendered in the name of Sri Venkatesvara; two golden elephant and horse vehicles for Sri Govindaraja; and the charity of one anna-satram (free feeding-house) at the Alvar-tirtha at the foot of the front hill and another on the way up the same hill.

9. NITYA DIPAM AND NITYA NAIVEDYAM.

Many of the epigraphs record arrangements made for lighting a nitya dipam or keeping a nanda vilakku burning before the Lord. Some made arrangements for endowments from which naivedyam or food offerings were to be made to the Lord. 219—G.T. of the 51st year of the reign of the Pallava king Dantivikrama varman of circa 830 A.D. is the earliest inscription which records an arrangement for keeping a lamp burning before the utsava murti. The Chola records also register donations and gifts intended for nanda vilakku or for aradhana (food offerings). In the Vijayanagar period food offerings took precedence over lamp lighting, and in certain cases, presentation

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of cows was preferred to presentation of gold since cows served the additional purpose of yielding ghee also in addition to the offering of the dairy products to the Lord. No. 92—T.T. records the gift of Amatyaasekhara Mallanna who was the Chief Minister both under Devarya I and II in the matter of naivedyam and nityadipam to Sri Venkatesa.

The most prominent instance of such a gift of cows occurs in the case of Sriman Mahanayankacharya (chief-commander) Periya-Oala-Nayakkar Rama-Nayakkar who served as a general under king Vira-Narasimha, the elder brother of Krishnaraya, and under Krishnaraya also, He presented 100 cows in Saka 1426(=1504 A.C.) for burning a lamp (No. 305 T.T.); 50 cows a second time in Saka 1434 (=1512 A. C.) for another lamp (No. 312-T T.); and finally 200 cows in Saka 1435(=1514 A.C.) (No. 306—T.T.)for the supply of dairy products daily for one nali of Paledukulambu (i.e., thick-boiled milk with the cream formed over it) for being offered to the deity.

No 59—T.T.is a somewhat peculiar record. Instead of the usual gift of lamps that we meet with in other inscriptions, we find here an arrangement made by Koneri and Ulagalandavelan, head-men (kartar) of Sattukudi-Marudur, a village in the sub-division of Narayanapurapparru in the Chandra-giri-rajya, by which they deputed in Saka 1384 (1462 A.C.), for the merit of Saluva Narasimha, certain persons, being residents of the above village of whom four are mentioned by name, for the service of lighting lamps (tiruvilakkukkudi) in the temple of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan, and directed them to render service to the temple in perpetuity through their descendants. These were also enjoined to measure out two marakkals of ghee every year with the measure called chalukya-Narayanan-kal, as they used to do till then, and obtain the certificate issued by the Jiyar under his signature. It would appear that these men had to deliver two marakkals of ghee to the temple in Tirupati by virtue of some previous agreement or contract, probably for some favour received by them in the form of loan of cows belonging to the temple or for some other reason which is not explicitly stated in the record; and this delivery of ghee of two marakkals was declared to be imperative on them notwithstanding their prospective service in the temple at Tirumala. Neither is any reason given for the deputation of these men for lighting service in the Tirumala temple. Perhaps by the middle of the 14th century the duty of lighting the lamps presented liberally by the devotees had become very onerous and impossible of being fulfilled in the usual way by the then existing staff and consequently necessitated the appointment of additional hands to discharge it adequately.

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

10. Sandhi offerings (Food offerings).

During the Vijayanagar period food offerings came to be extensively provided for by the devotees. These were known as Sandhi offerings and were given at the end of each puja commencing early in the morning and closing early in the night. These offerings were so extensive that in some cases they came to be called after the donor, like Bukkaraya Sandhi, Narasimharaya sandhi, etc.

Sitakaragandan-sandhi (No. 195—T.T.) is the earliest in date belonging to the pre-Vijayanagara times that we meet with, for whose institution Immadi-Rahuttarayan Singaya-Dannayakkan, a general under Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya, gave to the temple, as a *tiruvidaiyattam*, Singana-nallur alias Pongalur in Illattur-nadu which had been previously bestowed upon him as a *sarvamanya* by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya.

Bukkarayan-sandhi is mentioned as the primary one during which, along with the *tirupponakam* (cooked rice mixed with green gram, ghee, etc.) to be offered as originally stipulated, *koyil-kelvi* Emperumanar-Jiyar, manager of Pankayachchelli-tirunandavanam at Tirumala and the head of a religious institution at Tirumala and Tirupati, arranged in Saka 1367 for offering for Sri Venkatesvara two *tirupponakam* daily (No. 106—T.T.). And Periyaperumal jiyar arranged likewise in Saka 1380 for two *tirupponakam* daily (No. 47—T.T.). No. 23—T.T. which is dated in Saka 1372 mentions Rayar-sandhi. We note from No. 3—T.T. that Saluva Narasimha provided in Saka 1378 for an offering of *rajanna-tirupponakam* during the *udayakala-sandhi* and granted as *sarvamanya* the village of Alipuram; and again in Saka 1389, he gave five villages, four of which are mentioned to have been situated in the Chandragiri-rajya and the fifth in the Padaividu-sirmai, in order to serve for *sandhi-muppadu*, i.e., thirty units of cooked food (No. 66—T.T.). In Saka 1395, Saluva Narasimha instituted the *dolotsavam* for five days and provided for offerings of food during the night sandhi named after his mother Mallayamman. No. 46—T.T. dated in Saka 1393 and No. 188—G.T. dated in Saka 1397 mention Narasimharaya-sandhi which perhaps indicates the thirty sandhis noted above.

11. Vedaparayana.

Recitation of vedas in the temples is considered to be an essential part of the temple services. Vedaparayana in Tirumala temple was standardized properly by Devaraya II of the first Vijayanagar dynasty. The epigraphs state that Vedaparayana went out of vogue in the Tirumala temple and that

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

this defect was taken to the notice of the royal officer Devanna Udaiyar by Alagappiranar also called Thirukkalikandridasar, with a request that this may be revived and continued for the benefit of the Devaraya maharaya. Twenty four mahajanas or learned brahmins of Siddhakuttai also called as Srinivasapuram, were engaged in chanting the vedas in the presence of the Lord.

The king approved of the arrangement and was pleased to grant the half-share belonging to the Raja Bhandaram (king's treasury) in the village of Siddhakuttai alias Srinivasapuram in Kottala-sthalam situated in Vaikunda--valanadu, as srotiriyam, for the purpose. The grant of half the village secured by Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanridasar was made over to the twenty-four Brahmanas. But these Brahmanas, feeling that this half share was insufficient to maintain them, petitioned the Sthanattar for the grant of the other half also of the village which was owned by the Sri-Bhandaram (temple-treasury). The temple authorities could not alienate their half-share, it being probably an endowment to the temple for a specific purpose, and they therefore devised a plan by which, while the temple could account for the produce from its half-share of the village and maintain the trust for whose conduct its managers were made responsible, the services of the twenty-four Brahmanas engaged for the Vedaparayanam might be firmly and permanently secured by allowing them a full living. Here again this device was effected by Tirukkalikanridasar.

It appears that the annual yield from the village of Srinivasapuram for the share of the temple was 200 panam and, if this share of the temple in the village had to be parted with this 200 panam had somehow to be made good. The villagers of all the full devadana villages belonging to the temple situated in [the Tirukkudavur-nadu and Vaikunda-valanadu were called upon to contribute their mite so that the full sum of 200 panam could be made up. The villagers agreed to this contribution, solemnly vowing with libations of gold and water on the Uthnadvadasi day in the cyclic year Pramadicha corresponding to Saka 1355 to pay their share collectively for each village into the temple-treasury, commencing from the same year, towards the conduct of the Vedaparayanam. On the strength of this agreement executed by the villagers represented by the Periyannattu-velan and the Ur-kanakku or the velan of each individual tiruvidayattam village, the Sthanattar of the temple were emboldened, their scruples and restraints being set at rest, to grant the half-share of the temple in the village of Srinivasapuram to the twenty-four Maha Brahmanar reciting the Vedas and thus gain a double object. No doubt the technical flaw arising from their alienation of property endowed for maintaining the original charity was desired to be obviated through these

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

devices, but whatever kind of compensation might have been effected, the alienation must have been a breach of trust. But perhaps it weighed lightly against the heavy pressure of the necessity and urgency for the renewal of the Vedaparayanam service in the temple.

Prior to the execution of the above agreement by the villagers, it appears that a temporary interim device was also adopted. It was to lease out the half-share of the village on Srotriya-Kuttakai to Tirukkalikanridasar who on the one hand paid the lease amount into the temple-treasury and on the other permitted the Brahmanas to reap the benefit from the half village. This was only preliminary to the final stage of complete alienation and prior to obtaining the consent of the villagers.

Even though the full village of Srinivasapuram comprising the two half shares of Raja-Bhandaram and Sri-Bhandaram was now granted to the twenty-four Mahajanam of the same place, yet all of them were not required to render the service simultaneously. It was stipulated that only two of them should daily recite the Vedas in the presence of Sri Venkatesvara and conduct the Vedaparayanam. It is therefore likely that they were given discretion to divide themselves into 12 sets of 2, each set chanting the Vedas in a particular month during the year in turn.

There are references to Vedaparayanam at a later date, *i.e.*, during the time of the Second Vijayanagara dynasty, and we may take it that, after Saka 1355 when it was revived by Devaraya II, there has not been any break in its continuity down to this day, and that it has added, as it was expected to do, to the glory and sanctity of the temple which is stated to have enjoyed all other Vaibhogamgal.

Besides Vedaparayanam, we meet with arrangements for the reading of Puranams on certain sacred days. In a record of the 16th century (No. 3—G.T.) we note that on the day of kaisikadvadasi (*i.e.*, the 12th day of the bright half of the Telugu month of Kartikam) Ananta-vrata-puranam was read, perhaps in Sri Govindaraja's temple at Tirupati. Similarly an inscription (No. 253—T.T.), dated in Saka 1413, records an arrangement made for the reading of Tiruvenkata-mahatmyam by Pasindi Venkatatturaivanjiyar Ramanujayyar, the donor in the above record, on a day in the month of Margali.

12. Abhishekam.

The epigraphs also give us extensive details about Tirumanjanam or abhishekam for the Lord at Tirumala.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The earliest reference occurs in No. 4—T.T. dated in Saka 1386, when Kandadai Ramanujayyengar arranged, as his service (Kainkaryam) for the Alagappiranar-tirumanjanam conducted daily for Sri Venkatesvara, for the supply of perfumery to the temple through his Ekaki (*i.e.*, unmarried) disciples of the Sattada-Srivaishnava sect. The perfumery consisted of meditta-sattuppadi or Ghandanam (sandal-paste) manjal-kappu (turmeric), nelli-kappu (emblic myrobalan), kasturi-kappu (musk) and karpura-kappu or pachcha-karpuram (refined camphor); and along with these a small cloth and betel-leaves and nuts were supplied by them.

The Sattada-Ekaki-Srivaishnavas were enjoined by their guru to be present for the tirumanjanam and look to its proper conduct daily. On its completion, after an honourable mention of their guru's name, the disciples were bidden to bring back to him 4 betel-leaves and 4 nuts.

Through another record (No. 187—T.T.) Tirukkalkaliridasar Alagappiranar provided for the supply of meditta pulugu-kappu for the deity's face (tirumukhamandalam) each day for six months, together with sandal-paste (meditta-sattuppadi) and camphor for waving a light (alatti or arati).

This is the first mention we get of pulugu-kappu and here it is stated that it was arranged to be done every-day for six months. The next reference to it occurs in No. 336—T.T. dated in Saka 1418, wherein Kandadai Appachchiyar-Anna provided on the Friday occurring once in 15 days which happened to be the day of pulugu-kappu-murai for Sri Venkatesvara, for the recitation of the Ula, a species of poem in praise of Kandadai Ramanujayyengar and for the offering of two atirasappadi for the deity at the time of anointment with pulugu-kappu. The expressions of the record indicate that the pulugu-kappu function had been carried on for some time past and that men had become familiarised to it by that time. Again in Saka 1427 (No. 276—T.T.) this same fortnightly anointment on every second Friday becomes the occasion for offering one nayaka-taligai and one appapadi to the deity as the service of Dharmapuram Sittamu Setti, one of the nagarattar of Narasingarayapuram, a suburb of Tirupati. But the time for offering was fixed immediately after Alarmelmangai-Nachchiyar, *i.e.*, "Vakshasthala-Lakshmi" supported on His chest by Sri Venkatesvara, received the tirumanjanam.

Thus we find the rite of pulugu-kappu first arranged apparently in Saka 1356 to form an item of the daily routine, passing by about Saka 1418 into a special fortnightly function combined with the bath on alternate Fridays. This does not, however, preclude the possibility of its daily course. For

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

now-a-days there is the occasion of a daily bath comprised within the rites of the tomalaseva in the forenoon, when the Bhoga-Murti, represented by a silver image, receives the bath. The original provision might have been of this nature, intended for Sri Venkatesvara, the Mula-Murti, but actually utilised for the Bhoga-Murti.

In about three decades from Saka 1427, the date of the second record (No. 276—T.T.) mentioning the observance of the pulugu-kappu-murai in the Tirumala temple on alternate Fridays, we find that the fortnightly function had been converted by Saka 1456 (No. 331—T.T.) not only into a weekly one held on each of the 53 Fridays in the year, but also a monthly one conducted on each of the 13 days of Mrigasirsham star occurring in the year, this being the asterism under which king Achyutaraya Maharaya was born. Bhandaram Apparasar's son, Siru-Timmayyar, had effected this augmentation. Thus the original 26 or 27 pulugu-kappu-murai days had been extended by Siru-Timmayyar so as to aggregate to 66 days comprising both the intervening Fridays till then left out and other thirteen days of Mrigasirsham star sanctified by the birth of the Vijayanagara king under its ascendancy.

13. Utsavams.

Under royal patronage the temple had received gifts and endowments to serve for the primary needs of worship of the deities, and the next concern of the worshippers and the devotees was with regard to the augmentation of the grandeur of the temples in the matter of the worship of the deities by means of elaborate festivals and plentiful food-offerings, and in the matter of construction of spacious and artistic mantapams and imposing prakarams and gopurams.

The festivals in the temples may be classified into the fundamental, the auxilliary and the secondary ones, according to the nature of their institution. The fundamental festivals are obligatory, being enjoined by the sastras and agamas to be observed at fixed times, and their omission would be considered inauspicious while their restitution would call for special preliminary purificatory rites. To this class belongs the Brahmotsavam. The auxiliary festivals have their origin in the traditional divine life of the deity or in the incarnations of Vishnu on earth. Such are the tiruppalli-eluchchi- *i.e.*, Margali or the Dhanurmasa festival and those conducted on the days of the birth-asterism of the deities. The secondary ones are of a subsidiary character and were instituted by devotees with a view to gain religious merit and invoke the blessings of the almighty on the days fixed for them. These are usually the days of the birth—asterism of the donor, his religious preceptor, liege-lord or other relation or friend.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

As to festivals, the earliest epigraph in the collection from Tiruchanur, No. 219—G.T. dated in the 51st year of the reign of the Pallava king Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (equivalent to 830 A.D.), records a deposit of 40 kalanju of gold by Ulagapperumanar of Solanur in Solanadu with the assembly at Tiruchchukanur (Tiruchanur) for the purpose of keeping a lamp before the processional image newly installed in the shrine of Tiruvenkatattu-Emperuman-Adigal. Here occurs the earliest mention of the installation of a processional image.

The Chola records, so far available, make no mention of festivals, but the later ones enable us to discern the simultaneous increase in the quantity and variety of food-offerings with the number and magnitude of the festivals. This is the period of time, when on the decline of the ancient Hindu kingdoms of the South, there arose into prominence, in the middle region, certain political aspirants, such as the Gandagopalas, the Yadavarayas, the Kadavarayas and the Sambuvarayas, who apparently endeavoured to carve out independent kingdoms and claimed “universal sway” over the land. These families of chieftains had, in their glorious days, rendered their share of service to the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati, directly, or otherwise, by means of gifts and grants, for the perpetuation of nitya-dipam and nitya-naivedyam, as well as utsavams for the deities, so much so that by about 1300 A.D., we find that, in addition to the two Brahmotsavams observed in the 10th century to have been celebrated in the months of Purattasi and Margali, similar festivals were established in the month of Adi at Tirumala for Sri Venkatesvara. (No. 189—T.T.).

Coming to the Vijayanagara period, we note that Harihara II instituted a fresh festival in Masi at Tirumala through the agency of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar, and the income of the village of Pungodu appears to have been dedicated by him for its expenses (Nos. 61 and 103—T.T.). The other references to festivals are not quite definite about their number and their time (cf. Nos. 61 and 340—T.T.). But, as time advanced, we find that before the middle of the 16th century, they rose at Tirumala to ten and these were probably distributed among the ten months of the year, with the exception of Vaikasi and Ani which witnessed two festivals in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja.

The earliest reference to Adhyayanotsavam occurs about 1400 A.D. and the latest is in 1635 A.D. It is still observed in all these temples at the present day.

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Pavitrotsavam was first instituted in Tirumala at the instance of Saluva Mallayadeva Maharaja in Saka 1385 (1463 A.D.) during the time of Saluva Narasimha (No. 157—T.T.). It being a new institution we are happily supplied with full details of the rites and functions pertaining to the ceremony lasting virtually for a period of 5 days, but actually for 6 days including the preliminaries of seed-sowing on the night preceeding. The ceremonial comprised also the recitation of the Vedas and the reading of the Puranas during these five days for which the Brahmana reciters and readers were remunerated.

When the queen of Vira-Narasimha Yadavaraya, a Chola feudatory of the 13th century, instituted a second Brahmotsavam in the month of Ani for Sri Govindaraja (No. 111—G.T.), the Vasantotsavam day became doubled, and this number appears to have remained constant until the middle of the 16th Century when 2 more Brahmotsavams were instituted. A similar auxiliary Vasantotsavam was arranged for the last 2 days of the Kodai festival by Karanika Basavarasar in Saka 1437, Yuva, during the reign of Krishnaraya. (No. 311—T.T.).

The Kodai-tirunal was a summer festival, just as Vasantotsavam was one pertaining to the spring season. It was celebrated for a period of 20 days divided into two halves. It was conducted both at Tirumala for Sri Malaiyappan (the processional image of Sri Venkatesvara), His two divine consorts and Senai-Mudaliyar (No. 311—T.T.), and in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja (Nos. 105—G.T., 277 and 281—T.T.). No. 251—G.T., dated in Saka 1454, Khara, records a Kodai festival for Sri Periya-Raghunathan, *i.e.*, Sri Kodanda-Rama, during the month of Ani.

Besides these Vasanta and Kodai festivals, we also meet with the Anna-unjal-(swan-shaped swing) tirunal, and the Tiruppali-odam-tirunal (floating festival) conducted for the processional images. The Anna-unjal festival was started in the Tirumala temple by Saluva Narasimha in Saka 1395, Vijaya, and was stipulated to be celebrated for a period of 5 days virtually, but actually for 7 days (No. 197—T.T.).

The inscription No. 197—T.T., which records the institution of the Unjal festival at Tirumala by Saluva Narasimha, mentions that a Tiruppali-odattirunal (floating festival) was also conducted as the dharmam of Saluva Narasimha, and that provision was made for offering 4 appa-padi on the occasion.

References to the swinging and the floating festivals occur in later records. Nos. 271—T.T. dated in Saka 1426 and 97—G.T. dated in Saka 1445 state that the Unjal festival was celebrated for a period of 5 days in the two temples.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

But the references to the Tiruppaliodam point out to a one day's festival as in Nos. 281—T.T. and 256—G.T., while in No. 97—G.T. It is said to form a day's function, being affixed to the Kodai festival on its 10th day, and in No. 83—T.T., dated in Saka 1455, Vijaya, it is stated that the Jalakridai—tiruppaliodattirunal was to be conducted for 9 days in the Achyutarayar-Koneri.

Closely akin to the above are those festivals in temples which were instituted by devotees for conducting special worship to the deities, on each anniversary day of the birth-asterism of certain great men, such as the alvars (saints), acharyas (spiritual teachers), kings, princes, and ruling chiefs, and rich men and other devoted persons who were anxious about invoking the blessings of the Almighty upon them on the particular day each year for a long and prosperous life. Special worship including food-offerings and processions were arranged on these occasions

Besides, certain other days, such as the. Tai-Amavasya, Ani-Amavasya, Dipavali, Kartikai, Yugadi, Maha-Navami, Ratha-Saptami, etc., which are held sacred by the Hindu public, were also made festive occasions on which the deities were propitiated with offerings and taken out on some vehicles in procession.

14. Vahanams.

The inscriptions give numerous references to festivals in the temples, but, in all but those that are dated in the 16th century, we have no information as to the Vahanam or vehicle used on each day of the procession of the deities through the streets during the Brahmothsavams. The epigraphs dated during the reigns of Achyutaraya and Sadasivaraya mention the names of about half a dozen vehicles and further indicate that the same vehicle was used for procession on different days. Nos. 269 and 270—G.T. record a present of two sets of golden elephant and horse vehicles, a set apiece to the two temples of Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Govindaraja, by Matla Kumara Anantarajayya. We also hear of other vehicles, such as Nampiran or Tiruchchi; (No. 66—G.T.), and Hamsa-vahanam (swan) and Ghatakapakshi-vahanam (the Indian or black cuckoo). As in the other cases, information is lacking as regards the days when they were employed. These Vahanams served their purpose not only during Brahmothsavams, but during all other festivals in which processions were conducted, as, for example, the employment of the Surya-prabha-vahanam on the Ratha-Saptami day (No. 321—G.T.).

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

15. Nandavanas or Flower Gardens.

A number of devotees felt the inadequacy of the supply of flowers for Sri Venkatesvara, which was a prime requisite for a deity's decoration in the course of the daily worship as well as during festivals. The devotees realised the difficulties of constant supply and set themselves to form gardens and cultivate plants and place the produce at the disposal of the temple. Each garden was in charge of a manager who usually supervised it and took work from the gardeners. The workers were generally paid from 3 to 6 panam each month for their labour, while the manager, it would appear, held an honorary charge.

Frequently these devotees built mantapams in their flower-gardens and in some cases deposited sums of money or transferred the possession of the gardens together with the mantapams to the temple-treasury, which was under obligation ever after to take up and discharge the services to the temple in the name of the donor and also undertake to pay the jivitam (monthly salary) of the gardeners, or issue a quantity of the offered food each day to them for cultivating the flower-garden so as to facilitate the perennial supply of flowers and herbs. It seems very likely that these gardens were in many cases cultivated by Sattada-Srivaishnavas who are even at the present day under the name of Dasa-Nambis carrying on the service of making flowers garlands in the Tirupati temple (Nos. 197 and 200—T.T.). Though instances of the cultivation of flower-gardens occur from about 1300 A.D. (125—G.T.) onwards, the numerous cases of forming gardens referred to in the inscriptions of the latter part of the 14th and the earlier part of the 15th centuries indicate the inadequacy of the supply of flowers, in spite of scores of well maintained gardens dedicated to the temples. In No. 243—T.T., we note that the Tiruppanipillai, *i.e.*, the officer in charge of Public works pertaining to the temple, took up the responsibility for supplying garlands of flowers to the deity on behalf of Mukhappalam Nagama-Nayaka, a general under Saluva Narasimharaya Maharaya-Udaiyar for whose merit Nagama-Nayaka instituted the service, and transferred the possession of the village of Tiradampadi, his fief, to the temple as Tiruvidaiyattam-Tiruppanipuram. The temple managers accepting the responsibility for the supply of flowers on behalf of a donor and the grant of a village for the purpose form the peculiar features of the record.

Of the different kinds of flowers grown in the gardens and in ponds, Senkalunir, *i.e.*, the red lotus, appears from its special mention and from the arrangements made for its cultivation in ponds. (Nos. 125—G.T.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and 53 and 153—T.T.) to have been held in high esteem. In the flower-gardens were also cultivated aromatic herbs, such as maru (maruvam), damana (davanam) and tulasi (the sacred basil) (No. 56, A—T.T.) which were required for the worship of the deities daily.

16, Devadana Villages and Lands.

The high esteem in which these temples were held and the solicitous care with which they were looked after by the Hindu kings and their officers are sufficiently indicated by the services and charities they instituted in them and the presents, gifts and endowments they made towards their permanent conduct. The endowments mostly took the form of lands and villages which were granted in many cases as sarvamanya. More than a hundred and fifty villages thus endowed come to notice, the majority of them being situated within the Chandragiriraja in the Tirukkudavurnadu and Vaikunda valanadu, two sub-districts comprised within the major district of Tiruvenkatakkottam. In the pre-Vijayanagara days, the temple seems to have come into possession of only a few villages, but the major portion of its endowments belong to the Vijayanagara period. The great number of services and charities instituted during the Vijayanagara times in the form of nitya-naivedyam (daily food-offerings) to the deities, tirunal (festivals) with processions and offerings, tirunals (festivals) with processions and offerings, nandavanams (flower-gardens), mantapams and gopurams, Ramanuja-kutams, etc., necessitated adequate provision being made for their regular and permanent conduct and preservation, and the only means by which this could be effected was through an endowment of land or village which not only formed a permanent property but also yielded a permanent annual income through which the objects of the donors could be fulfilled.

The earliest gift of land, so far known, was that of some seven thousand kuli of land in Tiruchchukanur made by the Pallava queen Samavai who purchased it as a number of plots from the Sabhaiyar of the place and other private owners and granted the whole to the temple for meeting the charges for propitiating daily the image of Manavalapperumal and of the two festivals instituted by her for this image (Nos. 18 and 19 T.T.).

Under the auspices of some of the powerful local chiefs of the 13th and 14th centuries, viz., the Gandagopalas and the Yadavarayas, several gifts of land were made from time to time. Vijaya-Gandagopala's reign witnessed at least one instance of such a gift (No. 127—G.T.). The Yadavarayas evinced deep interest for the temple and endowed it with lands and villages. During

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the reign of Tirukkalattideva Yadavaraya entitled Prabhuta-rajarsaya, Chandra-kula-tilaka, Chalukya-Narayana, Srimadbhujabala, etc., the village of Kudavur in which certain plots of land were previously in the possession and enjoyment of the temple, become a full devadana village on the recommendation of the assembly at Avilali of the request of the Sthanattar (No. 170—T.T.). Virarakshasa Yadavaraya's service consisted in the grant of some land in Tirukku-kudavur-nadu made with the object of offering food to Sri Venkatesvara (No. 293—T.T.). In the 30th year of the reign of Virar-Narasinga Yadavaraya, his queen granted half of the village of Paindapalli, of which the other half was already a devadanam, with the remission of the taxes thereon, so as to meet the expenses of the festival which she newly started for Sri Govindaraja in the month of Ani (No. 111—G.T.)

Coming to the Vijayanagara period, we notice that Harihara III assigned in Saka 1310, the cyclic year Prabhava, the revenues of the village of Pungodu for the conduct of a festival to commence from the same year in the Tirumala temple during the month of Masi. The village was not given over to the temple but remained in the hands of one Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar who paid into the temple-treasury during the year 100 panam being the income from the village (No. 103 and 61—T.T.) By Saka 1355 falling within the reign of Devaraya II, the temple came into possession of half the village of Siddhakuttai alias Srinivasapuram, a few miles to the west of Tirupati, and in that year conferred it upon the 24 Mahajanam or learned men of that place who were engaged to recite every day in the presence of Sri Venkatesvara the Vedas which had ceased to be chanted for some time past (Nos 89, 149, 161 and 162—T.T.) Already in Saka 1351, Devaraya II had endowed the temple with three villages to serve for certain offerings which he ordered to be made to Sri Venkatesvara in his own name, while his minister Mallana provided for increased irrigation sources in two devadana villages and thus added to the income of the temple No. 187—T.T.).

Among the Vijayanagara rulers Saluva Narasimha is the greatest of the benefactors to the temple. Saluva Narasimha's endowments comprise the following villages:—

	Saka	
1. Alipuram granted as Sarvamanya	1378	No. 3—T.T.
2. Agaram or Brahmana-agarharam	1389	No. 54—T.T.
3. Vanjippakkam, Mallimalai, Serulakkur and Bhimapuram, 4 villages situated in Kilaippadainadu in the Chandragiri-rajya and Vilai mankondan in Padaivittu-sirmai	1389	No. 66—T.T.
4. Mangodu-Velada and Manavur	1389	No. 8—G.T.
5. Dommarapatti in Padaividu-rajya	1395	No. 187—T.T.
6. Durgasamudram	1404	No. 248—T.T.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Of these, Durgasamudram was subsequently converted from a devadana village into a tiruppani-puram, i.e., a village supporting the public works, to wit, the construction of gopurams and mantapams at Tirumala and Tirupati.

The next royal personage of account is Krishnadevaraya. Like Saluva Narasimha, he too had great devotion to Sri Venkatesa whom he regarded as his Patron-God, displayed through gifts of villages, jewels and vessels, besides offerings of 30,000 pagodas of gold, during his frequent visits to this holy shrine. The villages which he endowed in conjunction with his two queens, Tirumaladevi and Chinnaji devi, comprise half the village of Kadaikkuttanpadi in Ulmandalam, and Tallapakam, Mudiyr, Pirati-Kulattur, Darattur, Chatrapadi and Turiayur in Pura-Mandalam.

In the reign of Achyutaraya, his queen Varadajideviamman granted in Saka 1436 six villages to the temple, viz., Chinna-Madappulur and Muttukur in Gandikota-sima; Poliva, Valli and Mangamur in the Kondavi-sima; and Paindapalli and Narayanapurapparru. Achyutaraya's general Virappannan gave lands and villages, and also presented money on several occasions for the merit of the kings, as, e.g., Pachikalapadu in Gandikota-sima in Saka 1458. Gollapall was the gift of Yandalur-Venkatadriayyan, son of Tirumala-Josyar.

In the reign of Sadasivaraya, the temple was the recipient of more than half a dozen villages from his subordinates, though no direct gift of his is available. In this reign, Aliya- Ramaraya's gift of Paduppattu probably served as a stimulus to others from Sadasiva's Mahapradhana. In Saka 1479, the Raja of Travancore granted half the village of Kulayapattam on the bank of Tamraparni river, for the merit of Vitthalarajayyan (No. 147—G.T.) In the reign of Venkatapatiraya, his general Hanumayyar alias Annamgar endowed the temple in Saka 1528 for the merit of king Venkatapatiraya and his queen Krishnaji-amman with Annamgar-palaiyam wherein the excavation of three irrigation channels had been provided by him.

The permanent conduct of the several festivals and rites established in the temples depended on the facilities for irrigation provided in the villages endowed for the purpose and therefore the greater the attention paid to these facilities the greater the security of the festival. It was therefore the concern of the donor as well as of the authorities of the temple to look to the irrigation sources in the villages and keep them in constant repair. This indirectly benefited the cultivator of the soil who could not single-handed create these improvements by himself but would gladly endeavour to extend his helping hand to them, and thus it tended to his prosperity as well, besides that of the temples

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Thanks to the precepts of the Sastras and Agamas for the institution of festivals and rites in temples, and thanks to the devoted followers of these injunctions who established them and provided for their permanent conduct through endowments of villages and lands and created irrigation facilities therein, not only the needs of the temples had been supplied and their prosperity ensured through these means directly, but the cultivators of the soil had also been benefited indirectly and impetus given to intensive cultivation tending to the economic prosperity of the people in general and to the political stability of the Hindu State.

17. SOPANA MARGA OR FLIGHT OF STEPS.

A long Telugu stanza in the Sisamalika metre, composed of 41 lines and engraved separately in Telugu, Tamil and Grantha characters on the walls of a small shrine dedicated to Sri Venkatesvara at the foot of the hill alongside of the pathway leading uphill, recounts in glowing terms deeds of valour and acts of piety performed by Matla Kumara-Ananta, son of Matla Tiruvengalanatha and Chennamamba. His charitable services at Tirupati, among others by which he pleased God Venkatachalapati, comprise the Sopana-marga and Agra-gopura. Most probably this Sopana-marga refers to the flight of stone-steps forming the pathway commencing from the foot of the hill usually called Alipiri (i.e. Adipadi, the bottom or lowest step) and extending on the side of the hill in a zigzag course upto the small tower commonly known as the Gali-gopuram (i.e. air-tower or tower-on-high) which stands on the summit of the front hill prominently visible on the plain country for a distance of about 8 to 10 miles. And the Agra-gopura is in all likelihood this Gali-gopuram. This flight of stone-steps is at the present time the only passage leading uphill to Tirumala from Tirupati. We may therefore take the expression Sopana-marga to convey the idea of an original formation of the pathway on the side of the front hill alone upto the Gali-gopuram by Matla Anantaraja. It is said that in earlier times the pathway from Tirupati lay by the side of the Kapila-tirtham up the hill and over it as far as the Gali-gopuram. Matla Anantaraja's work therefore seems to have been the formation of the present pathway from Alipiri, instead of from Kapila-tirtham. Probably both the new and the old pathways upto the Gali-gopuram were used by the pilgrims for some time later and subsequently the present one became the only passage, while the older one was altogether given up. The flight of steps must have been provided in or before Saka 1550 in which year this inscription is dated. It cannot be taken that a new pathway was laid throughout the whole length upto the temple above, for we are sure that such a path existed already and a good number of devotees went up to Tirumala and worshipped the deity.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Further we have in No. 53 —T.T. dated in Saka 1387, i.e., more than a century and a half earlier, a reference to another flight of steps in the mile of the course reaching to Tirumala called *molankal-murippan-padi* (i.e., steps paining the knee in their ascent, or *mokala-metlu* as they are called in Telugu meaning, steps of the height of the knee-knee-high steps) commencing from the deep gorge. As such there is no doubt as to the existence of a kind of pathway with flights of steps at different levels on the sides of the several hills forming the Tirumala or the Holy-Hill.

18. THANNIR - PANDAL (WATER-SHEDS)

Water-sheds are an absolute necessity both in Tirupati and on the way to Tirumala, where there is a lack of adequate supply of fresh water easily available to the pilgrim population visting the place. We have a reference to a water-shed in a record of the 14th century (No. 195—T.T.) in which discretion was allowed to the managers of the temple to utilise any balance, left after meeting certain specific charges from the endowment concerned, for the institution of a water-shed, a flower-garden and other acts of charity at Tirumala in the name of the donor, Singaya Dannayakkar. In No. 53—T.T. Saluva Parvataraja, son of Saluvaraja, provided for the maintenance of a water-shed which he established in the *mulankal-murippan mantapam* built by him on the way to Tirumala and also for the execution of repairs to the mantapam, both of them being placed under the supervision of one Goppayyan. During the time of festivals special arrangements were required to be made for supplying water in sufficiently large quantities to the devotees flocking to the place on those occasions. A typical arrangement comes to our notice in No. 142—G.T. wherein the donor, a temple-accountant by name Vighneswara Sriraman, provided for the payment from the temple-treasury of 3 panam monthly as salary for the permanent man who supplied water from the water-shed together with the issue of a portion of the food offered to the deity and a special payment of 40 panam as wages for the persons temporarily engaged for distributing water at the water-shed during the 10 days of the *purattasi* tirunal. Srinivasan, the son of another temple-accountant Tiruvenkata-mudiyan, deposited in Saka 1446 in the temple-treasury 700 panam which was required to be invested for increasing the irrigation sources in the *devadana* villages and, from the produce yielded thereby, the temple authorities bound themselves to maintain a water-shed in the mantapam built in a garden near Sri Govindaraja's temple, paying 6 panam as salary for the water-man and supplying ginger, etc., for flavouring the water, as also oil for the lamp to be kept lighted in the mantapam, and mud pots for distributing water, together with the execution of repairs to the said mantapam (No.109—G.T.).

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

A water shed was located at some spot on the way in the course of the "Short-ascent", Sirettam (Chittekkudu in Telugu), by Sriman Mahamandasvara Timmaraja Salakaraja in Saka 1455 for the maintenance of which he paid 600 panam into the temple-treasury and made the temple authorities responsible for it (No. 262—G.T.)

19. RAMANUJA KUTAM OR FEEDING HOUSES.

It has been the practice in this temple to distribute a portion of the offered food freely among devotees as His prasadam, and a number of donors had stipulated for such distribution being effected from out of the offerings they made to the deity. A number of epigraphs have this arrangement for distribution embodied in them, the responsibility for it being placed with and taken up by the Sthanattar, i.e., managers of the temple.

The earliest reference to feeding occurs in No. 220 G.T. belonging to the earlier part of the 10th century, wherein the donor Irungolakkon alias Gunavan Aparajitan arranged for the daily issue of two vattil of Prasadam to two Brahmanas. A later arrangement occurs in No. 195—T.T. a record of the 14th century, in which the duty of feeding 32 Srivaishnavas in the Sitakara-gandanmatham was laid upon the temple-managers who were authorised by Singaya-Dannayaka, the donor, to utilise a portion of the produce from Singananallur alias Pongalur, situated in Ilatur-nadu, a sarvamanya village granted for the purpose.

The original credit for instituting separate Ramanujkutam for free feeding house with an organization of its own, quite unconnected with the authorities of the temple, belongs to Saluva Narasimhadeva Maharaya, son of Saluva Gundadeva Maharaja, who built Ramanujakutams both at Tirumala and at Tirupati and placed them under the management of Kandadai Ramanujayangar. The exact date of their institution is not explicitly mentioned, but innumerable reference to them abound, dating from Saka 1378 corresponding to the cyclic year Dhatu to the year Chitrabhanu corresponding probably to Saka 1444. The one at Tirumala was located in the Sannidhi street, while the other in Tirupati was probably within the temple premises.

The next instance of a Ramanujakutam is the one referred to as having been established by Periya-Obala-Nayakar who made over to it his share, as donor of the one nali of the Paledu-Kulambu offered to Sri Venkatesvara daily during the Ardhayamam or the early hours of the night (No. 386—T.T. dated in Saka 1435).

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

From the references made in Nos. 201, 202 and 203—T.T. it appears that king Krishnaraya also instituted for the Brahmanas a Satram at Tirumala for which his two queens and himself provided for the delivery of their respective shares of the food and puddings arranged to be offered to God Tiruvengkata of their visit to the temple while returning to his capital at Vijayanagara after having vanquished Prataparudra Gajapati, pursued him as far as Kondavidu and also captured Udayagiri. There is a further reference made to this Satram in No.246—T.T. dated in Saka 1445, but this time it was not for adding to its receipts.

In Saka 1438 (180—T.T.) Ellappa-Nayaka endowed the temple with three villages for the purpose of offering 8 tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa, for the merit of king Krishnaraya; but as regards the distribution of the offered food he permitted the Sthanattar to utilise it for the Ramanujakutam, probably that of Saluva Narasimha. This Ellappa-nayaka is again mentioned in a fragmentary record (No. 291—T.T.) as making a gift for some Satram being different from the above Ramanujakutam.

Rayasam Kondamarasayya, son of Timmarasayyengar, also established a Satram at Tirumala which was granted a fourth of the donor's quarter share from the 16 tirupponakam and other edibles arranged by him in Saka 1441 to be offered daily to the deity (No. 77—T.T.)

A fragmentary record (No.317—T.T.) mentions Achyutaraya Maharayar's Satram, Achyutaraya-puram and Achyuta-perumal. We know from other records that Achyutaraya-puram formed a suburb of Tirupati and it is quite likely that the Satram of Achyutaraya was situated in that particular suburb to the north of Tirupati.

Matla Kumara-Anantaraja is seen to have been a great benefactor, for his charities were not only varied and extensive but also took different forms on different occasions at several holy places (Nos.269 and 270—G.T.). Among them the institution of Anna-satrams feeding-houses in several places situated on the way from Ramesvaram to the Himalayas for the convenience of the pilgrims on foot formed a particular kind of meritorious service rendered by him.

Thus the increase of festivals attracted greater number of pilgrims for whose gratification further additions were being made from time to time and for whose convenience facilities as regards boarding and lodging are seen to have been arranged by the rulers themselves primarily, though it might have been done at the instance of some of the prominent Vaishnava preceptors

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and devotees of Sri Venkatesvara. And these meritorious services have contributed to enhance the original fame and insure the continued prosperity of the temples.

20. TEMPLES, THEIR EXTENSION AND REPAIRS.

The epigraphs are the main source for our information about extensions and repairs of the main temple.

The case of a Tiruvilankoyil (Balalayam) Karmarchanai (special worship) followed by the consecration of a silver image designated Manavala-Perumal (the Beautiful God) comes to notice from epigraphs Nos. 18 and 19 T.T. which are both of them dated in the 14th year of the reign of Koppatra-Mahendra-Panmar.

In Saka 1339 a Mukhamantapam was added to the central shrine at Tirumala, the entire building from the central shrine at Tirumala, the entire building from the stone besement (kuradu) upto the roof and bent caves (stupi) and crest including the Madhavadasar-Tirumutti-nalandal foming the charity of the minister Mallanna or Sri Madhavadasar of Chandragiri, and it was designated Tirumahamani-mantapam (No. 88-T.T.).

In Saka 1404 the Sthanattar undertook the construction of a mantapam along with gopurams for the merit of Saluva Narasimha. Its situation is not mentioned, but it is likely that it was somewhere at Tirumala. Saluva Narasimha is further credited with the construction of mantapams on the bank of the Tirukkoneri and one in the midst of it, the Niralimantapam or Vasanta-mantapam as it is called in No. 54—T.T., which served on occasions of the floating festival. Two other mantapams come to notice from No. 266—T.T. and they are called Periya-tirumantapam and Tiruvenkatanathan-mantapam.

No. 248—T.T. mentions another gopuram at Tirumala whose construction had been undertaken by the Sthanattar some time prior to Saka 1404, for the merit of Saluva Narasimha who confirmed in that year his previous grant of Durgasamudram in Kudavur-nadu made previously in the cyclic year Nandana on the Utthana-dvadasi day, corresponding to Saka 1394 (13—10—1472 A.D.). This village was dedicated as Tiruppanipuram and was registered in the name of and held by the Pillaitiruppani-Bhandarattar who were authorised to utilise its income for the construction of the gopurams at Tirumala and Tirupati as well as the Narasimharaya-mantpam which they had undertaken. The Agra-gopura mentioned in Nos. 269 and 270—G.T. as the work of Matla Kumara-Anantaraja denotes the tower on the summit of the front hill, commonly known as the Gali-gopuram.)

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Saluva Mangideva Maharaja is recorded in Nos. 237 and 238—T.T. dated in Saka 1281 (corresponding to the 6th of July 1352 A.D.) to have covered the Vimanam or the tower of the central shrine with gilded plate and to have also placed a gilded Kalasam over it, so as to enhance the grandeur of the temple. In course of time the Kalasam wore out and a fresh one was fixed in the Kaliyuga year 5010 (1909 A.D.) (No. 242-T.T.) by the late Bavaji Rama-lakshmanadasji, a brother-disciple of the present Vicharanakarta of the Devasthanams.

The prominent towers in Tirupati are the work of Matla Kumara-Anantaraja. The Periya-tirugopuram, referred to in No. 22—G.T. as the place where the stationary image of Chakrattalvar was installed, is different from the big tower standing about 200 yards to the east of the temple premises. This latter big gopuram bears an inscription in Telugu of Matla Anantaraja recording its construction by him for the merit of his father and mother whose figures are carved with names below them on the left side (Nos. 281 and 282—G.T.). Another tower, now commonly called the Kotta-gopuram (the new tower) bears on its inner side a Telugu inscription stating that it was constructed by Matla Anantaraja. This is the second tower from the foot of the hill, past the bigger ruined tower just at the foot.

21. JIYAR MATHAM.

The head of a local Matham, established in Tirupati and Tirumala, and generally known as the Jiyar-matham and Jiyangar-matham, has long been a functionary of the temple. The earliest person that we meet with is Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar who, as the agent of Harihara II of the First Vijayanagara dynasty, arranged for the celebration of the Masi-tirunal in Saka 1309 (=1387 A.D.) in the king's name through the payment of 100 panam derived from the village of Pungodu granted by Harihara for the purpose (No. 103—T.T.). Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar's dates range from Saka 1309 to 1314, and he is mentioned as the manager of the Arisanalayan-nandavanam (flower-garden) (Nos. 57 and 43—T.T.). One of his successors, viz., Emperumanar Jiyar, with dates Saka 1367 to 1415, is seen to have been styled Koyil-Kelvi, a functionary whose assent to the conduct of the religious functions in the temple was imperative, and he was the supervisor of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam (Nos. 106, 48, 15 and 369—T.T. and 190 and 411—G.T.). His service in the temple extended over a period of 50 years from about 1445 to 1493 A.D. His immediate successor was Ramanuja Jiyar, the manager of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam (No. 333—T.T. of Saka 1414, Ananda,

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

equivalent to 2nd April 1494 A.D.). He was succeeded by Anusundhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar of the Tiruvenkatanathan-nandavanam with dates Saka 1426 to 1442 (1504 to 1520 A.D.) falling into the reign of Krishnaraya. In some of the records he also appears as the manager of the Perarulalan-nandavanam.

In No. 292—G.T. he is styled Periya Koyil-kelvi and this implies the existence of another Koyil-kelvi as his junior. In the Saka year 1442, current with Vikrama, he was succeeded by Koyil-Kelvi Ramanuja Jiyar, the manager of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam, who was entitled Srimat Vedamarga--pratishtapancharya and Paramahamsa-parivrajakacharya. His two records Nos. 15—G.T. and 598—T.T. are dated respectively in Saka 1442 and 1449 during the reign of Krishnaraya. The successor of this Ramanuja Jiyar was Vada-Tiruvenkata Jiyar of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam, represented by No.472—T.T. dated in Saka 1457, Manmatha(=7—7-1535 A.D.). During the same year he was succeeded by Koyil-kelvi Yatiraja Jiyar who looked after the perarulalan-nandavanam and also the perarulalan-matham (Nos.324 G.T. and 389 and 410-T.T.), and this Yatiraja Jiyar continued as the head of the matham for about six or seven years upto Saka 1463, Plava (=1541 A.D.) He is stated to have been the disciple of Algaiyamanavala Jiyar. The headship of the matham passed to Vanamamalai Jiyar, the head of the Alagiyamanavalan-matham and he occupied it for about half a dozen years from Saka 1463 to 1468 (=1541 to 1546 A.D.)(Nos. 509 and 402-T.T.). This Vanamamalai Jiyar was the disciple of Ramanuja Jiyar, possibly the Koyil-kelvi Ramanuja Jiyar of the Pankayachchelli-nandavanam noticed above. In No. 402- T. T. of Saka 1468 his name appears as Vanamalai Ramanuja Jiyar, in accordance with the practice obtaining in this matham of suffixing "Ramanuja" to the personal name of its head. Annan-Ramanuja" Jiyar who in Saka 1515, Vijaya (=17—1—1954A.D.), made a gift of the village of Timmanayakapuram in Kondavidu-sima and excavated an irrigation channel in the village of Tottalam sirmai (probably the Tottalam village in the Vellore taluk of the same district) (No. 413—G.T.).

An insight into the origin of this matham is afforded No. 354—T.T. dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya. It appears that a religious order known as the Siyars, who were Desantarais, i.e., immigrants from another locality, was attached to these Nandavanams and mathams and that one of them known as the Jiyar was vested with the management of these establishments. At the time of the record a certain Siyan and the Jiyar had handed over these mathams and nandavanams latter thereby acquired the right to their management. But it was, however, stipulated that the Siyan might reside in the matham till the end of the life of the Jiyar and that after

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

him the properties should revert to the Dannayakkar, i.e., Singaya-Dannayakkar whereupon the Sthanattar should appoint a Desantari for service in the temple of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan. It is also recorded that, according to an old document engraved on stone which laid down the Desantari's custom, the newly appointed Jiyar had to pay a sum of 400 panam into the Sri-Bhandaram as capital towards offerings, for his being enabled to utilise the living settled for him.

This matham at Tirumala in which the Desantaris were allowed to reside and to which the Arisanalayan-nandavanam and the Vansatha-kopan-nandavanam were attached, as noticed from No. 354—T.T., is probably the same matham that is mentioned in Nos. 434 and 676—T.T. as having been constructed by Sriman Mahapradhani Immadi-Rahuttarayan Singaya-Dannayakkan Sitakaragandan. The date of No 354, viz., the 3rd year of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya, corresponded to Saka 1260, Bahudhanya (=1338—39 A.D.), the first year of his reign being reckoned to have commenced in Saka 1258, Dhatu (1336—37 A.D.).

Generally these Jiyars gave a visible expression to their piety and religiosity through the increase they brought about in the matter of festivals in the temples by means of endowments either in the form of lands and villages or in cash. Their modern representatives are still attached to the temple of Sri Venkatesa and claim to belong to the direct line of disciples from Udaiyavar-Ramanuja, the great Srivaishnava acharya. This local matham is also stated to be the earliest one, as having been personally established by Sri Ramanuja in Saka 980, Hevalambi (=1057—58 A.D.), at Tirumala in front of the Anjaneya shrine. The Parampara maintained in it seems to repeat the names Tiruvenkata Jiyar, Sathakopa Jiyar and Sriranga-Ramanuja Jiyar,

Two other members of the list may also be identified, viz., our Mullaj Tiruvenkata Jiyar and his successor Emperumanar Jiyar with Tiruvenkata-Ramanuja Jiyar and Emperumanar Jiyar mentioned in the list of the matham as the fourth and fifth Jiyars in succession to Sri Ramanuja. In the line of succession made out from the epigraphs of our collection may be noticed Vanamamalai Jiyar, the founder of the Vanamamalai or Totadri-matham in the Tinnevely district. Tradition speaks of him that he first accepted the asramam of the sanyasi at Tirupati, evidently at the hands of Ramanuja Jiyar, sometime head of the local matham during the reign of Krishnaraya, moved to the south for a while, founded a new matham named after himself at Srivaramangai or the modern Nanguneri, returned to Tirupati after a time and spent his last days in the service of this temple. This is borne out by the long interval

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of over two decades that elapsed between the headship of the guru Ramanuja Jiyar during the Saka years 1442 to 1449 (=1520 to 1527 A.D.) and that of the disciple Vanamamalai Jiyar in the years Saka 1463 and 1468 (=1541 and 1546 A.D.) during the reign of Sadasivaraya. Though the founder of the Vanamamalai-matham originally belonged to this local Jiyar-matham, no connection exists between them at present and they are now two independent units.

22. SOME RARE WORDS USED IN THE EPIGRAPHS.

The following rare words mostly in medieval Tamil are used in most of the epigraphs the Tirumala Temple. A classified list with their modern meanings is herewith given below:

(a) Names of the various deities.

Srinivasan Tiruvencatamudaiyan Periya Perumal Mula-Murti	}	.. Sri Venkatesa, abiding in Tirumalai Temple.
Malaikuniyaninra-Perumal Malaikkiniyaninra-Perumal Malai Perumal Malayappa Svami Utsava Murti	}	.. Processional deity of Sri Venkatesa.
Venkatatturaivar		.. Ugra Srinivasa Svami in Tirumalai Temple.
Almelmangai-Nachchiyar Sri Padmavatidevi Lakshmidēvi	}	.. Divine consort of Sri Venkatesa
Govindapperumal Govindarajan Pallikondapperumal	}	.. Sri Govindarajan, abiding in Tirupati Temple
Krishnan		.. Sri Krishna
Raghunadhan Periya Raghunadhan	}	.. Sri Rama
Kaiyar-Chakram Tiruvaji Alvan	}	.. Sri Sudarsana — Chakrattalvan.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Narasingapperumal	}	.. Sri Narasimha
Alagiya-Singar		
Nachchimar		.. Divine consorts of Processional deity.
Varahasvami		.. Sri Varahasvami at Tirumalai
Achyuta-Perumal		.. Sri Achyutasvami in Tirupati
Alagiya-Perumal		.. Sri Sundararajasvami in Tiruchanur
Varadaraja Perumal		.. Sri Varadarajasvami in Tiruchanur
Senai-Mudaliyar		.. Sri Vishvaksena
Tirukkodi-Alvan		.. Flag Garuda — Garudalvan
Sadikkodutta-Nachchiyar	}	.. Divine consort of Lord Vishnu
Andal		
Sri Godadevi		
Alvars		.. Sri Vaishnava Saints or Parama-Yogis
Udaiyavar	}	.. Sri Ramanujam
Emperumanar		
Ramanujam		
Acharyas	}	.. Spiritual teachers.
Purvacharyas		
Tiruvadigal		.. Hanuman or Anjaneya
Govinda-Krishnan		.. Sri Krishna in Tirupati.
Vitthaleswavaraperumal		.. Sri Krishna in Tirupati.
Varadarajar		.. Sri Varadarajasvami in Tirupati.
Tirukkachchi Nambi		.. Preceptor of Sri Ramanuja.
Madana Gopalaperumal		.. Sri Krishna in Tirupati.
Janardana Perumal		.. Sri Janaradanassvami in Tirupati.
Tiruvenkata Gopala Krishnan		.. Sri Krishna in Tirupati.
Tirumalai Nambi		.. Preceptor of Sri Ramanuja.
Lakshmi Narayana Perumal		.. Sri Lakshmi Narasimhasvami in Tirupati.
Alagappiranar		Koluvu Srinivasa in Tirumala Temple.
Prasanna Tiruvenkata-mudiyar		.. Prasanna Srinivasa in Tirumala Temple.
Tiruvenkatamudaiyan		.. Srinivasasvami (another God) in Tirupati.

(b) NAMES OF VARIOUS TEMPLE FUNCTIONS.

Sthanattar	.. Trustees or Managers of Tirumalai Temple.
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THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Sabbaiyar	.. Members of the Temple assembly, Tirumalai temple councillors.
Tirumalai	.. Tirumalai Hills or Tirumalai village Upper Tirupati, the abode of Lord Sri Venkatesa.
Sri-Bhandaram Salai	} Temple-treasury and Temple stores.
Sankirtana-Bhandaram	.. Treasury of Songs or a room in which the copper-plates of Sankirtanas of the Tallapakam poets are preserved in the first prakara of Tirumalai Temple.
Por-Bhandaram	.. Gold treasury and jewellery stores in Tirumalai Temple.
Tiruppani-Bhandaram	.. Treasury for public works
Asthanam or Tiruvolakka	.. Temple Durbar.
Tirumala Sevai	.. Modern Tomalaseva or Archana
Avasaram	.. Worship
Rayasam	.. Royal order or Royal Secretary
Namarchana	.. Worship with 1008 appellations
Pulugukkappu	.. Friday abhishekam or civet-oil ablution
Malaikuniyaninran-kal	.. Tirumalai-temple measure
Chalukya-Narayanan-kal	.. Tirupati-temple measure.
Tiruppanipillai	.. Officer of public works:
Jiyar	.. Performer of religious duties in temples.
Ekangi Srivaishnavas	.. do.
Acharya-Purushas	.. Spiritual teachers.
Nambimar	.. Vaikhanasa-worshippers (Archakas)
Dasanambi	.. Sattada Srivaishnavas
Tirninra-ur-udaiyan	.. Temple-accountants.
Kaikkolar	.. Temple-servants.
Koyil-kelvi	} Priests for religious functions.
Periya-koyil-kelvi	} do
Tevai	} Temple-cooks.
Tevaiyal	}
Sippiyar	.. Artisan
Uvachchar	.. Temple-servants.
Kanganippan	.. Inspectors.
Singamurai	.. Fuel-suppliers.
Mel-nayam or nayakam	.. Supervisors.

Anusandhanam	.. Performers of religious duties.
Makarai-svarupam	.. Suppliers of brass vessels.
Kummara-svarupam	.. Potters.
Desantari	Outsiders or pilgrims
Paradesi	} Managers
Nirvaham	
Vagai	.. Temple Officials.
Nandavanam	} Flower-gardens of the temples.
Tirunandavanam	
Jyal	.. Works of Alvars
Matha-sesham	.. Offered prasadam to be delivered to mutt.
Adaippu	.. Time for distribution of offered prasadam etc.
Tirumanjanam	} Ablution.
Snapanam-tirumanjanam	
Jivitam	.. Salary.
Sirmai	.. Districts and Sub-districts.
Nadu	.. District.
Rajyam	.. Province.
Tonmai	.. Free gifts.
Tiruppali-damam	.. Flowers.
Parivattam	.. Sacred-cloth-front lets.
Tirumun-Kanikkai	.. Cash-offerings.
Tirukkai-valakkam	.. Sundry expenses.
Panchadhari	.. Refined sugar.
Kalabham	.. Perfumed chandanam.
Panimurai	.. Temple-servants.
Pachchadikkarar	.. Distributors of Prasadam.
Tukkan	.. Vahanam bearers
Vaishnavakari	.. Srivaishnava officers.

(c) Names of various documents, lands, etc.

Silasasanam	} Records or documents on stones.
Dharma-sasanam	
Poliyuttu	.. Interest on the money or lands.
Kainkaryam	.. Worship or service to the God.
Ubhaiyam	.. Charity, service or donation.
Tiruvidaiyattam	.. Villages or lands granted to the temples.
Sarvamanyam	.. Tax free villages or lands.

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Panam, Narpanam, Rekhai-pon and Rekhai-Varahan or Gaddiyanam	}	.. Coins and gold-coins
Vittavar-vilukkadu		.. A portion of the prasadam offered to Gods, due to the donors.

(d) NAMES OF VARIOUS PRASADAMS.

Sandhi	..	Prasadam (food) offerings.
Sandhi-tirupponakam	..	do.
Tirupponakam	..	do.
Rajana-tirupponakam	..	do.
Vellai-tirupponakam	..	do.
Ardha-nayaka-taligai	..	do.
Nayaka-taligai	..	do.
Dadhyodanam	..	do.
Mattirai-taligai	..	do.
Tiruppavada	..	do.
Tiruvolakkam	..	Prasadam (food) offerings
Tilannam	..	do.
Akkali-mandai	..	do.
Appa-padi	..	do.
Atirasa-padi	..	A kind of cake (cake-offerings)
Vadai-padi	..	do.
Godhi-padi	..	do.
Sukhiyan-padi	..	do.
Iddali-padi	..	do.
Sidai-padi	..	do.
Provilangay-padi	..	
Pori-padi	..	Parched rice.
Tirukkanamadai (modern Manohara-padi)	}	A kind of cake (cake-offerings)
Paruppuviyal	..	Modern Sundal—Kadalai-sundal padi.
Tiruppayaram Panyaram	}	Modern Vadai-paruppu
Aval-padi	..	Flattened rice
Tenkulal	..	Tenkulal
Panchahavis	..	Sacred food

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(e) Names of various festivals.

Tirunal-Brahmotsavam	.. Annual festivals.
Tirukkodi-tirunal	.. Brahmotsavam
Tingal divasam	.. Monthly festivals.
Visesha-divasam	.. Special festivals.
Tiruvanantal	.. Sesha-vahanam festival.
Tirunakshatram	.. Monthly birth-star festivals
Attai-tirunakshatram	.. Annual birth-star festivals
Ankurarpanam	.. Commencement of festival etc.
Adhivasam	.. Auspicious functions
Adi-Ayanam	} .. Anivarai-Asthanam festival (Dakshinayanam).
Anivari-Asthanam	
Anna-unjal-tirunal	.. Swing festival
Tiruppali-odam—Jala-krida	.. Floating festival
Totta-tirunal	.. Garden festival
Vanabhojanam	.. Picnic festival
Navalurru-tirunal	.. Spring channel festival
Padiya-vettai	.. Hunting festival
Pushpa-yagam	.. Dvadasaradhanam festival
Sami or Vannimaram	.. Vijaya-Dasami festival.
Kodai-tirunal	.. Summer festival
Tiruppalli-eluchchi	.. Dhanurmasapuja
Sankramanam	.. Makara Sankranthi festival
Tiruppudiyadu	.. New harvest festival
Tirukkalyanam	.. Kalyana-Utsavam or marriage festival
Tirudvasi	.. Mukkoti dvadasi festival
Yugadi	.. Telugu New Year's day festival
Vishu	.. Tamil New year's day festival
Vasanta-purnima	.. Narasimha-Jayanti festival
Vasantotsavam	.. Spring festival

(f) Names of the various structures of the temple.

Tirumamani-mantapam	.. Front mantapam (near Dvarapalaka-entrance) in Tirupati temple.
Chitrakuta-mantapam	.. Front mantapam (near Dvarapalaka-entrance) in Tirupati temple.
Tillaikkuvayuttan-mantapam	
Chakra-Tirtham	} Holy tank in Tirupati (=Kapila Tirtham)
Alvar-Tirtham	

THE EPIGRAPHS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Yanai-nambiran	.. Elephant-vehicle
Garuda-vahanam	.. Garuda-vahanam (vehicle)
Vaikuntha-vimanam	.. Vimāna-vahanam (vehicle)
Punkoyil	.. Palanquin and flower-palanquin
Chivikai	..
Tiruchchivikai	.. Palanquin
Pallayan-tulam	..
Koneri	.. Krishnaraya's tank in Tirupati
Koneri	.. Achyutaraya's tank at Tirupmalai
Tirukkoneri	.. Svami-pushkarini (holy tank)at Tirumala
Ramanujakutam	.. Sacred feeding house
Satram	.. Choultry
Lakshmidēvi-mantapam	.. Front mantapam in front of padikavali gopuram in Tirupati
Nanjivahanam	.. Swan vehicle
Hamsa-vahanam	.. Swan vehicle
Tiruchi	.. Tiruchchi vehicle.

The Administration and Management of Tirumala Temple in Pre-Vijayanagara Times.

1. Introduction

We have really no reliable information about the ritual, worship and festivals of the temple, and how its religious and secular affairs were managed, in the centuries of its existence before the times of the Pallavas. From the days of the Pallava to the beginning of the Vijayanagara empire, we have inscriptional evidences to give us some idea about the administration of the temple, though literary and other evidence is still lacking to supplement it. During Vijayanagara days, however, we have the fullest and most complete data regarding the political, social and economic conditions of the people, the income and expenditure of the temple, the nature and work of temple servants, temple functionaries, acharya purusha, spiritual heads etc., and details of the endowments made to the temple by royal patrons and other merchant guilds and others who made the temple so famous in the medieval ages. We have very accurate data for reconstructing the temple affairs during this period from the inscriptions on its own walls. Very often these are supplemented and corrected by other historical information.

After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire, the East India Company, which succeeded to it in this part of the country, took over the temple and was managing it on its own for some time. Round about 1848 or so, the temple was handed over to the Mahants who were called the Vicharanakartas of the temple, for

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

its proper maintenance and for the timely conduct of the daily worship and the festivals throughout the year. The Mahants were in turn succeeded by varying types of Committees or Boards of Trustees under various acts of legislature under one of which the temple is still functioning. For the periods beginning from the administration of the temple by the East India Company, we have almost complete archival contemporary records both in the temple archives and in the archives of the various Governments. These enable us to piece together the fortunes of the temple and its growth in the immediate past two centuries or so.

2. The Temple before the times of the Pallavas.

Vengadam is generally described as belonging to Tiruvengadakkottam of the Tondamandalam. Tondamandalam has to be understood as either the country of the Tondaiyar the people, or the territory under the rule of the Tondaman ruler.

From the earliest times of which we have any information, this territory is said traditionally to have been divided into 24 divisions, called here Kottams, each one of which was dominated by a fortress from which the governors governed in a sort of military government, and to which the people retired on occasions of danger. Twenty-four such forts are mentioned as belonging to this division, and there were 24 divisions under separate tribal chieftains. Tiruvengadakkottam forms one such division. Ordinarily these divisions were brought under a central authority of some kind, which dominated the whole region. Within historical times that central authority happened to be located in Kanchi, and hence we have come to regard more or less Kanchi as the headquarters of the Tondamandalam.

This Tiruvengadakkottam dominated by the hill Tiruvengadam from which it takes its name was regarded as four divisions named after Chittoor, Chandragiri, Tiruchanur and Kalahasti. This gives us an idea of the extent of the division, and the territory included in it must have been one of the oldest divisions of the Tondamandalam. Under the original organisation of the land, each of these Kottams must have been dominated by a fortress.

The early Tondaman who constructed the temple for Venkatesa at Vengadam and arranged for the festivals and the worship in the temple, must have been a Tondaman chieftain of Tiruvengadakkottam and the localities near about; and this is supported by the fact that Mamulanar could speak of the celebration of festivals in Tirupati. This must have been even earlier than

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the bringing of all Tondamandalam under one authority, that central authority being placed at Kanchi. We have therefore to take it that Tondamandalam was one ethnical unit; but consisted of a certain number of chieftaincies, whether it be actually 24 or not, and had been gradually politically united to be regarded as one kingdom under the rule of the chieftain at Kanchi. That is the stage in which we find it under Tondaman Ham Tiraiyan, and the opening period of the inscriptions when the authority of the Andhra dynasty was still in full force. We see one or two Andhra governors in the locality probably coming after the Tondamandalam had been unified. This unification followed the systematic introduction of agriculture and of an agricultural civilisation consequent thereon.

These rulers who have left some inscriptional records of their own in various other places, have not left any in the shrine of Tirupati. We cannot say exactly why. Tirupati must have been in the age of the Pallavas as inaccessible as in the earlier days. The temple may have existed without as yet having become sufficiently important, or sufficiently popular to merit that recording, and as, we have stated already, that way of recording itself has been comparatively rare in these early days. When we come to the great Pallava dynasty, we are able to see that temple worship had become popular and a well recognised institution.

The references to Vengadam Hill and to Lord Venkateswara in the Sangam literature, the Silappadikaram and the songs of Alvars have already been discussed elsewhere; these books do not enlighten us much about the administration of the temple. Worship of Vishnu-a Vedic Deity- was not unknown in this period. It is also inconceivable that one of the important Divyapradesams of the Vaishnavas (there are 108 such Divyapradesams in India sacred to Vishnu) would be neglected by lack of proper worship. We would therefore be not wrong in assuming that the Lord in Tirumalai received worship everyday during the period indicated above.

3. The Temple during the Pallava Times

(a) Divisions of the country.

From epigraph No. 219 of T.T.D. we note that Tiruvenkata-kottam formed one of the subdivisions of the Pallava kingdom and that it comprised Kudavurnadu within which lay Tiruchchokinur (modern Tiruchanur) where the record is found. Even in the time of the Chola kings who supplanted the Pallavas and established their rule over the Tondamandalam and the

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

Vijayanagara kings who succeeded them, the original divisions and subdivisions of the old Pallava kingdom continued in existence, except that the name "Tondamandalam" was superseded by "Jayankonda-Chola-mandalam", and temporarily by "Rajendra-Chola-mandalam".

It is apparent that Tiruvenkata-kottam, one of the districts of Tondamandalam or Jayankondasola-mandalam derives its name from the "Sacred Hill" on which Sri Venkatesa stands, and incidentally indicates the renown of its presiding deity even in those remote times. From the several inscriptions in our collection we find that this kottam comprised four nadus or sub-districts, viz., Kudavur or Tirukkudavur-nadu formed of the villages situated round about Tirupati, Vaikunda-valanadu of the villages found about Chandra-giri, Tuyya-nadu of those near Chittoor and Arrur or Tondaiman-Arrur-nadu of those round about Kalahasti. Of these, Kudavur which lent its name to the nadu no longer exists, and Arrur which is called in inscriptions "Tondaiman-Arrur or Perarrur is now known as Tondamanadu and is situated near Kalahasti (Mad.Ep. Rep. for 1921, para 26.).

(b) The Pallava kings mentioned in the inscriptions

Pallava inscriptions in T.T.D. collection are scanty and the only two available ones from Tiruchanur representing Ko-Vijaya-Dantivikramadevar furnish us with very little information. One of them (No. 219-G.T.) gives his regnal year 51 and indicates the location of Solanur, the residence of the donor Ulagapperumanar, in Sola-nadu and that of Tiruchanur in the Kudavur-nadu within the district of Tiruvenkata-kottam.

Ulagapperumanar of Solanur and Siyagan(gan) are two Pallava subordinates brought to our notice by the two epigraphs Nos. 219 and 273-G.T. We know that two of the earlier Western Ganga chiefs Ayyavarma and Simhavarman alias Madhava II were installed by their contemporary Pallava kings and that Prithvipati I fought later on the side of Aparajita against Varaguna-Pandya in the battle of Sripurambiya and gave up his life in the cause of his Pallava overlord. It is quite likely that Siyagangan was a Western Ganga feudatory of Dantivikramavarman, just as the Bana king Vijayaditya-Mahavali-Banaraya, mentioned in the Gudimallam inscription (No. 226 of 1903) and in Nos. 429-T.T. and 229-G.T. of our collection, was a vassal of this same Pallava king. This Pallava dominance over the Banas and the Gangas indicates that, in spite of the Pandya aggression on the south under Maranjadaiyan or Varaguna and the Rashtrakuta menace on the west from Govinda III,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman maintained his authority in tact at least in the northern half of the Pallava empire. He was connected with the Rashtrakutas by a double bond, the one through his mother Reva and the other through his daughter-in-law Sankha, wife of Nandivarman of Tellaru, and with the Kadambas through his own wife Aggalanimmati. These marriage alliances had probably fortified him, when once he had declared his allegiance to the Rashtrakuta Govinda III by paying him tribute, and also served to stem the tide of the Pandya invasion of the Tondamandalam.

Of the two epigraphs noted above, both fragmentary, No. 429-T.T. seems to record, in a Samskrit verse, the ancestry of the Bana king Vijayaditya, while No. 229-G.T. registers his arrangement for offerings to the different images of Sri Venkatesa through an endowment of land.

Another fragment No. 233-G.T. mentions a certain Ganga chief Ranasingan, who was probably another Pallava subordinate. Besides the Banas and the Gangas, other chiefs also appear to have acknowledged the Pallava authority and one such was the chief of the Irungolas, viz., Irungolakkon alias Gunavan-Aparajitan (No. 220-G.T.) whose surname indicates that he was a vassal of the last Pallava king Aparajita. The Saka year 820 (898 A.C.) expressed in words in No. 218-G.T. takes us to the last days of the reign of Aparajita and the end of the Pallava rule at the close of the 9th century.

(c) Details of Pallava Inscriptions.

Among the inscriptions so far published by the Tirupati Devasthanam there are just eleven inscriptions which relate to the Pallavas. Of these the first two inscriptions refer themselves to the reign of a king Dantivikramadeva. The first of them belongs to the 51st year of the reign. This would bring us to somewhere about A.D. 833-34, that is, just the generation following that of the latest Alvar, Tirumangai Alvar. The inscriptions both of them are gifts of money for the purpose of maintaining perpetually burning lamps for the image of the temple at Tiruvengadam installed in Tiru-Ilankovil.

The earliest inscriptions in the Tirupati Devasthanam collection are Nos. 8 and 9 dated in the 14th year of the reign of Mahendra Panmar. In these two epigraphs, the Pallava princess Samavai is registered to have consecrated a silver Image of the likeness of Venkatesvara made by her and to have installed it in the temple after performing necessary religious rites, embellished it completely from head to foot, provided for a lamp and food-offerings for it, and also inaugurated two festivals to be celebrated to it in the Tamil months of Purattasi and Margali.

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

In No. 1 of Vol. I. we find a provision made by Ulagappérumanar of Solanur in Sola-nadu, a subordinate officer of the Pallava King Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman in the 51st regnal year of the king *i.e.*, in 830 A.C., for putting up a lamp before the Tiruvilankoyil-Perumanadigal who was in all probability newly installed in the shrine of Venkatesvara.

No. 2 registers another lamp arranged by Siyaganga, probably a Western Ganga feudatory of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman.

No. 3 refers to the birth of the Bana prince Vijayaditya Mahavali-Banaraya, also a feudatory of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarmah, and No. 4 mentions his stipulation for two food-offerings to be made daily to three deities, *viz.*, the Tiruvilankoyil-Perumanadigal, the Tirumantirasalai-Perumanadigal and the Tiruvenkatattu-Perumanadigal, *i.e.*, (1) the newly installed Image of Venkatesvara noticed in No. 1, (2) a new Image intended to preside over ritualistic sacrifices at the time of inauguration of special religious functions such as festivals, with the chanting of mantras or Vedic hymns, and (3) the principal Deity, the Mulaberaam Venkatesvara. He deposited some kalanju of gold and with it some lands were purchased and entrusted to cultivators to raise crops on the lands, and the temple officers were authorised to collect the rice from them and provide the food-offerings permanently. One of the two offerings is called the Nandi-eri-tiru-amudu, *i.e.*, the offering made from the produce derived from the piece of land cultivated from the water of the tank known as "Nandi-eri."

No. 5 refers to Gangai Gangan Ranasingan, quite likely a Western Ganga prince, and to his provision for an offering of food daily permanently from the interest on the gold deposited by him.

No. 6 brings to our notice a certain Irungolakkon (king of the Irungolas) named Gunavan-Aparajitan, who through a deposit of some weight of gold arranged for feeding two Brahmanas daily for all time to come. From his name it would appear that he was a vassal of the last Pallava monarch, Aparajita, who was defeated by the Chola king Aditya I and was dispossessed of his kingdom in 898 A.C.

No. 7, a fragment dated in the Saka year 820 (898 A.C.), refers to a provision for the utilisation for the Tiruvilankoyil of the income derived from the administration of the village. Neither the Pallava nor the Chola king is mentioned in it, as it was a period of transition from the Pallava to the Chola sovereignty and a settled rule had not been yet established in this region, and a local officer might have issued this order.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Thus during the historical period commencing from the 7th Century under Pallava rule, we observe local chieftains of princely families, vassals of Pallava suzerains, solicitous of the welfare of Venkatesvara's temple, consecrating new Images as His Replicas for festivals and processions, for sacrificial and other rites, and providing for lights and food-offerings as permanent measures through investment of gold with which lands were purchased to derive produce from them so as to maintain the services and functions for all future times. And in this Pallava period three Images in the likeness of Venkatesvara were installed.

There is one famous inscription of Queen Samavai of the Pallava times which has already been referred to a number of times before. This inscription is dated in the 14th year of the reign of Koppatra Mahendra Panmar who had a Kadava, that is Pallava chief, by name Sattivitankan as subordinate. His wife Samavai was the donor of these two epigraphs. She was the daughter of a Pallava Pergadaiayr. In these two epigraphs we come across this earliest instance of the consecration of Utsava Murtis, in this case a silver image in the representation of the original idol of Sri Venkatesa, and the institution of special festivals and processions for these images twice a day for a period of seven days.

Koppatra Mahendra Panmar to whom reference has been made in these epigraphs, is generally taken to be identical with Koparthivendra Varma, whose inscriptions have been found in North Arcot and Chingalput districts and who was a vassal of Parantaka-II, Sundara Chola who also ruled over this part of Tondamandalam. Since the inscription is only a copy, it is not possible to derive any conclusions about its date from the palaeographic evidence of the original. It is however just possible that this may represent the great Pallava king Mahendra Varma-I himself since the inscription refers to Mahendra Panmar, and he has a Pallava chieftain Saktivitankan under him and whose queen Samavai is also a princess of the Pallava family. Apparently, therefore the donor would not appear to have been a mere chieftain, but in all probability the great Pallava emperor Mahendra Varman himself. If so, since this refers to his 14th regnal year, this could have refer only to Mahendra Varma-I the father of Mamalla Narasimha Varma, since Mahendra Varma-II ruled only for a short period. If this identification is correct, this epigraph would take us to the beginning of the 7th century, that is round about 614 A.D. when the great Mahendra Varma-I ruled the Pallava kingdom.

(d) Temple administration during the Pallava days.

Numerous inscriptions, both earlier and later, bring to our notice the existence of an assembly (Sabha) at Tiruchanur which exercised political or

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

administrative functions including the supervision of the temples. It consisted of 108 members mainly drawn from the local Sri vaishnava Brahmanas. In some cases it functioned as the agent of the temples in receiving and acknowledging gifts of money or gold and grants of land made to them for specified charities and service and also as the executor of those charities. On it was expressly laid in one instance in No. 18-T.T. the duty of guarding against taxation of tax-free land endowed to the temple for the purpose of a service. These powers the assembly appears to have held till the middle of the 11th century after which time they were limited to the management of the affairs of the village of Tiruchanur as separated from Yogi-Mallavaram. From an inscription at the latter place belonging to the reign of Rajaraja III, it is clear that the Sabha lost its control even over the local Siva temple.

In connection with public administration, we come across certain political officers, such as the Durava, Uratchi, Bayyan, Ur-niyogam, Koyirkon, Val vakkon, &c., the last two probably looking after matters pertaining to the temples.

Of the three deities mentioned in No. 229-G.T., "Tiruvencatattu-Perumanadigal" is God Venkatesa who abides in His Shrine on the Venkata-Hill or Tirumala, while the other two viz., "Tiruvilankoyil-Perumanadigal" and "Tirumantirasalai-Perumanadigal" look like the Utsava-murti, i.e., processional image and one of the other 'Murtis' (Images) stationed within the sanctum at Tirumala.

Votaries from the royal and official classes were the pioneers in providing for special worship of the deities, instituting charities and services in temples, presenting gold and jewels and endowing them with lands so that the intended charities and services might be carried on for all time out of the interest on the money offered and the produce from the land given. The services comprised the keeping of a lamp lighted always (nandavilakku) before the deity, the offering of naivedyam every day and the conducting of festivals on specified days in the name of the donor. To these were added the feeding of a number of Brahmanas daily, ostensibly a few of the pilgrims that resorted to the place to worship the God.

These processes were greatly augmented in later times such that almost every day became a day of festival inaugurated by numerous devotees, both high and low, with a permanent provision for their continuous conduct.

The temple was however under an organisation under which people at distances could make their donation and deposit their capital with properly

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

constituted authorities in the confidence that the maintenance of a perpetual lamp, extending over a long period of time, would be safely attended to. The village is already under an organisation with something like a Secretary (Sri-karyam) to carry on the actual work. Inscription 4, also from the Tiruchohnur temple, refers to a deposit in gold with the Sri-karyam, and the gift was to be announced publicly and should be maintained in the register as the Urniyogam, that is, the command of the people of the town. This is, for the benefit of the god in Ilankovil, of the god installed in Mantrasala, and the god in Tiruvengadam. No. 6 is a provision for feeding two Brahmanas in the temple. No. 7 is a record of Saka 820, A.D. 898, and refers to the revenue, puravu of the village of 1,000 kadi, and whatever was due to the government of the village, giving us clearly to understand even in this imperfect condition of the record, that the rural organisation was pretty much the same as what we find described more fully in later records. Records 8 and 9 refer to the 14th year of Ko-Parthivendravarman. These two records relate to gifts by a certain lady, Samavai, the wife of a Kadava (Pallava) chief named Saktivitankan (Saktividangan in Tamil), a subordinate of Parthivendravarman. The lady herself is described as the daughter of a Pallava Pergadai, which means a high officer under a Pallava chief, or it may be interpreted as a Pallava chief who held the high officer. The title of the lady was Kadavan Perundevi, and the gift is made to "the god standing at Vengadam." She made an image of silver with a number of jewels and ornaments, of which a list is given the value of which is set down at 47 kalanju of gold. She made this gift, and, after having performed an ablution of the God, made over to the temple authorities, 3,000 kuli of land as measured by the rod of the ghatika (a settlement of learned Brahmans) of 16 spans, making up three patti of land.

These were acquired from various parties, of which the Sabha of Tiruchohnur is one. A Lakshmana Nambi, the manager of a Matha is another. The god of Ilankovil is the third. These were acquired by the payment of the prices to the parties concerned. A further payment was also made to the Sabha, and the God concerned for making it tax-free, and the land was then made over to the temple for certain purposes of service on particular occasions of the year. The proper carrying out of these is entrusted to the managers of the Matha in Tiruvengadam. The lands would have to be taken care of and looked after by the Sabha, and this disposition was to last as long as the sun and the moon, and the whole arrangement is put under the direction of the Sri Vaishnavas.

The next following grant is altogether similar and refers to the gift of 4,176 kuli of land made over similarly to the managers of the Matha for use

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

for the purpose of the festival on the occasion of the Margali-Dvadasi, the Dvadasi or the 12th day of the growing moon in the month of Margali, December-January. It will thus be seen that from the inscriptions we find that the temple is provided already, in the days of Pallavas, with an efficient organisation for its management. Not only is the temple provided with the requisite machinery of management, but we find also the administration of the division in full swing with the assemblies of the villages, with various departments of accounts, the Sabha managing lands, selling them to parties, taking payment and making them tax-free, and administering them as trust lands for the purposes for which they were dedicated by the donors. We could not well regard the temple organisation as having been just then brought into existence, as we find it in these records. Notwithstanding therefore the paucity of information, we would be justified in assessing that the organisation and worship in the temples had already been sufficiently well established and long in use.

(e) Insight into the Economic Conditions from temple records.

The temple land was usually leased out, and in No. 229-G.T. we find a stipulation made in this respect to the effect that the lessee must be a tenant of the nadu, in order that the cultivation of the land and the collection of the lease-produce might both be facilitated. The rice used for naivedyam was required to be scrupulously cleaned by being pounded eighty times, and only such clean food was desired to be offered to the deities. The gold deposited as capital was generally the pure precious metal (sem-pon) which was weighed and accepted by the temple authorities. The kalanju was the unit of weight for gold. The measuring rod in the case of land was the kadikkai-kol which was equated with the rod of sixteen spans in length and reckoned in units of kuli, of which a thousand made up a patti. Several kinds of ornaments are mentioned in No. 18-T.T. and they were presented for decorating the whole body of the image. They were made of gold and set with diamonds, rubies, pearls and corals. Precious metals and precious stones appear to have been in general use and it shows the highly developed state of the industrial arts and the general high level of civilisation of the country. Internal communication was greatly facilitated by the laying out of roads which also served to help inland trade. The 'Northern Road' (Vaduga-Vali) was a trunk-road extending from the Tamil country in the south to the Telugu country of Vengi and onwards in the north. It passed by Tiruchanur. Great attention was paid to agriculture, and irrigational facilities were created through the construction of tanks and channels. In these Pallava records we do not come

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

across the numerous taxes which we find levied in the subsequent Chola period, but only the obligatory and customary services (Kadamai-Kudimai) seen to have been enforced.

4. The Temple during the Chola Times

(a) Divisions of the country.

The divisions and sub-divisions of the country given in the records are seen to have remained unchanged from the time of the Pallava king Ko-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman except for the mention of Perumabanappadi as a major division of Jayankonda-Chola-mandalam, comprising a major number of the twenty-four kottams or districts into which the old Tonda-mandalam was divided. We find assemblies at Tiruchanur and Tirumundiyam, of which the former appears from an epigraph (No. 126-G.T.) of the time of Rajaraja III, to have gained greater prominence and to have wielded more extensive territorial jurisdiction. Owing to the importance of Tiruchanur in religious and political spheres and the frequent visits paid by the royal officers to the place and, it may be also, with a view to providing facility for carrying on the deliberations of its assembly, the State had a court-house built at its expense in the village.

Fragments of Kulottunga's historical introduction are preserved on a few detached slabs at Tirumala and in them occur the expressions "Virri-rindaruliya Kovi-Rajakesari-Panmar" Rajendra-Chola and Kulottunga-Chola. It is known that he was called Rajendra II in the earlier years of his reign and the surname Kulottunga-Chola was assumed subsequently to the 4th regnal year. The complete historical introduction beginning with "Pugal. sulnda-punari-agal-sulnda-puvi-yil," is furnished by No. 381-G.T. (No. 265 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) from Yogi-Mallavaram which is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Ko-Rajakesarivarman alias Chakravartigal Sri Kulottunga-Choladeva. Between the reigns of Rajendra-Chola I and Kulottunga I, Tonda-mandalam which had hitherto been called Jayankonda-Chola-mandalam till the accession of the former (No. 20-T.T.) is seen to have been re-named Rajendra-Chola-mandalam, which occurs both in No. 386-G.T. dated in the 16th year of Vira-Rajendradeva and in No. 381-G.T. This might have taken place sometime during Rajendra Chola I's reign and continued in use through the reigns of Vira-Rajendradeva and Kulottunga I, but latterly the old name Jayankonda-Chola-mandalam re-appears in the records of Rajaraja III (Nos. 380, 384 and 389-G.T.).

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

(b) Details of Chola inscriptions.

Out of these powerful and beneficent Chola rulers, the inscriptions bring to our notice a few prominent kings, amongst whom the earliest is Madirai-konda Ko-Parakesarivarman alias Parantaka I, who ruled from 905 to 953 A.C. (Nos. 234 and 232-G.T.). Both these fragmentary records register a gift of a lamp apiece in the 20th and 29th years of his reign respectively. No. 232-G.T. further indicates the divisions of the kingdom and mentions an assembly (sabha) in Tiruchchokunur (Tiruchanur) where the inscriptions are found engraved.

No direct mention occurs of Parantaka II Sundara Chola, the father of Rajaraja I. But No. 17—T.T., one of the inscriptions re-engraved under orders of Vira-Narasimha Yadavaraya on the renovation of the central shrine of Sri Venkatesvara's temple at Tirumala, registers a present made in the 16th year of Rajaraja I of a pattam of gold set with precious stones by Parantakadevi-amman, daughter of Cheraman and queen of Pon-maligai-tunjinan; and it is known that Parantaka II Sundara-Chola was the "King who slept at the Golden Hall". The epithet "Deviammanar" applied to her in the record shows that she was the senior queen of Parantaka II, different from Vanavan-Mahadevi who was the mother of Kondavaiyar and Rajaraja I, and who committed suttee on the death of her lord Parantaka II. The pious princess Kundavaiyar set up images of her father and mother in reverence to their memory in the temple at Tanjore. And Parantakadevi outlived her husband for nearly 31 years until about the 16th year of the reign of Rajaraja I (1001 A.C.) and passed her days in making religious charities.

Rajaraja I is represented by three epigraphs, No. 17-T.T. and 214 and 215—G.T. As noted above No. 17—T.T. a copy of the original, after giving the complete historical introduction of Rajaraja I, registers the gift of a pattam by Parantakadevi-amman. Of the other two which are fragmentary, the one recounts a part of his prasasti, and the other mentions his name and registers the payment into the treasury of the temple by Arulakki alias Rajaraja-Muven davejan of 40 kalanju of gold for a lamp.

An epigraph from Yogi-Mallavaram (No. 384—G.T.) dated in the 9th year of Rajaraja III, refers to "Srimat-kirti-munnudaittaka Sri Ko-Rajakesariyana Sri Rajarajadevar". Rajakesari Rajaraja can be no other than Rajaraja I, since Rajaraja II was only a Parakesari and his reign did not extend to 23 years which is the regnal year quoted in the above record.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Sri Kopparakesaripannmar, i.e., *Ko-Parakesarivarman*, alias Sri Rajendra Choladeva, is introduced to us in No. 20—T.T. which is dated on the 7th day, presumably during the first year of his accession to the throne.

(c) Temple Administration under the Cholas.

No. 214 and 215—G.T. which are fragmentary inscriptions mention the name of Rajaraja and registers a payment into the treasury of the temple by Arulakki alias Rajaraja of 40 Kalanju of gold for lamp. The word Arulakki signifies that he was a royal officer exercising supervision over temples with reference to their routine and administration. The location of the native place of the donor indicates that Sonadu was divided in twain by the river Kaveri on whose southern bank lay Avur-Kurram comprised in the above nadu. The order of Vira-Narasimha Yadavaraya to the Sthanattar (managers) of the temple regarding the re-engraving of the inscriptions in their original position on the completion of the renovation of the central shrine carries a double significance with it. On the one hand it reflects the solicitude of the people of those days for the perpetuation of the charities and services and through them the memory of the ancient benefactors of the religious institutions, while their regular conduct helped to animate the charitably disposed persons and others to endeavour to institute fresh charities and services on similar lines. On the other hand the order reveals the political relations that existed between the Yadavarayas and the Chola kings. The Yadavarayas had served the Cholas in various capacities. such as royal secretaries and administrative officers, during a number of generations and the order for re-engraving indicates the gratitude and loyalty of the Yadavarayas to the memory of the past generations of the Chola sovereigns.

No. 20 T.T. is a very interesting inscription which gives details of an enquiry into the temple affairs at the time of Rajendra Chola-I. From the above inscription it appears that the royal officers had, during their tours through the country, not only to investigate into the affairs of the state, but were also charged with the duty of enquiring into the condition of the temples and their requirements and ascertaining the satisfactory progress of worship in them. It was quite natural and reasonable that they should, since the affairs pertained to the national institutions and the government was likewise national, being indigenous. Adhikari Korramangalamudaiyan, probably the governor of the Province encamped at Tiruchchukanur (Tiruchanur), a devadana village belonging to Sri Venkatesvara, and, having summoned to his court which he held in the front apartment of the court-house built by the state in the same

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

village, the Siritanattuppanimakan, the officer who administered the Kudavurnadu, named Kadappankudaiyan, and also the servants of Tiruvekatadevar, called upon them to state if any want or defect was observed in the matter of the nimandappadi or the daily food-offerings made to the deity. They declared that the assembly of Tirumundiyam, a devadana village of the deity which had received 23 pon (gold coins) and there-upon undertaken, in pursuance of a previous agreement engraved on stone, to light in the temple of Sri Vekatesvara 24 lamps including one of camphor, had failed in their trust by ceasing to burn 22 lights, and maintaining only 2, on the plea of the inability of the villagers. The enquiry impressed the Adhikari with the negligent behaviour and breach of trust on the part of the Tirumundiyam assembly and he ordered the transference to the temple funds of the 20 pon of the Tirumundiyam sabhiyar available at Tiruchanur together with 3 pon standing to the credit of the Tirumundiyam assembly in the temple-treasury for their service rendered to the temple, making up the original capital of 23 pon, and enjoined on the managers of the temple the duty of supplying ghee to Tirumala for the lamps in conjunction with the supply from the stores at Tirupati of all other articles of daily use in the temple, and seeing to the maintenance of the 24 lights including the one of camphor.

Thus did the Adhikari help the perpetuation of the original charity. It clearly indicates the existence of a highly organised and efficient system of administration under the Cholas, in which the judicial and administrative functions were not, however, differentiated. There was a hierarchy of state officials, the two visible links in the chain brought to our notice in the record being the Adhikari or the provincial governor and the Siritanattuppanimakan or the sub-divisional officer in charge of Kudavurnadu. There might have existed a link intermediate between these two probably designated Peritanattuppanimakan, an officer placed in charge of the district of Tiruvenkata-kottam, and another one or two lower down below the Siritanattuppanimakan entrusted with the administration of one or more villages combined into a group denominated the kurram. Likely such a one was Kottur-udaiyan, the head of Kottur, a village formerly situated at the foot of the hill about a mile to the east of Tirupati and north of Tiruchanur and known to have existed down to the time of Achyutaraya who built a temple for Achyutapperumal within its limits about midway between Tirupati and the foot of the hill (No. 355-G.T.), but now no longer existing. The ancient willage also comprised within it the shrine of Sri Kapilesvara, and Rayan-Rajendra-Cholan alias Brahmarayan Munaiyadaraiyan, who was the head of Kottur in the reign of Rajendra-Chola I, probably built the temple of Sri Kapilesvara (No. 210-G.T.).

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

From the expression "Koyir-karyam-arayinda-idattu, ", it looks as though some time was set apart for the consideration of temple matters as distinct from other state affairs. The summons to the Siritanattuppanimakan of Kudavur-nadu and to no other state official of a higher or lower rank, to depose on the condition of the charities in the temple would indicate that he alone had an account of the procedure, offerings, services, emoluments, endowments, agreements and all other transactions relating to the temples situated within the limits of his nadu, while the enquiry and decree of the Adhikari disclose the fact of the want of competency on the part of the subordinate officers to investigate such matters and adjudge them.

A case of default in the conduct of the holy bath and offerings arranged or God Tippaladisvaram-udaiya-Nayanar of Tiruchchukanur by Jayankondasola Brahmamarayan on the 80th day in the 23rd year of the reign of "Srimat-kirtimunnudaittaka Sri Ko-Rajakesariyana Sri Rajarajadevar," for which the donor had paid 26½% kalanju of pure gold weighed with the dharmakattalai-kal into the hands of the sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur, was taken to the notice of Chalukki Vira-Narasingadevar alias Yadavaraya (No.384-G.T.). At the enquiry held into the matter in the Tirukkannappadevantirukkavanam, the sthanattar of Tippaladisvarar's temple represented to the Yadavaraya, the Mahesvaras and the Sthanattar (probably of Alagiya-Perumal temple at Tiruchanur) assembled there, that, in pursuance of a past agreement engraved on stone, the sabhaiyar of the place who had received the gold were obliged to conduct the ubhaiyam, of which the sabhaiyar pleaded ignorance. But the provincial ruler decided, on the basis of the old stone-record, in favour of the temple and required the sabhaiyar to pay off the 25½ kalanju of gold into the Sri-Bhandaram (treasury of the temple) which payment was latterly acknowledged by the Siva-Brahmanas of the temple who were the hereditary worshippers, while the "Uravar", "Padikavalalar" and "Perikauravar" stood as witnesses to this fresh transaction. The judicial proceedings were thus conducted by the royal officer in the presence of the parties to the suit and other persons interested in the subject-matter contention and in the temple to which the suit related, and due credence was given to the documentary evidence furnished. As previously noticed, the judicial and executive functions were not differentiated but were repositied in one and the same person, the provincial administrator.

No. 126—G.T. from Sri Govindaraja's temple in Tirupati dated in the 19th year of Rajaraj III throws light on the functions and powers of the local political assemblies and on the process of representation or petition to the king for grant of land to the temple. The Periya-nattar of Tirukkudavur-nadu had

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

installed an image of Tirumangaiyavar in the temple of Sri Govindaraja but had not provided for his daily propitiation. Sri Sathakopadasar-pillai and three others consulted together and placed the subject before the sabhaiyar (assembly) of Tiruchanur who met in full numbers in the assembly-hall of the temple and resolved upon it. This resolution of the sabhaiyar, which in effect would amount to no more than a commendatory endorsement, was fully approved of by the king and ordered to be given effect to. The Tirukkudavar-nattar executed the royal order by assigning within the limits of the village of Kudavur a piece of land yielding grain at the rate of 5 tumbu per patti as measured with the measure known as the Chullukki. The want of daily provision was thus met by the Periya-nattar themselves who had previously installed the Alvar, and the document was attested by the Periya-nattuvelan on the consent of the men of Tirukkudavar being signified and the approval of the Periya-nattar being given to it.

The representatives of the temple had to submit their petition through the local assembly which held jurisdiction over the area and this assembly had to recommend it, probably, to a superior official or body which sent it on to the king. The local assemblies lacked powers of granting land or transacting any similar business on their own motion, but could only discuss, report and recommend for the consideration of the king any matter that came within its cognisance. This was a necessary limitation to their power, since they were public bodies and had to safe-guard the interests of the state, and the use of their unlimited discretion might result in undersirable alienations of public land.

5. THE TEMPLE UNDER PANDYAS AND OTHER LOCAL CHIEFTAINS

(a) Introduction

After the fall of the Cholas the empire disintegrated and there was no strong central empire for a number of centuries. Kolotunga-III was the last great Chola emperor and even during his reign, the Telugu Cholas advanced from Kanchi and occupied it for some time. His successor Rajendra-III could not stem the tide and in his time the Chola feudatories became semi independent if not wholly independent. Maravarman Sundara Pandya-I invaded the Chola empire and conquered its southern provinces in the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

During this political turmoil, many local chieftains declared their independence whose records are also found in the Tirumala temple. The Kadava Rayas, the Yadava Rayas, the Telugu Cholas and the Telugu Pallavas among others have all left their records and endowments in the temple.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(b) The Pandyan association with the Temple.

Only one Pandyan king is represented by a few inscriptions recording his prasasti in Sanskrit which pertains to Jata Varma Sundara Pandya-I.

No. 239—T.T. is made up of three Sanskrit verses, the first of which, in the Sardula metre, describes how Sundara-Pandya of unsurpassable glory, who chastises those that swerve from the right path, had caused Gandagopala on account of his mean behaviour to flee to heaven so as to be seen by the Gods. The second, in the Arya metre, states that Vira-Gandagopala being fixed in heaven was ordained to perform the penance of standing on the edge of the sword (asidhara-vratam). The third, much damaged, seems to refer to the conquest of the Kerala country, etc. Again No. 241—T.T., a Sanskrit verse in the Upajati metre, recounts that Sundara Pandya washed his sword in the gore of the wicked enemy kings, vanquished Andhresvara, and taught Vira-Gandagopala the asidhara-vratam.

Two inscriptions Nos. 164 and 165—T.T. mention Sundara Pandya and Vira Narsingadeva his vassal together. One epigraph mentions the grant of a village as sarvamanya to take effect from the 12th year of Sundara Pandya while the others give effect to a grant of some land from the 3rd year of the reign of Nayanar.

The grant as sarvamanya of Padirivedu seems to have entailed the remission of certain taxes hitherto collected by the state, such as pattippon, ponvari, kudiraivari, kanikkai, nattuvari, nallerudi, narpasu, mavadai, maravadai, kadamai, etc., Some of them were paid in gold coin, and were comprehensively known as ponnayam, while others being paid in grain were known as nellayam. The village granted was situated in the Asuvamukkilai-nadu within the sub-district of Tirukkudavur-nadu. Asuvamukkilai-nadu was a kind of kurram, a group or union of villages; and a number of such groups were comprised within the major nadu.

No. 165. T.T. indicates the method of making grants of lands or villages by the king. The Sthanattar of the temple submitted a petition for the grant of land probably in Agaraparru, which was considered by the nadavar of Kudavur-nadu and Tondapadiparru and latterly endorsed by the Veriya-vimanattan. The king was pleased to grant the request exactly as it was made in the petition, and his order issued orally was communicated by the Yadavaraya. This confirms the procedure observed during the Chola administration, particularly under Rajaraja III (No. 126—G.T.).

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

(c) Minor Chieftains

i) Kadava Rayas

Nos. 226 and 227 T.T. refer to Kadava Kopperumjinga as Sarvagna Khadga Malla.

ii) Yadava Rayas

Tirukalatideva Yadava Raya is mentioned in 170—T.T. This gives his various birudas and was issued in the 19th year of his reign.

Tirukalattideva's son was Singappillai alias Virarakshasa Yadavaraya, who provided for a tiru-mantira-tirupponakam for Tiruvenkatamudaiyan from the produce derived from the land granted by him in Tirukkudavur-nadu (Nos. 293 and 362—T.T.).

Vira-Narasingadeva Yadavaraya comes next. Some of his records in T.T.D. collection are dated between his 12th and 51st years. His earliest mention occurs in No. 120 of 1922 bearing the 31st year of Kulottunga III (1209 A.C.). and the latest reference is found in No. 164 T.T. of the 12th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I (1262—A.C.). Consequently his rule covered a minimum period of 54 years and this confirms the highest regnal year 51 given for him in No.125—G.T.

He is also reported to have performed the Tularohana ceremony, i.e., weighing himself in scales against gold, and to have presented that gold to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara for gilding the Vimanam and other structures. This invested the Venkata Hill with a golden lustre by which it equalled Mount Meru in appearance. This gilding by Vira-Narasimhadeva Yadavaraya seems to have taken place almost simultaneously with the fixing of the golden vase (kanaka-kalasa) over the vimanam by Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I (No. 172—T.T.) Another image of Vira-Narasinga-Perumal was installed somewhere in Tirupati, as noted in No. 195—T.T., and it is likely that the installation was done at the instance of Vira-Narasingadeva Yadavaraya himself. With his permission the central shrine of Sri Venkatesvara's temple at Tirumala was renovated by a certain Desantari Tiruppullanidasar in the 40th year of the Yadavaraya's reign, and on the completion of the repairs the inscriptions that were contained on the walls of the central shrine were required to be re-engraved in their original position. And so we have four Chola records, Nos. 17,18, 19 and 20 —T.T., re-engraved on the north wall at the western corner under these injunctions of Vira-Narasingadeva Yadavaraya. This

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Desantari is probably identical with the Tiruppullanidasar of Seravan-mahadevi-chaturvedi-mangalam or Shermadevi. The renovation of the central shrine of Sri Venkatesvara's temple was effected in 1245 A.C., being the 40th year of Vira-Narasimha Yadavaraya.

Tiruvengkatanatha was a later member belonging to the Yadavaraya family. The four inscriptions of T.T.D. collection representing him, viz., Nos. 189 and 195—T.T. and Nos. 11 and 40—G.T. are dated in his own regnal years 8 and 12. On the request of his general Singaya-Dannayaka, Tiruvengkatanatha granted half the village of Pongalur situated in Illattur-nadu as sarvamanya to God Tiruvenkatamudaiyan to serve for the expenses of celebrating the Adi festival and conducting the Sitakaraganadan-sandhi established in the name of the Mahapradhani Rachaya-Dannayaka (No.189—T.T.). The grant was made in the Adi month of the 8th year, the opposite year 1, of Tiruvengkatanatha's reign and it was to take effect from the Adi month in his 9th year. The village was granted at the instance of Singaya-Dannayaka; Pongalur was surnamed Singanallur (No. 195—T.T.).

Tiruvengkatanatha Yadavaraya also granted the village of Tirupati as a tirunamattukkani for the propitiation of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan during the Narayanan-sandhi instituted by him in memory of an ancestor of his named Yadava Narayana in whose name a deity was also installed in the village of Nagapudoli by Rajamalladeva alias Bhujabala-Siddharasan alias Yadavarayan during the last years of Kulottunga III. The conversion of this tirunamattukkani into a sarvamanya grant by Tiruvengkatanatha himself in the 12th year of his own reign entailed the remission of numerous taxes one of which was the Vallatadivar-vari (No. 11—G.T.).

King Hobala Yadava is the latest Yadavaraya chief that comes to notice in these epigraphs. His gift of a gold covering for the Vaikuntha-Hasta held in the posture of Varada-Hasta, i.e., boon-giving hand, of God Venkatesvaar is recorded in No. 56—T.T. both in a Samskrit and a Tamil verse. Obalanatha is mentioned in the Tamil stanza to have been the king of Tanjai and to have acquired celebrity for learning. In the Tamil stanza, Tirumala is called Vada-Venkatam, i.e., the North Venkata-Hill and is stated to have abounded in sweet-smelling herbs and plants.

iii) Telugu Pallavas

The Telugu-Pallava chief Vijaya-Gandagopala is represented by about a score of inscriptions of T.T.D. collection. Most of them being fragmentary, only three dates are available for him, viz., the 4th, 5th and 9th years of his own reign.

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

His reign was coeval with those of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya, Kopperunjinga, Madhurantaka-Pottapi-Chola Allun-Tikka and Manuma-Siddha and Kakatiya Ganapati. Of these Jatavaraman claims to have defeated and killed Gandagopala whom our inscriptions Nos. 239 and 241—T.T. declare to be identical with Vira-Gandagopala and not Vijaya-Gandagopala. The boastful assertion of Kopperunjinga that he conquered both Vijaya and Vira Gandagopalas (No. 226—T.T.) was shown to have been based on the success of Sundara-Pandya I as against Vira-Gandagopala, for which the Tamil-Pallava also claimed credit.

From inscriptions of T.T.D. collection we learn that princess Devarasiyar was the queen of Vijaya-Gandagopala and that she made a gift of cows for setting up three lamps in the temple of Sri Venkatesvara (No. 73 and 431—T.T.). In No. 173—T.T. we meet with one of the officers serving in the palace of Vijaya-Gandagopala, viz., Ammaiappan alias Annan-Permalpriyan of the Kasyapa-gotra who set up a lamp and made a gift of 32 cows and 1 bull for its maintenance with ghee. A similar gift was made by one Amarakon, son of Vaniyan (merchant) Kattari, a resident of Narayanapuram, for a lamp, together with the donation of 3 madai for the lamp-stand and 12 madai as capital for a light of camphor (No. 111—T.T.). One of the ministers of Kakatiya Ganapati, named Brahmasetti, son of Devasetti of Alappur, who presented cows and bulls to the temple of Arulalapperumal at Conjeevaram in the 7th year of the reign of Vijaya-Gandagopala (No. 47 of 1893 of the Mad. Ep. coll.) appears here in No. 296 —T.T. as the donor of a certain charity arranged through Brahmanarayan and the Srivaishnavas of the locality. He is designated Pokkan, i.e., treasurer, and he probably held this office under Ganapati.

Tripurantaka who comes to notice in No. 128—T.T. is another Telugu-Pallava chief identical with the Mahamandalesvara Tripurantakadeva, the father of Madhusudanadeva.

No. 72—T.T., a Tamil stanza, represents a certain Raja-Gandagopala as a great benefactor whom all the worlds extol; but it does not state to what family he belonged and what kingdom he ruled over. Probably he was a Telugu-Pallava chief related to Vijaya-Gandagopala.

(6) INSIGHT INTO THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS DURING THESE TIMES

(a) Taxation during the period.

The numerous taxes numbering about forty, remitted from the village of Tirupati in favour of Sri Venkatesvara's temple, are found classified in

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the epigraph itself (No. 11—G.T.) as gold taxes comprising Pon-vari, etc., grain taxes comprising Kandamaiyam, etc.; taxes relating to free service known as Amanji-vagai; taxes levied by the assembly of the Nattar; and other old and new taxes promulgated from the royal court. Some of the taxes enumerated in Nos. 189-T.T. and 11-G.T. related to tolls levied on animals; road-cess or a kind of toll-tax; profession tax on merchants, oil-mongers, weavers, etc.; licence for planting gardens, for fishing in ponds, etc.; and poundage on stray cattle. These are akin to the feudal dues levied in the western countries during the Middle Ages. Two of the three “ancient and customary aids” are also represented in this list by the Tirumaganar-kanikkai and the Tiruttayar-kunikkai, *i.e.*, taxes levied for the benefit of the heir apparent and the queen-mother. The third item, *viz.*, the aid for ransoming the body of the king if captured by the enemy, occurs as a kind of tribute paid to the liege-lord; and in this instance it was the Vallaladevar-vari raised as tribute to be paid by the Yadavaraya to the conqueror and liege-lord the Hoyasala.

The following are the taxes remitted:

Pandivari, Palavari, Kanikkai, Vendukolvari, Malaiaamanji, Kudiraivari, Kanakkamovai, Nattuvai, Nilakkanikkai, Nattarvaitte-kanikkai, Valinadai-kanikkai, Akkananikkai, kartikai-Kanikkai, Pattivari, Viruttuvakai Palatalikku-madaiyil-kollum (vari), Nattar-madaiyil-bagukkumvari, Vallaladevar-vari, Vasal-panam, Talai-Talaipanam, Nischayippu, Mukamparvai, Padiyari-movai, Mukamparvai-chchammadam, Sambadachchammadam, Settikal, Vanikar, Senaiangadiyar, Sekkukudimakkal, Kaikkolar-per. Sungavarikollum-vagai, Sunga-ennai, Pillaikal-kanikai.”

The above inscription is an edict issued by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavarayar (1322-1337) a local ruler of Tondaimandalam converting the village of Tirupati as a Sarvamanya village and arranging food offerings to the Lord (Narayanan-Sandhi). The Sthanattar of Tirumalai was informed about the arrangements made for compliance of all directions given. It is interesting to note that several local taxes were remitted in the village of Tirupati. The various kinds of taxes indicated in the inscription are gold taxes, grain taxes, taxes on free service, taxes on animals, toll-tax, profession tax on merchants, oil-mongers, weavers etc., licences for planting gardens, fishing ponds, poundage on stray cattle etc.

(b) Water supply.

The village of Tirupati was a sarvamanya granted to God Venkatesa by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya. But some of the lands situated at the

THE ADMINISTRATION,.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

north sluice of the Perieri (big tank) in Tirupati belonged to Emperumanar, i.e., Sri Ramanuja, having been endowed for his daily worship. They were neglected and so became overgrown with shrubs and bushes. In the 3rd year of Sriranganatha's reign these puttai lands were cleared of their overgrowth and irrigational facilities were provided. Along with the village, the Peri-eri also formed part of the property of God Tiruvenkatamudaiyan and water could not be drawn from it for the cultivation of the lands belonging to Emperumanar without some compensation being paid to Him. Consequently a sum of 200 panam was presented as tirumunkanikkai to Tiruvenkatamudaiyan for the purpose. Thereafter the puttai lands were allowed to be irrigated from the big tank, in accordance with the practice prevailing in the matter of water-supply from it in regard to other lands in Tirupati (No. 115-G.T.).

(c) Religious Charity

During this period we notice that religious charities were mostly in the form of lamp-lighting in the temples; but the later practice of instituting festivals and arranging for food-offerings which came into vogue in the Vijayanagara period is already visible in its nascent stage as registered in Nos. 111, 121, 134, 139, 141, 285 and 433-T.T. and 127-G.T. The standard of grain measure was the tumbu, and the vatti (i.e., putti in Telugu) was a multiple of it. The particular measure that was in use in the temple of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati was known as the Chalukki or the Chalukya-Narayanan-kal (No. 127-G.T.) and that at Tirumala was the Uchchiyininra-Narayanan-(marakkal) (No. 137-T.T.) or more generally denoted as Malaikiniyaninran-kal in the later records. The latter was double the capacity of the former. The current coins of the time comprised the varaha-panam and the madai. The madai was a gold coin issued by Vijaya-Gandagopala, the Telugu-Pallava chief, and on that account was denoted Gandagopalan-madai (No. 143-T.T.), and a new issue of it was called the Gandagopalan-pudu-madai. Of these two, the coin with the old marks palam-puli-madai, in contrast with the new issue, was equivalent to seven and a half varaha-panam probably (No. 126-T.T.). The gold coin was current throughout the province of Jayankondacholamandalam and it contained pure metal (No. 129-T.T.).

(d) Salia Sri Vaishnavas.

A section of the Srivaishnavas, known as the Saliya-Srivaishnavas, perhaps the weaver class who call themselves Saurashtra-Brahmanas, claim to belong, some of them to the Vishnu-gotra (No. 125-T.T.), some to the Kasyapa-gotra

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(No. 129-T.T.) and some again to the Atreya-gotra (No. 141-T.T.). The last of these were residents of Vikramadevipuram and quite possibly the first two classes also came from the same locality.

(7) THE INSTITUTION OF THE STHANATTARS.

(a) *Sthanattars as executive functionaries and not as trustees.*

The term 'Sthanattar' which we come across quite often in early inscriptions, and also in inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period, denotes a local temple committee which was primarily charged with the duty of the running the temple on efficient lines. It was a secular body though some of the members could have performed religious functions also in the temple. By and large, the evidence from the inscriptions, is that this body of eminent men was looked upon as an august and devoted body of public servants, who acted as the executive for the local rulers in temple matters. Initially they would appear to have had only limited executive functions to be carried out in the affairs of the temple, but later and more particular in the Vijayanagar period, their composition and functions tended to become more in the nature of the trustees of the temple and the temple properties. Their duties became enlarged from being mere executives of temple affairs, to receiving endowments and ensuring that they were properly invested, and that the services to be rendered for the endowments were properly carried out.

The first administrative machinery of which we have epigraphical evidence is what was constituted by Samavai, the Pallava queen who consecrated the Utsavamurti in the temple, and who gave extensive property for ensuring the festivals of the temple were properly carried out. This administrative machinery was called "madapatyar seywar" i.e., those who did the madapathyam in the temple of Thiruvengadanatha. Their term is vague but it could possibly mean only a manager of the temple.

During the period of the Chola rule also it was the same set of persons i.e., those who were doing madapathyam or "Madapatyam seywar" who were made responsible for the performance of the services to the temple of properties endowed as a trust, though the officers of the King, still held complete power in their hands. This is fully proved by the inscription (126-G.T.) which was issued on the royal orders of the Chola King, the Raja Raja. The inscription says as follows:

As per the oral order of the king issued previously, on a day in the Kartikai month in the 19th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartigal Sri Rajarajadevar, we, the Periya-Nattavar, having assembled in the council-chamber

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

(attached) to the Tiruvilankoyil (situated) in Tiruchchukanur in full numbers without omission of the necessary adjuncts, resolved upon the representation of Srisathakopadasar-pillai, Kollikavalidasarpillai, Aruvaraiyanaiyakoyilpillai and Kalikanridasarpillai in respect of the provision (to be made) for the amudupadi and sattuppadi for (the image of) Tirumangaiyalvar, the bestower of blessings (on the devotees), who was installed in Sri Govindapperumal's temple which is a plastered sanctum of Vishnu, through the charity of the Periya-Nattar, have witnessed that the Tirukkudavurar have granted with libations of water Kottakalvay situated in Tirukkudavur-nadu to the west of the place where the big roads join, to the east of.....to the north of Mandalakkottai and to the south of Kirandayeri, yielding paddy at the rate of 5 tumbu per patti (as measured) with the Chalukki and direct that (its produce) be amalgamated with and collected along with the income of Sri Govindapperumal by the supervisors of the treasury of the temple of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan and that this charity be conducted as long as the moon and the sun (last).

He, who obstructs (the conduct of) this charity, (will surrender) his body to the Nattavar and will beget the sin of killing a tawny (coloured) cow on the bank of the Ganges.

We, the Periya-Nattavar (hereby witness this transaction). This is the signature of the Periya-Nattu-Velan.

It would appear that the institutional of sthanikas or sthanattars were in existence from very early days. Their existence is clearly recognised by Tirukalathideva Yadavaraya in No. 170-T.T. It is stated as follows in that inscription.

This arrangement ordered (settled) for the temple of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan, on the request of the Sthanattar of Tirumala.

By me, Tirukkalattidevan, entitled the sole shelter of the terrestrial globe, the proud cuckoo of the royal park of all learning, the honey-bee (sucking) at the lotus feet of (God) Srikalahastisa, the ruler of the prosperous Ventagiripura (the city of huntsmen), the chief of huntsmen, the overlord of Vengi, the recipient of the excellent grace obtained from Pitharadevi (Pidaridevi), the master of the Godavari, the lord of Kanupaka the best city, the best among the learned men, the sporter is Gopakarapura, the retreat of the defeated kings, the ornament of the Lunar race, Chalukya-Narayana, the abode of all virtuous) qualities, Maharajadhiraja, Yadavaraja and Srimadbhujabala.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

In the assembly of Avilali (held) at the commencement of the 19th (year of reign), so as to extend the Devadanam and (make) a permanent provision from land assigned to the temple of Tiruvenkatamudaiyan, viz.,

all the manjai (wet) and the punjai (dry) lands comprised within the four boundaries of Kudavur, together with all taxes including Kadamai-ayam, Padikaval, Vettichcharikai, . . . Kolvari and Pattampon; and Pon-vari and Kanikkai; and Porkalungal including Kanikkai.

Having accordingly granted with libations of water (for) the nimandam, we have directed that Sudarsana stones (marked with the Vishnu-Chakram) be planted along the boundaries on the four sides. This (order) shall be executed.

The language in all the inscriptions makes it clear that the lands were not handed over to the Sthanattars. On the other hand the inscriptions are clear that all such gifts became the property of the Sribhandaram of the temple only. The Sthanattars would appear to have been merely receiving the income from the endowments to meet the current expenditure. Endowments as such earmarked specifically for public works were credited to a Head of Account called "Tiruppani Bhandaram." The Sthanattars seems to have thus far acted only as agents and not as trustees of the property.

(b) Complete control by rulers over endowed property.

The complete control was held by the local rulers is also clear from inscriptional evidence. Thus No. 11-G.T. states as follows:—

On a certain day in the month of Panguni in the 12th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartigal Sri Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavarayar, intimation (is hereby given) to the Sthanattar of Tirumala, in pursuance of the royal edict converting as sarvamanya (the village of) Tirupati (previously) granted to (God) Tiruvenkatamudaiyan as tiruvidaiyattam-tirumattukkani.

The (following) taxes which we are accustomed to collect (from the said village are hereby remitted) from the month of Chittirai in the 12th year, (and ordered to be utilised) for the articles of amudupadi and sattuppadi, during the Narayanan-sandhi, thus converting the said village (of Tirupati) into a sarvamanya, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun last. This tiruvaradhanam (propitiatory service) shall proceed from this day onwards without break or diminution. (This edict shall be) engraved on stone and copper.

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

(The following are the taxes remitted)

Pandivari,	Vasal-panam,
Palabari,	Talaippanam,
Kanikkai,	Nischayippu,
Vendukolvari,	Mukkamparvai,
Malai-amanji,	Padiyarimovai,
Kudiraivari,	Mukamparvaichchammadam
Kanakkamovai,
Nattuvari,	Sambadachchammadam,
Nilaiikkanikkai,	Settikal, —Perkkukk-
Nattarvaitta-kanikkai,	Vanikar, —ollum-
Valinadai-kanikkai,	Senai-angadiyar, —Purakka-
Akkan-kanikkai,	Sakkukudimakkal, —naivagai
Kartikai kanikkai,	Kaikkolar-per'. . .
Pattivari,
Viruttuvakai,	Sungavari-kollumvagai,
Palatalikku-madaiyil-kollum-(vari)	Sunga-annai,
Nattar-madaiyil-vagukkum-vari,	Pillaikal-kanikai.
Vallaladevar-vari,	

The above inscription is of special interest because it converts the village of Tirupati as a 'Sarvamanya' village and arranges food offerings to the Lord which are called in the inscription as 'Narayana Sandhi.' The Stanattars in the village were informed about the arrangements made for the compliance of all the directions of the king. It is interesting to note the details of the several local taxes that were remitted in the village of Tirupati. The various kinds of taxes indicated in the inscription are gold taxes, grain taxes, taxes on free services, taxes on animals, toll-taxes, profession taxes on merchants, oil-mongers weavers, etc., Licence fees of planting gardens for operating fishing ponds, and for poundage of stray cattle etc., etc., are also noticed. The complexity and diversity of the taxes remitted clearly indicate that the administrative machinery was extremely a sophisticated and efficient one and the fact that the Sthanattars were merely informed about the remission, makes it clear that they were working merely as executive agents of the temple to receive money and to spend it. They have no other status of trustees.

(c) Sthanattars as a highly respected body.

That the Sthanattars were on occasion consulted and their advice even accepted can be seen from the inscription 195-T.T. which states as follows:—

Hail, Prosperity! (This is) the request (made) to the Council of the Sthanattar at Tirumala by Sriman Mahapradhanigal:

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

As per the petition of Singaya-Dannayakkan entitled Immadi-Rahuttarayan, we have presented as tiruvidaiyattam, for the Adi-tirunal and the Sitakaragandan-sandhi instituted by us for Tiruvenkatamudaiyan in the name of the said Singaya-Dannayakar (the village of) Pongalur alias Singanallur in Illattur-nadu, granted to us as sarvamanya including all taxes by (our) son-in-law Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavarayar (and desired that) stones with (the mark of Vishnu)-Chakra be planted; that, with the entire produce collected from this village, the festival be caused to be celebrated and the Sitakaragandan-sandhi (prasadam) be caused to be offered (at Tirumala), that one tirupponakam be caused to be offered daily in Tirupati to Viranarasinga-Perumal and Tirumangai-alvar, and that 32 Srivaishnavas be fed in the Sitakaragandan-Matham; that, with the balance remaining after these items (of expenditure), a flower-garden, a water shed and other necessary charities be carried on in our name at Tirumala; and that this (arrangement) be recorded on stone and copper so that it may last as long as the moon and the sun endure and (likewise) conducted.

The protection of the Srivaishnavas (is sought for) this.

The above shows that the King respectfully approached the Sthanattars for acceptance of the arrangement. He also agreed to the Sthanattar's stipulation about the utilisation of the surplus income for certain additional charges such as feeding 32 brahmins and for maintaining a flower garden and water shed etc.

The expression "Sthanattar Sripadatteri" which occurs in the inscription and which means approaching the feet of the Sthanattar, by such a powerful chieftain Singayya shows that Sthanattars were treated as a highly respected body of public servants.

That the Sthanattars in spite of the high respect in which they were held, however were not trustees of the temple property is clear from 237-T.T., 273-T.T. and 485-T.T. and 487-T.T. These inscriptions show that neither Mangideva nor Vira Kumara Kampana nor Bukka mentioned the name of Sthanattar in their respective endowments. Similarly in 61-T.T. where one Alagappiranda Tirukkali Kanridasar paid 450 panams for certain food offerings to be made on occasions the money was paid to Sri Bhandaram and not Sthanattars. Similarly in No. 103-T.T. Mullai Thiruvengkata Jiyar had paid 100 panams into the Sribhandaram directly for certain services.

These inscriptions show that endowments were still then paid directly into the Sribhandaram which probably represented the temple treasury and

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

that the Sthanattars were not either competent or authorised to receive the endowed property. Till this time therefore the Sthanattars would appear to have been merely an executive committee, a highly respected one.

(d) Change in the status of Sthanattars as trustees.

For the first time we find only in 153-G.T. that the Sthanattars were accepting an endowment in 1387 A.D. by Kollikavalidasar and executing a silasasana for it. This inscription registers as follows:—

On Sunday, the day of Krittika (star), being the 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the Mina month in the year Kshaya, current with the Saka year 1308, this is the silasasanam executed by the Sthanattar of Tirumala in favour of Perumal alias Kollikavalidasar, one of the Tirupati Srivaishnavas viz.,

4-10. for the purpose of providing, out of the interest on capital, from the Sri-Bhandaram, 1 tirupponakam each day from this day forward for Sri Govindapperumal in Tirupati, in his name, the sum entrusted with the Sri-Bhandaram this day is 1000 panam shall be supplied from the Sri-Bhandaram for the said 1 tirupponakam on each day (commencing) from this 1st day of this Panguni month till the lasting of the moon and the sun,

1 marakkal of rice measured with the Chalukya-Narayanan-kal,

1 alakku of ghee,

vegetables, salt and pepper.

10-12. Out of the offered prasadam, a quarter share, being 1 nali, he (the donor) shall receive. (This practice) shall continue throughout the succession of his descendants and shall be in force till the lasting of the moon and the sun.

12-13. This is written with the permission of the Srivaishnavas by the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyan, the accountant of the Tirumala temple. May this the Srivaishnavas protect.

In 57-T.T. and 52-G.T. the Sthanattars are seen accepting as trustees an endowment of 1,200 panams by Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar for making food offerings on the occasion of Tiruppavai singing during the ten days of Margali month.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

On the 11th day of the Margali month in the Pramoduta year, current with the auspicious Saka year 1312, this is the silasasanam executed by us, the Sthanattar of Tirumala, in favour of Mullai-Tiruvenkata-Jiyar, the manager of the Arisanalaiyan-tirunandavanam (flower-garden) at Tirumala.—

Towards (the articles required for) the one tiruvolakkam on each of the middle ten days during the Tiruppavai (psalm-singing festival) in the Margali month within the hearing of Malaikiniyaninra-Perumal and Nachchimar at Tirumala

for (the supply of) these articles the capital invested for interest by you this day in the temple-treasury is 1200 panam,

In the above manner the articles shall be supplied every year from the Sri Bhandaram, as the charge on the interest on the above 1200 panam as long as the moon and the sun last

This is the writing of the temple-accountant Tiruninra-ur-udaiyan, with the permission of the Srivaishnavas May the Srivaishnavas protect (this)

Thereafter the Sthanattars figure invariably in epigraphs as trustees of the property accepting endowments and gifts, the stone epigraphs or silasasanam being drawn up by temple accountants, called Tiruninra-ur-udaiyan

(e) Institution of Temple Accountants.

The institution of these temple accountants or Tirunindra-ur-udaiyan is itself introduced for the first time in the Saka 1301 in 67-T T It is mentioned as follows in this epigraph

As the interest-yielding capital towards these charges, the sum intrusted into the Sri-Bhandaram this day by Algappiranar Tirukkalikanridasar, one of the Srivaishnavas of Tirupati, is 400 panam and that intrusted for the Appapadi and Tirukkanamadai is 50 panam, aggregating to 450 panam

In consideration of the receipt of this 450 panam, the above articles as per the above account shall be continued to be supplied from the Sri-Bhandaram, till the lasting of the moon and the sun

Thus with the permission of the Srivaishnavas, this (document) is written by the temple-accountant Tiruninra-ur-udaiyan

May this the Srivaishnavas protect

THE ADMINISTRATION IN.....PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

After this these temple accountants are found invariably in the epigraphs.

(f) Reasons for the change in the status of Sthanattars.

The inscriptions do not give us details as to how the Sthanattars transformed themselves from temple executives to the temple trustees.

From the evidence of the dates of the inscriptions it is clear only after the fall of the Yadavarayas when the image of Sri Ranganatha rested in Tirumala, for some time, that for the first time the inscriptions mention temple accountant Tirunindra-ur-uidayan and also give us a glimpse of the change of status of Sthanattars. Perhaps in the confusion-in the political situation on the fall of the Yadavarayas it was found necessary to employ a qualified accountant for the proper maintenance of the records and to make the Sthanattars themselves as trustees, since the royal hold was very loose. This institution could then have taken deeper roots.

So the Sthanattars seem to have imported one of the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyan a little before January 1380 A.D. In 1387 (53-G.T.) the Sthanattar set themselves up as the full-fledged trustees of the Devasthanam and not merely the executive agency which they were under the Yadavarayas. This is a step they had to take and which they were quite competent to do. The ruler of the country (whoever he may have been) due to the political turmoils prevailing could not be expected to bestow any attention worth the name to the temple affairs. The interest of the Yadavarayas is taken to have commenced with Ghatti Deva about 1100 A.D. and lasted till 1360 A.D. for two centuries and a half. Any new ruler was yet to acquire a spiritual or sentimental attachment to the temple. The Sthanattar at that time were men of high character and reputation. We saw that Singayya Dannayaka approached their feet with great respect and even Tiruvenkatanatha had to couch his edicts as being made for their hearing. In reference to the Sthanattar setting themselves up as full-fledged trustees, an incomplete inscription in Sanskrit Grantha script on the north wall (left inner side) of the base of the Padi Kavali Gopuram in Tirumala is relevant. It is to the effect (48-T.T.)

.....the best king having deceased.....the proper course being adopted. This probably refers to the demise of the last Yadavaraya king and the course of action that followed it.

Although the Sthanattar set themselves to be the effective trustees of the Devasthanams, royal Dharmasasanas were being issued without any specific mention of the Sthanattar. Thus, Sri Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya's

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Dharmasasana recorded in Kannada on the Bangaru Vakil (or door jamb covered with gilded copper plate at the entrance to the main shrine in Tirumala) on the occasion of the emperors visit on Monday, the Sukla Dasami of Margasira, Saumya year (Saka 1351) (5th December 1429) (188-T.T.) makes the statement that two thousand two hundred honnu (gold) were transferred from the Raja Bhandara to the Chandragiri Bhandara and that in addition three villages mentioned therein were also granted as Sarvamanya for the celebration of a nine days festival every year and for certain other daily services. There is no mention of the Sthanattar as trustees taking charge of these properties. So also when Sirigiresvara, son of Vissanna Devaraya, presented his gold pattam (1-7-1430) (99-T.T.) set with gems to the God of the Sri Venkata Hill, there is no mention of the Sthanattar. The sila-sasanam is in Sanskrit (Grantha characters).

Teppada Nagaya Nayakkaru (son of Muddaya Nayaka) in 100-T.T. executed his dharmasasana in Kannada denoting 3000 honnu for preparing three gold plates in his name and another 100 pon for a daily offering of two flower garlands, two bariavana and eight upora.....The Sthanattars are enjoined to carry out this charity scrupulously (12-1-1443).

Composition of the Sthanattar.

Specific mention is not made of the composition of this council or committee of Sthanattar. There need be no doubt that it would have taken about 30 years for this body to take a definite shape after 1360 A.D. After the disappearance of the Yadavarayas from the temple overlordship and after Sri Ranganathaswami was taken back to Srirangam there must have been great need felt for overhauling the accounts and verifying temple properties. A staff of competent accountants was set up in the temple and it was found that in 1379-80 the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyan made his debut. Ten years later in 1390 the Sthanattar as a self-constituted body came to view. Their composition is revealed in the same inscription (67-T.T.) which has already been noticed. Therein is found a scheme of distribution of the quarter share of the prasadams due to the donor of the gift. Among others the Sthanattar are allotted a share in the following proportion making a total of 12 nirvahams:—

Tirupati Srivaishnavas	.. 4	} This proportion was observed even in the Tirupati temple.
Tiruchanur Sabhaiyar	.. 3	
Nambimar	.. 1	
Koil Kelkum Jiyars	.. 2	
Koil-Kanakku Tiruminraudaiyar	.. 2	
Total	.. 12	

So we draw the inference that the Sthanattar were twelve in number.

8. SRI RAMANUJA'S ASSOCIATION WITH AND INFLUENCE OVER THE TEMPLE.

Traditionally Sri Ramanuja, a great Vaishnavite saint is said to have been associated with large scale reforms in the Tirumala temple.

The latter half of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. formed the period of Sri Ramanuja's activities in the cause of the Vaishnava religion and the Visistadvaita philosophy whose propounder and establisher he was. Love for God and for fellow-beings was the fundamental tenet of his religion. The sole supremacy of Vishnu of the Hindu Trinity over the rest of the Hindu deities was the main feature of the faith and philosophy. Life-long service and devotion to Vishnu was what he taught and practised as the best means of attaining salvation. His religious discourses had the desired effect of converting many people to the Vaishnava faith. "This new community of Sri Vaishnavas was not confined exclusively to the Brahmanas. It was catholic and entertained in its fold every man and woman regardless of caste or colour."

Sri Venkatachala-Itihasamala, a work compiled by one Anantarya contains a detailed account of Ramanuja's doings in Tirupati. Ramanuja's connection with Tirupati may be said to begin with Tirumalai Nambi, whose sister Ramanuja's mother was. It is said that Tirumalai Nambi went and settled down at Tirupati with his two young unmarried sisters for doing service to the God on the hill, as desired by his grandfather and teacher Alavandar. He remained there almost as a permanent resident, and it is from there that the hand of his sister was sought and obtained by Ramanuja's father whose own native place was Sriperumbudur, not far from Tirupati in point of distance. Apart from such visits as he might have made on occasions of domestic functions where the mother's presence may have been called for in Tirupati, the first visit of Ramanuja to Tirupati, in his character as a Vaishnava teacher was when he went there to get from his uncle the esoteric teaching of the Ramayana as one among the several cardinal items of learning that he had to acquire to equip himself for the high office of the chief Vaishnava teacher of the day. On that occasion he is said to have stayed for a year with Tirumalai Nambi, and learnt the Ramayana from him and returned to Srirangam.

The second occasion that necessitated Ramanuja's visit to Tirupati was later. The worship originally organised at Tirupati was in accordance with the system of the Vaikhanasa Agama. In the course of years, in fact centuries after, there seems to have been some irregularity in the conduct of worship.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Ramanuja is said to have introduced several reforms in connection with the worship and festivals in the temple at Tirupati as per the Venkatachala Itihasamala. Tirumalai Nambi was still alive and active in Tirupati as well as Anantarya, his own disciple whom he had deputed for the service of God at Tirupati. Anantarya was to look after the affairs of the temple under the direction of Tirumalai Nambi, now very old.

Ramanuja is said to have visited Tirupati again at a very advanced age, and that is said to have been his last visit on account of the great age which he had attained by the time. He took advantage of his being there on this occasion to make certain improvements in the arrangements that he had already made by giving the one Sanyasin, who was to look after the affairs of the temple disinterestedly, two or three assistants who were to be bachelors looking after certain departments of work. He also instituted the chanting of the Prabandha hymns in the proper form, and for that, he arranged that a special person should be appointed to be in charge. This became afterwards the head Sanyasin with the title Satakopayati. He was assisted by four bachelors who had the management of the temple. This was to be supervised and controlled by the Yadavaraja, who, in all matters relating to the temple, was to act with the advice of Anantarya, Ramanuja's own disciple, who is in this account, said to have attained to the age of 66.

Seven divisions of the work, Sri Venkatachala-Itihasamala deal with what Ramanuja did for the temple, and, after him, his disciple Anantarya. Since inscriptions of the next following century do mention the gardens and other features named after Ramanuja and Anantarya, we may take it that Ramanuja's doings there and Anantarya's presence are matters which need not be regarded as historically doubtful. Nos. 171 and 173 from the Tirupati temple mention, without a doubt Anandalvan, and No. 175 mentions equally clearly the Tirunandavana (flower-garden) of Ramanuja. Ramanuja's effort therefore as to what he should do consisted first of all in the publication of the Yadavaraya's award that the shrine was a Vishnu shrine, and to restore to it the rituals of worship, etc., according to the Vaikhanasa Agama as of old, after performing the initial purificatory rite of the great ablution of the temple, etc. He is said next to have repaired the tower rising over the temple called Ananda Nilaya in accordance with the prescriptions of the same Agama. He is said to have made a gold necklet containing an image of Padmavati, and put it round the neck of the God and restored the image to its position. This is the first part. The next item that called for his attention was the performance of the weekly ablution. All the jewels and wearing apparel of the God were to be removed on Thursday and the God

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

was to be dressed only in flowers completely. He instituted, that during this process the Nachchiyar Tirumoli, one of the collections in the Prabandha was to be recited. For the continuance of the worship in the proper form, and, according to the practices of the Vaikhanasa Agama, he entrusted the work to such of the descendants of the early Vaikhanasa priest, who, having received the purificatory ceremony of Vaishnava initiation from himself, were to conduct worship. He made arrangements for the installation of images of the Alvars; but, as several of these by themselves, had stated that it would be profanation to walk up the hill, Ramanuja arranged to install their images in Tirupati at the foot of the hill in the shrine of Govindaraja which had recently been constructed.

The same conviction as Sri Ramanuja was carried home to the minds of many of his staunch disciples and immediate followers, such as Anantasuri (Anandalvan) who, at his master's bidding, had settled at Tirumala, cultivated a flower-garden having named it Ramanujam, and carried, flowers daily for Sri Venkatesvara. Many an Ekangi and Jiyar of later date had followed the example set by Anantasuri and had dedicated their lives to divine service by means of the cultivation of flower-gardens for the use of the deities. One or two of the prominent Srivaishnava laity also exhibited similar enthusiasm in undertaking such work at their preceptor's cell, as did Udaiyavar-koyil Annan alias Annasandhanam Tiruvenkatadasar (No. 274—T.T.) and Hasti giridasar (No. 341—T.T.).

Another aspect of Ramanuja's influence relates to the deification of the Alvars and eventually of himself at a later date, together with the erection of small shrines for them and the necessary provision for their daily worship supervised by some of these Jiyars. As instances it may be mentioned that Sri Ramanuja's shrine at Tirupati was managed by Yatiraja Jiyar in Saka 1397 (No. 145—G.T.), and the Tirupati Nammalvar shrine by another Yatiraja Jiyar in Saka 1436 (No. 203—G.T.). Tirumangaiyalar's shrine was likewise under the management of certain Ekaki-Srivaishnavas (No. 333—T.T.). Again, the existence at the present time of Udaiyavar's (Ramanuja's) shrines in the temples of Sri Venkatesa and Sri Rama, the ruined shrine of Periyalvar at Alipiri, i.e., Adipadi (the foot of the hill), and of Nammalvar's shrine at Kapilathirtham, besides those of other Alvars in Sri Govindaraja's temple is positive proof of Sri Ramanuja's influence in this direction.

Thus Sri Ramanuja's influence in Tirumala temple can be broadly summarised as follows:—

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Firstly, the setting up of flower gardens and Nandavanams in the Temple for providing flowers to the Lord, the maintenance being done by Ekangis.

Secondly, enshrining the Alvars in the temple like those of Tirumalisai Alvar, Sri Ramanuja himself etc.

Thirdly, certain mathams of the Sri vaishnavas came into existence as an indication of the establishment of Ramanuja's faith in the place. To this category belonged the Tirumalisippiram-matham at Tirumala (No. 335-T.T.), Van-Sathakopan-matham (No. 276—T.T.), Perarulalan-matham etc. Probably these mathams were instituted to serve as centres of Sri vaishnava learning and faith wherefrom their propagation could be effected as opportunities offered themselves.

Fourthly, following the deification of Ramanuja, his influence on his disciples and their descendants seems to have engendered in them great enthusiasm to associate his revered name with many of their visible charities, perhaps as a kind of memorial to their esteemed guru. Free feeding houses designated as Ramanujakutams first established by Saluva Narasimha (No. 8—G.T.) and Ramanayakkar (No. 306—T.T.); flower-gardens of which the first one formed by Anantasuri (Anandalvan) was denominated Ramanujam; the tank known as Ramanujan-eri or Ramanujapputteri (Nos. 311 and 340—T.T.); and the street called Ramanujan- tiruvidhi (No. 314—T.T.); all these were the outward visible marks of Ramanuja's profound influence on the minds of his followers in the cause of religion, transmitted from generation to generation.

Fifthly, the recitation by the Srivaishnava laity and Ekangis and others, comprising both the Sattinavars and the Sattadavars (No. 200—T.T.), of Tiruvaymoli (No. 333—T.T.), of Iyalpa (No. 211—T.T.), of Nurrantadi (No. 58.—G.T.), and of the other parts of the Prabandham in the presence of the deities on festive occasions, became a routine in later days, owing to the extreme reverence that Ramanuja felt towards the spiritual teachers, the Alvars, who composed the Prabandham and who formed the mainstay of Srivaishnavism prior to Ramanuja, and to the influence of his personal example on his disciples and their followers.

Sixthly, the Adhyayanotsavam conducted in the temples, if it had not been an innovation introduced by Ramanuja into the routine of worship in them, must have been laid great stress upon by him, as the best means of commemorating the life of the Alvars and their life-work, viz., the highly

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

spirited and devotional composition comprehensively known as the *Nalayira Divya-Prabandham* in Tamil and therefore sometimes called *Dramida-Veda* in contrast to the original *Sanskrita-Vedas*.

Lastly, the recitation of the several portions of the *Prabandham* in the Vishnu temples daily and during the *Adhyayanotsavam* continuing for a period of from twenty to twenty-five days was instituted by Ramanuja. The original *Vedas*, being in Sanskrit, were inaccessible to the ordinary men and the endeavours in the matter of organising the recitation of the *Prabandham* in temples made by Ramanuja whose sympathy for them was unbounded, helped to open the door to the highest spiritual knowledge to one and all without discrimination of caste or creed, owing to the understandability by the common folk of the language of the *Prabandham*, viz., Tamil, the vernacular of the country, which "Vindicates the common man's right to worship as against the exclusiveness that insists on Sanskrit".

Briefly, the influence of Ramanuja's life-long activities continued in later times in the formulation and systematisation of a detailed code of temple-procedure; in the provision made for offerings to deities in temples on an augmented scale; in the permanent endowments secured for the temples; in the establishment of Ramanuja's disciples and their descendants in the various Vaishnava centres for the propagation of his faith under the appellation of *Acharyapurusas*, represented in Tirupati by such families as those of *Anandampillai* (Nos. 224 and 233—T.T.), *Kandadai* (Nos. 3—T.T. and 61—G.T.) *Tolappar* (No. 98—G.T.), *Prativadibhayamkara* (No.63—G.T.), *Paravastu* (No.203—G.T.) etc., and lastly in attaching to each prominent Vishnu shrine certain acolytes known as *Ekanis* for rendering service in them.

9. PICTURE OF THE TEMPLE FROM THE PALLAVA DAYS TO THE VIJAYANAGARA DAYS.

The prime requisites when a Deity is installed are lights in His presence to make Him visible to the worshippers and offering of food, and flowers for his puja (worship). In No.1 *Ulagapperumanar* himself arranged for a light before the *Tiruvilankoyil-perumanadigal* by payment of 30 *kalanju* of gold. In No. 2 *Siyakan* or *Siyagangan* also provided for a light in the shrine, in the reign of the Pallava monarch *Vijaya-Danti-Vikrama-varma*. Pallava Princess *Samavai* herself stipulated for the maintenance of a perpetual light before the silver Image *Manavalpperumal* she installed. The light provided by *Kodungoluran* in No. 12 and the one in No. 13 appear to have been intended

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

for Sri Venkatesvara Himself. So far till the 14th Century we meet with about 40 instances of provision of lights. In No. 19 we come to know that out of 24 lights provided for Sri Venkatesvara through the agency of the Sabhaiyar of Tirumudiyam village including one light of camphor, they failed to burn 22 lights and burnt only two lights including one of camphor. The Adhikari or Governor of the region held his court in the front part of the mansion built by the State in Tiruchchukanur which was a main unit of political administration, enquired into the matter and ordered the putting up of all the 24 lights by means of some amount of gold available to the credit of the Tirumundiyam Sabha. No. 123 refers to 6 lampstands presented to the temple for lights and No. 132 to 4 lights incessantly burning in the temple. So far there has been ample provision for lights in Sri Venkatesvara's shrine.

As for food-offerings, provision was made, as seen in early instances by the Bana King Vijayaditya in No. 4, by Gangai Gangan Ranasingan in No. 5, by princess Samavai in Nos. 8 and 9, for milk and curd by the queen of Kulottunga I in No. 27, and in later times also, as a mudal-sandhi (first offering) on the day of Dhanishtha in No. 155, as the Sitakaragandan-sandhi in No. 102, and as a tirumantira-tirupponakam in No. 82. However, some time in the 13th century, the means for offerings seems to have been insufficient and the Sthanattar of the temple requested for adequate provision through grant of land, and Tirukkalattideva Yadavaraya, in compliance with the request of the Sthanattar, granted the full village of Kudavur so as to extend the Devadanam and (make) a permanent provision from lands, in his 19th regnal year (1209—10 A.D., No.81). Land, was granted in No. 43 in 1254 A.D. as requested by the Sthanattar. Donations of land and grants of villages come to our notice in the inscriptions. Some old grants of villages to the south of the Kaveri river were renewed and confirmed by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I about the middle of the 13th century. Half a dozen villages near Tirupati including it were endowed to the temple by the Yadavaraya rulers.

In a woody hill like the Venkatachala, wild flowers might grow, but they might not have been the proper ones useful for worship. Hence some devotees chose to plant flower-gardens on Tirumala and supply the flowers from them to the temple for Venkatesvara's daily puja and for special occasions and festivals. Some owners of the gardens might have put up mantapams in them for shade and rest and for residence, and as the processions in the streets during festivals attracted their mind, they would have thought of getting the Processional Images into their mantapams and of providing for Their offerings with tirupponakam (boiled rice and green-gram mixed with ghee and a small quantity of pepper and salt to taste) and appams (sweet cakes of rice flour and jaggery

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

boiled in ghee) small quantities of which were desired to be distributed among the visitors gathering at the place at that time, while a larger portion was reserved for apportionment among the managerial staff and temple servants. This process of assemblage and offering and distribution is called "Tiruvo-lakkam."

Of the two festivals inaugurated by princess Samavai, the festival in Purattasi has continued to the present day. The other festival in Margali seems to have been discontinued. No. 111 T.T. of the 3rd quarter of the 13th century refers to the festival in Purattasi for Sri Venkatesvara, while Nos. 652 and 119 T.T. mention festivals in Purattasi and Chittirai. A new festival was started by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya in Adi month in his 9th year of reign (1330 A.D.) through the grant of half the village of Pongalur as a sarvamanya remitting nearly 40 taxes levied on it (No. 125 G.T.). So far three festivals have come to notice as having been celebrated for Venkatesa in the earlier half of the 14th century.

Besides the three above festivals, the tirukkoditirunal celebrated with the hoisting of the Garuda flag on the top of the flag-staff, other festivals were also conducted in the temple. A Vasanta festival is referred to in No. 337 T. T. dated about the year 1360 A.D. which would have been carried on in the spring season, March-April. No. 116 T.T. mentions the Kodi- tirunal a festival conducted during the summer in May-June.

The installation of certain Alvars also is observed during this period. Tirumangaiyalvar is the first one to come to notice in No. 126 G.T., in 1235 A.D. during the reign of Rajaraja Chola III. It is therein stated that his idol was installed in Sri Govindaraja's temple some time previously by the villagers of Kudavur group of villages and that the residents of the Kudavur village granted some land for his worship and offerings. On the grant of Pongalur village by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya for Venkatesvara in 1330-31 A.D., Singaya-Dandanayaka requested the Sthanattar of Venkatesvara's temple to utilise the produce from the grant village not only for the originally stipulated purposes of his newly started festival in the Adi month and the Sitakara-gandan offering but also for the propitiation with one tirupponakam apiece to Vira-Narasinga perumal and to Tirumangaiyalvar. The Sthanattar obliged him (No. 195 T.T. and pp. 105, 108 and 109, Vol. I).

Next we find Nammalvar enshrined near the Kapilatirtham waterfall at the foot of the Hill by Vaneduttakaiyalagiyar alias Pallavarayar about 1285—1290 A.D. (Nos. 202, 201 G.T. No. 130 T.T. and P. 69, Vol. I).

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

At the foot of the Hill and about a mile to the west of the Kapila-tirtham where the flight of stone steps commence to ascend the Hill, stands the shrine of Periyalvar, the foster-father of Andal. It is not known when it was constructed and when his idol was installed in it. We have two inscriptions engraved on its wall, both recording the construction of two wells for drinking water apparently for the pilgrims, one by Kamavilli (No.274-G.T.) and the second by Karavetti-Puli-alvar Mannarpillai of Uttaramerur with stone steps to descend into it, in the cyclic year Saumya, Saka year 1411, corresponding to 25th January 1490 A.D. which is the penultimate year of Saluva Narasimha's rule, who is therein stated to have constructed the gopuram of Sri Lakshmi-Narasimhavsami's shrine and probably also the big gopuram which fell during rains in December 1930 struck by a thunderbolt (No.271 G.T.). The second well might have been dug afresh in 1490 A.D. after the first one constructed by Kamavilli would have been damaged and fallen into ruin, and hence the time of the construction of the earlier one would have been more or less a century earlier, i.e., about the end of the 14th century. Accordingly the shrine of Periyalavar, on the wall of which these epigraphs were engraved may date back to the middle of the 14th century.

After the prime necessities of lighting, flowers for worship, and offerings are provided for a Deity on installation, embellishment and grandeur come into play. Jewellery and ornaments confer grace and beauty; and enlargement of the shrine through several apartments, corridors and prakara walls, and the celebration of numerous festivals with processions of the Deity of different vehicles and amply decorated and accompanied by the music of the pipe and its accompaniments and attended by bulls, horses, elephants and camels nicely caparisoned, add to the splendour of the Deity, conducing to His renown. The festivals began early for Venkatesvara and were augmented during the 13th century, but the extension of the temple took place later during the Vijayanagara times from the 15th century onwards.

As regards personal decoration of the Deity, princess Samavai provided jewellery for the Image Manavalapperumal alone. For Venkatesvara the pattam of gold imbedded with 6 rubies, 4 diamonds and 28 pearls presented by Parantakadevi-amman, a queen of Parantaka II Sundara Chola, in the 16th year of the reign of her step-son Rajaraja I in 1001 A.D. is the first instance of the gift of an ornament to Him(No.17T.T.). The next one is the ornament for the hand, most probably a gold covering for the palm of Venkatesvara's Vaikuntha hasta, the Varada-hasta, the front right hand, pointing downwards to His feet, by Hobala Yadava, king of Tanjai, possibly in the 13th or 14th century (Nos. 56 and 56-A, T.T.).

THE ADMINISTRATION.....IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA TIMES

There was also decoration of the shrine when Jata-varman Sundara Pandya-I placed a golden vase over the Vimana (dome) " Hemakalaso-sthapi " of Sri Venkatesvara's shrine, quite possibly about 1256 A.D., when he came to the north on an expedition of conquest between the 5th and 10th years of his reign and proceeded upto the Krishna river (No.172 T.T.and pp.67-69, Vol. I); and when about the same time Vira-Narasimha Yadavaraya perhaps covered the Vimana with gilded plate out of the gold he weighed himself against and presented to the temple (No. 371 and pp. 104—105 Vol. I).

Certain mathams (residences of Sannyasis, recluses) come to notice in the inscriptions of the 14th century. On the grant of half the village of Pongalur to Sri Venkatesvara by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya in the 9th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in 1330-31 A.D. for the expenses of the festival in the month of Adi instituted by him, and the sandhi, *i.e.*, the Sitakaragandan-sandhi, inaugurated by Singaya-Dandanayaka in the name of Rechaya-Dandanayaka (No.189-T.T.), Singaya-Dandanayaka requested the Sthanattar (managing body of the temple)to utilise the produce from the village Pongalur for not only the expenses of the Adi festival for Venkatesvara and the sandhi (food-offering) daily for Him but also for the propitiation of Vira-Narasinga-Perumal and Tirumangaiyalvar both stationed in Tirupati and for the feeding of 32 Srivaishnavas in the Sitakaragandan-matham and from the balance to maintain a flower-garden, a water-shed and other charities(No. 195-T.T.). From No. 354.T.T of the 3rd year of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya(1339 A.D.)we learn that there were two Sitakaragandan-mathams, one on Tirumala and one in Tirupati, that two flower-gardens were attached to the matham on Tirumala, *viz.*, the Arisanalayan-nandavanam and the Vansathakopan-nandavanam, that these mathams were placed by Singaya in charge of certain sannyasis who were required to hand them over to a recluse who paid 1000 panam and after his demise properties were to revert to Singaya on whose approval the sannyasis would hand them over to another recluse on payment of 400 panam into the temple-treasury. By taking charge of these properties, the recluse, Siyar or Jiyar, was under obligation to provide offerings to the Processional Images on the 4th day and on the hunting day of the festivals being seated in the two flower-gardens. It would have been out of the income of this matham that certain jewels are stated to have been prepared and decorated to Sri Venkatesvara (No.672 T.T.). The sannyasi, the Jiyar, of this matham appears to have rendered some service to the temple. Thus Singaya-Dandanayaka's Sitakaragandan-matham seems to indicate the origin of the present day Jiyar or Jiyangar with his service in the temples of Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Govindaraja.

Tirumala Temple During The Vijayanagara Period.

1. Introduction.

The Tirumala Temple achieved its full fame and glory during the Vijayanagar period, due to the patronage of the ruling Emperors. Both Krishnadeva Raya and Achyuta Raya made several pilgrimages to the temple and offered priceless jewelleries and also endowed several valuable property for carrying on the services of the Temple on a grand scale. Sri Achyuta Raya was in fact coronated at Tirumala temple itself in the presence of the Lord. Thus, the impact of the formation of the Vijayanagar empire, and its building up its strength and fame and extent during the four dynasties of its emperors, had their effect also on the fortunes of the Tirumala temple.

Till the 13th century A.D., most of the endowments of the Tirumala temple had been made only by the people from the extreme southern part of South India, except for a few exceptions from the westcoast. The first person from the western area of South India who made valuable endowments and contributed to the service of the Temple is Singaya Danda Nayaka who was the military commandant of Vira Kampana at the beginning of the 14th century A.D. From the Tirumala inscriptions we learn that he handed over Arisanalayam, Nandavanam and other trust properties attached thereto to one of the Jiyars of the Tirumala temple, as probably he was busy with his military tasks in connection with the muslim invasions in the South. Vira Kampana and Saluva Mangi Deva were also helping in this task of containing the muslim forces.

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Thus Singaya Danda Nayaka who came to be closely associated with this part of the country, more or less as a military commandant, took up services to the temple by establishing two mathams and nandavanams each of which he handed over to a Jiyar for the due performances for the objects of the endowments.

From one of the inscriptions of Tirumala, we find that during this period, Bukka-I, made endowments of tirupponakam (food offering) everyday, which has since been known as Bukkarayan-Sandhi and also for the conduct of a Brahmotsavam. Mahamandalesvara Mangi Deva did a very great service to the temple by gold gilding the vimanam on the sikharam of the Tirumaladeva. This is found in 237-T.T., which says that on Saturday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight in Ashadha in the cyclic year Vikari corresponding to Saka year 1281 or 1359 A.D., the illustrious Mangideva Maharaja fixed a golden sikhara over the vimana of Tirumaladeva. It is significant to note that the regnal year of any ruling King is not mentioned. This is an indication that the administrative political system in the country was in a state of change or flux and there was general confusion.

In the wake of these endowments, we find Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar appearing on the stage as the agent of Harihara Raya for instituting a new festival or tirunal called masi-tirunal in 1387 A.D. This is found in 103-T.T. in an inscription in the Varadarajaswamy shrine of the Tirumala temple where a sum of 100 panams was paid to the Sribhandaram in the cyclic year of Prabhava in the name of Harihara Raya by Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar, who executed the endowment from the income of the village Pongodu. Here also we find that a temple accountant Tiruninra-ur-udayan is mentioned. Another interesting feature is that although endowments and gifts are made, it is not clearly stated as to who is the institutional person of the temple to accept this, and on whom the whole and sole responsibility for administering the endowment will lie.

Thus by about 1390 A.D., inscriptions in Tirumala temple show, that the body of temple managers, who in the pre-Vijayanagar days, looked to the performance of the temple functions, seem to have lost their hold and that body does not figure in the silasasanams like the one mentioned above. The inscription mentioned above clearly mentions that it was the Tiruninra-ur-udayar or the temple accountant who recorded these two gifts and not the sthanattar. An interesting inference can thus be drawn that, by this time, though the Vijayanagar Empire had been established, its hold

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

over the Tirumala temple the devotees and the temple management accepting their hegemony over them, had not percolated down upto 1380 A.D. This is also clear from the lack of any prasasti in the inscriptions while referring to the great Vijayanagar kings.

From inscription No. 57-T.T. of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar, it is found that by Saka year 1312 *i.e.*, by about 1390 A.D. the prasadam of the temple was being shared between the Tirupati Srivaishnavas, Tiruchanur Sabhaiyar, Nambimar (temple priest), Koyil Kelkum Jiyars, and the two temple accountants. The prasadam had been divided into twelve parts and then distributed among these in a fixed proportion. Thus the total committee of temple management would appear to consist of ten sthanattars, and two temple accountants. The Srivaishnavas referred to are obviously 'Ekaki srivaishnavas' who were first introduced in the temple by Ramanuja, their number being one during Ramanuja's time; four within three centuries; and ten by 1398 A.D. These Vaishnavas were obviously performing the religious functions, such as worship, archana, abhishekam etc., in the temple etc in addition to managerial duties as members of the trust properties of the temple. These Srivaishnavas, who thus derived their descent from Ramanuja's time, are the predecessors of the present archakas of the Temple, who as a compact body have been rendering uninterrupted service with singular devotion and dedication to the Lord for over 1000 years.

(2) Conditions prevailing in the temple just before and after the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Just before and during the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire there is an interesting interlude in Tirumala temple *viz.*, the temporary sojourn of Lord Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam here, who had to be taken away from Srirangam on account of disturbed conditions there.

The Kovil Oluhu, an account of the history of the temple at Srirangam, which records most of the principal events relating to the history of the temple at Srirangam, gives a description of what actually took place on the occasion of the Muslim invasion of the South in 14th century A.D. The inhabitants of Srirangam were celebrating one of their famous annual festivals, in which the image of the God is carried to the river Coleroon and set down in the middle of the river bed for getting through a number of items of various acts of worship, till, late in the evening, the God is taken back to the temple in a huge procession. It was in the course of this festivity all unexpectedly that

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

the invading cavalry of Muhammad Tughlak clattered down to the banks of the Coleroon along the road from Kannanur. Before the invading forces could come into touch, people immediately in attendance upon the image quickly came to a resolution to save the image of the God, the festival image which was meant for being carried about, and Lokacharya, a sturdy man of middle age, carried the image in a palanquin and walked away through unfrequented ways, and escaped through Pudukkottai avoiding public roads. They finally thought the best place to go to would be Tirupati. The fact that, owing to the turmoil, they thought Tirupati was the safest place available and that they could move along unmolested by way of Terukanambi across Mysore to Tirupati gives us an indication that the territory concerned was under a state which remained, more or less unmolested, in spite of the Muhammadan invasions, although the roadways were far from being absolutely safe. This must have taken place some years after the invasion of A.D. 1328, which indeed was what set the image of Ranganatha on the move. Perhaps it actually refers to a period when the authority of Singana Nayaka, or it may be his successors, still prevailed over this region, the region round Tirupati extending westwards to as far as Terukanambi and perhaps beyond, which seems more or less the condition inferable from the account of Ibn Batuta as well. So during the period of turmoil of the Muhammadan invasions and the years following, Tirupati remained a comparatively safe place to offer protection even to the image of Ranganatha from Srirangam. It is perhaps the possession of this region in comparative security and its providing a good place of retreat in times of need, that induced Vira Ballala to establish himself in Tiruvannamalai by preference, a fortified place on the high road leading from the north to the south along one of the well-known highways of the south. Not only did that provide a place of safety with a safe retreat behind for emergencies, but it also proved a convenient centre from which to develop his further movements against the Sultans of Madura as circumstances proved favourable.

The main evidence about the conditions of the Tirumala temple just before and after the advent of Vijayanagar period is the same as for other periods viz., the epigraphs recorded in the temples. There are three important points to be kept in view with regard to these.

In the first place, the dates are given not in the regnal years of the ruling sovereign, but in Saka years with full astronomical details of the date. This enables very accurate dating to be achieved. Secondly, the ruler's name is generally not mentioned unlike in other prasastis, unless he had something to do with the subject matter of the inscription. Thirdly, where the epigraph records a private endowments, the ruler's name is generally not mentioned.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

There are a large number of inscriptions in the Tirumala temple relating to the 1st century of the rule of the Vijayanagar period. The first is No. 487-T.T. It has no date and makes mention of Bukkaraya who made provision for daily food-offering at the temple on the Hill. This probably refers to Bukka-I. As already mentioned above the final acceptance of the consolidation of the Vijayanagar Empire as the dominant power in the Deccan does not seem to have percolated to the temple till about 1390 A.D. We may therefore safely assume that only by about 1371 A.D. did the Temple come under the undoubted influence of the Vijayanagar empire even though the empire had been in existence from 1336 A.D. Apart from all it was only by about 1371 A.D. that Lord Ranganatha was removed and reinstated at Srirangam and this gives clear indication that by that time, public confidence in the empire had been fully restored and the rulers of Vijayanagar could make their administration felt and their authority accepted throughout this part of the country.

Inscription No. 237-T.T. of Mangideva Maharaya already referred to probably refers to the Saluva ruler Mangideva who played a prominent part in the invasion of Vira Kampana to relieve Madura of the Sultanate forces there. Epigraph No. 496-T.T. in the Padikavali gopuram is a mutilated two-line inscription referring to Sambhukula Chakravarthi Tirumallinatha Sambhuvaraya Perumal. This is interesting since the Sambhuvarayas were so closely connected with the Cholas ruling in the Palar basin with their capitals at Tirunallar and Virinchipura till they were defeated by Kumara Kampana, who were ultimately brought under Vijayanagar rule.

No. 103-T.T. in the north wall of the Varadarajaswamy shrine also already referred to above, about the deposit of 100 gold pieces by Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar in the name of Harihararaya is an obvious reference to the Harihara of the Vijayanagar Empire.

No. 108-T.T. on the Bangaru Vakili for the first time makes mention of Sriman Maharaja Raja Pratapa Sri Vira Pratapa Devaraya Maharaya and refers to his donation to the temple in Saka 1351 or 1429 A.D. It seems to refer to the grant of land in certain villages to the temple, taking into it certain parts already given to the God. From the income out of the land, or villages belonging to the Chandragiri treasury thus given, provision had to be made, in the name of the king, for certain services of food, etc., on certain festivals. The document is broken up and the full meaning of it cannot be made out. A certain number of villages are mentioned paying revenue into the treasury at Chandragiri, and it is those that are made over to the temple from out of which the provision was to be made.

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Broadly speaking, we may take it that with regard to the 1st century of the Vijayanagar rule in Tirumala the first record that makes a reference to them is of Bukkaraya although the reference is imperfect and to a great extent the record is also unintelligible. But it certainly does relate to something that was done in the name of Bukkaraya or in his honour. The last record chronologically takes us to the reign of Mallikarjuna and to the date A.D. 1457. That is pretty well in the reign of Mallikarjuna, while he actually died in A.D. 1465, and was succeeded by a brother by name Virupaksha who is referred to by historians as Virupaksha III of Vijayanagar. With this change the actual character of Vijayanagar history changes in many ways, more particularly in Tirupati.

We see, among the names of royal personages, those of Bukkaraya, the first of the names Kumara Kampana, Devaraya II and Mallikarjuna figure, though indirectly, the indirectness being due to the manner of dating, as explained above. The names of these monarchs figure because the benefactions made to the temple in each case happens to be in honour of the sovereign or prince concerned. As in the period preceding, the temple management had remained altogether autonomous, and under the control of the Sri Vaishnavas of the locality. The feature of temple organisation shows this more clearly, and a number of details appear in respect of it which seem quite reminiscent of the various items of organisation that Ramanuja is said to have actually carried out in the place. This is made certain by references to a certain number of festivals which were all his introduction. One particular feature to be noticed is that while, on the basis of Ramanuja's arrangement, almost the whole of the Prabandha seems to have been recited on festival days, a special provision was made for the chanting of some of these, such as the Tiruppavai. There has so far been no reference to the chanting of the Veda in front of the God, either in the shrine itself, or when the image of God is taken out in processions, or, as the record words it, that "while Tiruvengadamudaiyan had all other attributes of greatness, the chanting of the Veda was the one item wanting." We find provision made here for the recital of the Veda (Veda-parayana as it is called), and that happens to be done by the most prominent Vaishnavas of the locality bringing it to the notice of Devanna Udaiyar who set apart some of the royal revenue, one half the revenue of Sittakkuttai for the purpose; and as suggested by Kalikanridasar Alagappiranar, under the name of and in honour of the sovereign Devaraya II, i.e., Devaraya Maharaya, as he is called in the record. There are a large number of benefactions to the temple, several of them from officers of importance, while some of them are from people associated with the management of the temple such as the heads of some of the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Mathas in the gardens round the temple, where resided the bachelors or Sanyasins, who had the management of the various institutions attached to the temple. One noticeable feature of these benefactions is that while the smaller of them are of the ordinary character, the larger benefactions take on the character of investments of money being made for irrigation and other facilities for the lands already under cultivation, or bringing uncultivated lands into cultivation, and making the income therefrom serve the purpose of the benefactions. This gives clear indication of a double purpose; the acquisition of the religious merit of a benefaction in a holy place, and making this benefaction serve at the same time the secular useful purpose of benefitting those who lived upon the land by providing them facilities, and really bringing more land under cultivation. This would be immediately for their benefit, so that what was intended for the spiritual merit of the individual doner proved of benefit not only to the God or the temple, or the Brahmanas dependent thereon, but also served equally to benefit the other communities concerned. Direct State control, or of benefactions by the State as such, we do not come upon so far and even where royalty and important officials made these benefactions, they were intended for their personal spiritual benefit, and therefore were provided for from out of their own funds rather than from the funds of the State. The contributions therefore of the State as such, may so far be regarded as almost non-existent, and the properties attaching to the temple were entirely, at any rate, so far as this shrine is concerned, the result of private benefactions for the benefit of the temple itself.

(3) Tirumala Temple under the Sangama Dynasty of Vijayanagar.

From the time of Saluva Narasinga Deva Maharaya, an entirely new chapter in the history of the Tirumala temple was opened. He was the great grandson of Mangideva Maharaja who gold-gilted the vimanam and the sikharam of the Tirumala Temple in 1359 A.D. The word 'Saluva' seems to be a synonym for 'hawk.' Saluva Narasimha gave complete support and loyalty to the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire. By his innate tact and political foresight, he managed to keep himself above the petty jealousies and enemies of numerous chieftains. His association with the Tirumala Temple led to far-reaching changes in the fortunes of the temple. He was lucky in having as his co-worker and adviser in temple affairs a devotee of wide understanding and experiences viz. Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Iyyangar. The inscriptions in the temple show that Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Iyyangar

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

with the help and patronage of Saluva Narasimha was able to introduce far-reaching reforms in temple ritual, worship and administration.

Bukka, the traditional first emperor of the Sangama line of Vijayanagar is not directly mentioned in any of the inscriptions, but there are three inscriptions Nos. 487, 237 and 238-T.T. that would belong to his reign. No. 487-T.T. which is undated and which has already been mentioned, refers to the record of a grant of a village to the temple for Sandhi offerings twice a day in the name of Bukkaraya which thenceforward came to be known as Bukkarayan-Sandhi. The other two epigraphs are also similar endowments.

Harihara II is mentioned in other epigraphs found elsewhere, to have made gifts at Kanakasabha (Chidambaram), Srikalahasti, Venkatadri (Tirumala), Kanchi, Srisaila, Somasila, Ahobila, Srirangam and Kumbakonam. However, so far as the inscriptions of the Tirumala temple are concerned, there is only one inscription of his 103-T.T., which records the institution of a festival for Sri Venkatesvara in his name in the month of Masi and an arrangement for its conduct by the head of a Srivaishnava Matha through the payment by him of 100 panam each year, being the income of the village of Pungodu. Probably the agent was given possession of the village also. This agency of a religious head would seem to indicate the slow pervasion among the kings of the First Vijayanagara dynasty of Vaishnava influence which bore its first fruits in this temple in the resuscitation of the Vedaparayanam during the reign of Devaraya II through the efforts of Mudaliyar Tirukkalikanridasar Alagappinar and in the construction of mantapams and gopurams and the establishment of feeding-houses, flower-gardens, festivals and other services and charities together with the grant of villages towards their expenses by Saluva Narasimha at the instance of Kandadai Ramanujayyengar.

In the other inscription two royal officers of this king come to notice.

Devaraya II is represented by half a dozen inscriptions. Reference has been already made to these. In Saka 1351, Saumya (5—12—1429 A.D.), he made a grant of three villages and a gift of 1200 pon for certain daily offerings (No. 188-T.T.), while in Saka 1355, Pramadicha (22—11—1433 A.D.), he granted, on the recommendation of Idaiyar Devanna-Udaiyar, the half share of the Raja Bhandaram (royal treasury), in the village of Siddhakuttai alias Srinivasapuram, yielding probably 200 panams annually as in the case of the other half belonging to the Sri-Bhandaram (temple treasury), to the 24 Brahmanas engaged for the Vedaparayanam during its rehabilitation in that year after a temporary abeyance (Nos. 89 and 149-T.T.). This village

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

is said to have been situated in Kottalasthalam a subdivision of Vaikunda-valanadu. Though the Kottam (district) is not mentioned, it is known that both the Vaikundavalanadu and the Tirukkudavurnadu were comprised within the Tiruvenkata-kottam, a district of the Chandragirirajya.

Two officers of his, Devanna Udayar and Mallanna are also known to us from these inscriptions. Three other prominent persons viz., Mahamandaleswara Salvaperi Mallayyadeva Maharaja, a general Tippada Nagayya Nayakar, a relation of the ruling King; and Sri Giriswara probably the younger brother of Devaraya are also known to us from the inscriptions.

Only one record is available for *Mallikarjuna* dated Saka year 1371 or 1450 A.D. This record registers the sale of a house and house-site by two Srivaishnavas of Tirupati in favour of one Rajamalikam Chennappa-Udaiyar belonging to the Niyogi sect of Brahmanas and residing in Chandragiri. Probably this Chennappa-Udaiyar was a state-official engaged in offering garlands of flowers to the kings and nobles on auspicious and ceremonious occasions (raja-malikam).

Tirupati and Chandragiri which are only seven miles apart, the latter being situated to the south-west of the former, are stated in this epigraph to have been comprised in the two different sub-districts of Tiruvenkata-kottam, Tirupati being in the Tirukkudavur-nadu and Chandragiri in the Vaikunda-velanadu (Vaikuntha-valanadu).

From the time of Mallikarjuna, the first dynasty started declining in power and the various Saluva chieftains assumed the reins of the Government.

Three prominent Saluva chiefs, including Saluva Narasimha, appear in this period. Saluva Siru-Mallayadeva Maharaja, son of Malagangayadeva Maharaja, made a grant of money to the temple in Saka 1372 for certain offerings (No. 23-T.T.). Saluva Mallayadeva Maharaja, son of Errakampayadeva Maharaja and brother of Peri-Mallayadeva Maharaja, noticed under Devaraya II, granted to the temple in Saka 1385 the village of Elambakkam in the Chandragiri-rajya, including all the grain and money taxes, and also excavated two irrigation channels in the devadana villages (No. 157-T.T.). This grant by Saluva Mallayadeva makes it appear as though he was the governor of the Chandragiri-rajya at the time, ruling almost independently of the reigning sovereign of Vijayanagara and without reference to him at all. Another Saluva chief was the son of this Mallayadeva Maharaja, named Saluva Ramachandraraja, who arranged for certain offerings during

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

the same Saka year 1385 (No. 154-T.T.). Two other sons of this Mallayadeva make their appearance in the subsequent reign, one Saluva Goppayya in Saka 1391 (No. 155-T.T.) and another Saluva Timmaraya in Saka 1403 (No. 196-T.T.). This youngest Saluva chief showed his liberality by presenting 7800 panams to the temple for certain daily offerings for Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Varahasvami. These six Saluva chiefs were the members of one single family comprising a father, his two sons and his three grandsons, and they were all of them 'Mahamandalesvara Maharajas.' This family bond must have consequently been a source of great strength to themselves and a source of grave danger to the empire.

Another branch of Saluvas noticed in the Tirumala inscriptions comprised of Saluva Narasimha and his elder brother Saluva Timmaraja-Udaiyar (No. 69-T.T. of Saka 1385), headed perhaps by their father Saluva Gundaraja-Udaiyar, otherwise called Gundayadeva Maharaja. Saluva Narasimha's first cousin was Saluva Parvataraja (No. 53-T.T.), son of Saluvaraja who was one of the four sons of Gauta II and a brother of Gundaraja III, father of Saluva Narasimha. Lastly, king Tripurantaka, a junior member of the family, was a second cousin of Narasimha, being descended from Tippa, one of the three brothers of Gundaraja III and the brother-in-law of Devaraya II, through his son Gopa or Goppa who was the father of Tripurantaka. Besides these, there are a few more Saluva chiefs mentioned in records found elsewhere. Timma or Gopa-Timma alias Tirumalaideva Maharaja was probably a brother of Tripurantaka (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 77). Sangamadeva Maharaja, believed to be another cousin of Saluva Narasimha, was ruling somewhere in the south (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908—09, page 167).

(4) Tirumala Temple under the Saluvas of Vijayanagar

With the chiefs, governors and viceroys, Vijayanagara Empire at the end of the 14th century of the Saka era must have been susceptible to tendencies leading to disruption, decay and dissolution through clannish wars and dynastic quarrels; affording untold avenues for riches and power and territorial aggrandisement and military glory, to the brave and the strong who were ready to hurl the weak and the vacillating to the ground. This must have been the political condition of the Empire under the last sovereign Virupaksha of the First dynasty of Vijayanagara.

It is possible to form a picture of the political state of the time, but, as to the actual course of events that followed, it is not possible to arrive at any precise conclusions except that Saluva Narasimha had before the end

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of the first decade of the 15th century of the same Saka era, emerged triumphantly over the rest and managed to steer the state clear of shoals and rocks and land it safe and unharmed and fit to wade calmly and fearlessly through similar storms subsequently. Being supported by his trusted generals and officers, he occupied the most advantageous position in the state, that of a prime-minister. He was again the most powerful of the Vijayanagara subordinates of the time, through the possession of an extensive territory and a numerous and strong army. It is certain that he had not waged wars with his colleagues and conquered them. He slowly went on aggrandising the territory of the Empire and consolidated it. From his supreme position of prime minister, he firmly held the reins of government in his hands and did not let them loose. It would appear that his prudence got the better of his valour and saved him from ruin. This was a lesson learnt from himself by his generals Tulava Narasa and the latter's son Vira-Narasimha either of whom successfully practised it over his own son Immadi-Nrisimha, who is considered to have been dethroned and shut up by them in the fort at Penugonda. It was a meritorious service of his that he preserved the Empire in tact and passed it on to Krishnaraya, the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns, who further welded it and infused vigour into it so as to make it last as a great and powerful Empire for two more generations after him. Having originally been a semi-independent chief in the South in the days of Mallikarjuna (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 58) and having gradually extended his power and rule over the present North Arcot, Chittoor Vellore, Chingleput and South Arcot districts, Saluva Narasimha became the prime-minister and general of the last sovereign of the First dynasty and the de facto ruler of the empire. In the fourteen inscriptions of the temple belonging to him and his time, ranging in date between Saka years 1378 and 1411, he is given only the title of "Mahamandalesvara," indicating the subordinate position he held, while the other birudas, viz., "Medini-misaraganda" and "Kathari-Saluva," are those that are common to the Saluvas. He was the son of Saluva Gundayadeva Maharaja and Mallambika (No. 197-T.T.) and he had an elder brother by name Saluva Timmarajadeva Maharaja-Udaiyar (No. 69-T.T.). Srirangidevi-amman was his queen (No. 341-T.T.). He had three sons, viz., Kumara-Narasayyan, Chikka-Sangaman and Periya-Sangaman.

During the time of the Saluvas several festivals came to be resuscitated in the Temple like Adhyantsavam, Pavitrotsavam, Kodai Tirunal, etc.,

The most outstanding event during this period was the compilation of a work called by its author Pasindi Venkatatturaivar (alias Jiyar Ramanujayyan) "Tiruvenkata Mahatmyam." The compilation was for the first time solemnly

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD.

announced and openly read out by the author in the presence of Malaikuniyaninraṇ and the Nachchimar on 27th June 1491 (II. 95). We have no idea of the contents of that work. The object of the author seems to have been to give a mythical origin of the Archavataṛa Tiruvengadamudaiyaṇ on the Tirumalai Hills which would appeal strongly to the religious sentiments of Hindus.

Another event which has appealed strongly to the imagination of succeeding generations is what has been called "pulugukkappu" which means smearing the entire body of Periya Perumal with scented civet oil which is specially prepared in the temple.

The custom of smearing the face of Periya Perumal every day at the time of the morning Tiruvaradhanam (Nityarchana) from the month Ādi to Mārgaḷi (6 months) with specially prepared civet oil was an innovation made by Tirukalikaṇṛidasar Alagappiraṇar of Tirupati in 1434 A.D. This must have been done at the time of the daily tirumanjanam of the Silver image of Manavala Perumal. This daily tirumanjanam of the Silver Image is made more attractive to the devotees by the addition of perfumery to the sweet smelling herbs which from the earliest times were added to the water used for Tiruvaradhanam. This practice was inaugurated by Kandaḍai Ramanuja Ayyaṅgar in 1465 A.D. and was financed by Saluva Narasiṃhadeva Rāya. This Tirumanjanam came to be known as Alagappiraṇar Tirumanjanam.

After Saluva Narasiṃha died in 1482 A.D., his son Immaḍi Narasiṃha succeeded and ruled till the middle of 1505 A.D. With him, the Saluva line came to an end. Narsa nayaka, another commander-in chief and the Chief Minister under Saluva Narasiṃha was the de-facto ruler when Immaḍi Narasiṃha was out of throne. His son Viranarasiṃha ruled as Emperor till his death in 1509 A.D.

Some inscriptions in Tirumala temple mention some of the officers of the King during this period.

(5) Tirumala Temple under the Tuluvas

With the accession of the third dynasty and especially during the reigns of Krishnadevarāya and Achyutarāya, the temple attained to its pinnacle of fame and prominence. It also received royal gifts that were given as endowments in an unbounded measure to the Lord. During this time not merely the Emperor, but also his queens, his generals and his officers and all the temple servants also made great endowments to the temple.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Krishnaraya

Krishnaraya is represented in the Tirumala collection of epigraphs by nearly fifty inscriptions belonging to himself and his two queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi. They range in date between Saka 1434 (=1513 A.D.) and Saka 1445 (=1524 A.D.) and register personal offerings and direct gifts made during their frequent visits to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara on Tirumala whom he venerated as his Patron-God, as well as the edicts of grants issued by him from his capital city of Vijayanagara. As in the case of his charities elsewhere, Krishnaraya's gifts in the Tirumala temple also are generally recorded in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese, as if indicating his sway over the entire Southern India in which they were spoken.

Sri Krishnadevaraya had made no less than seven visits to Tirumala temple, details of which have been mentioned in another chapter.

All the gifts made by the Emperor at Tirumala seem to have been engraved on stone by his own engraver Sripati, son of Paddayachari, and the drafts of the edicts were also composed by his own men either Gindi Basavarayalu or Baguri Mallarasa. The Sthanattar do not figure in any of these inscriptions except in 578 T.T, wherein they were empowered to collect certain taxes. In the disposal of the donor's share of the prasadam it was the Tiruppanipillai that was empowered to appropriate to himself 1/5 share of the prasadam in each and to distribute the remainder to pilgrims in the choultries established by the Emperor and his two queens. The total quantity of the food offerings by the three is 20 tirupponakam, 4 tirukkanamadai and 4 appapadi. The two purohiths who accompanied the Emperor, Ranga Dikashitar and Siva Dikshitar, also got each a large share of the prasadams.

The following is the list of gifts and endowments made by Krishnadevaraya and his two queens to the temple, as noted in the Tirumala Temple epigraphs.

A. Gifts made on 10th Feb, 1513 A.D.

1. One Navaratna Kiritam, the total weight of which was 3308 carats, Vommechchu 1555, Kundanam gold 1076.

2. One Trisaram (three-stringed necklace) containing pearls, manikyam sapphires etc., with addigas all weighing 225 carats and one padakam weighing 61 carats.

3. Twenty-five silver plates for offering camphor harathi.

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

by Queen Chinnaaji amma,

4. One gold cup for offering milk at the nightly Ekanta Seva, weighing 374 carats.

by Tirumaladevi amma

5. One gold cup for offering milk as above weighing 374 units.

B. Gifts made on 2nd May 1513. A.D.

6. One Vududhara ornament weighing in all 66 units, inclusive of 5 diamonds, 17 addikas, set with emeralds, rubies, diamonds, gems and gold string.

7. One kathari (sword) with sheaths set with diamonds, rubies, sapphires; tassel for sheath composed of small pearls, big pearls, and rubies. Total weight 326 units. In these the rubies, diamonds and emeralds alone weigh 165 units.

8. One Nichchala kathari sheath for daily use 132 units set with rubies on top.

9. One small sword for daily use with tassel of pearls.

10. One sheath for above sword containing rubies, pearls and diamonds.

11. One padakam or pendant weighing 87 carats set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds etc.,

12. One pair of bhuja kirti or vanki weighing 573 units set with pearls, rubies, sapphires and old diamonds.

13. One bhuja kirti for daily use weighing 198 units.

14. Two pairs of bhuja kirti for daily use.

15. One gold string with 17 addigas, 30 more addigas in shape of peepul leaves, pearls, rubies diamonds and emeralds weighing 205 units in all.

16. Another similar string weighing 276 units.

17. For the Utsava Murti and Nachchimar, three crowns weighing 380 units in total, containing pearls, old diamonds, rubies, cat's eyes and sapphires (S e III. 60, 61, 62, 63).

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

C. Gifts made on 6th July 1514. A.D.

by Krishnadevaraya

On his return journey after capturing Udayagiri Fort and after defeating Prataparudra-Gajapati.) (See III, 66, 67, 68.)

18. Kanakabhishekam with 30,000 gold varahas (Chakrapon), to Sri Venkatesa;

19. Three stringed ornaments weighing 250 units inclusive of gold wire, gold clips, rubies, pearls and sapphires;

20. One pair kadiyam (bahuvalayam) (Talilapakkam village was granted for daily food offering).

By Chinnajidevi amma. (See III, 70, 71, 72.)

21. One kantha malai (necklace) with a padakam set with diamonds, rubies emeralds and pearls weighing 200 units.

Mudiur village was also granted for daily offering.

By Queen Tirumaladevi. (See III, 73, 74, 75.)

22. One chakra padakam weighing 225½ units and containing diamonds, rubies emeralds and pearls.

D. Gifts made on 25th October 1515 A.D. Yuva Kartika Bahula 3,

By Krishnadevaraya.

After returning from his victorious eastern expedition against Kalinga.

23. One navaratna prabhavali or makara toranam total weight 27, 287 units; containing 25 kirtimukha leaves 13835 vommachchu beads; gold wire weighing 16; solid gold 7978, silk and gold fringes hanging on the head of the makara-toranam 20 weighing 5474. The above contains 10994 red stones, 754 emeralds, 530 sapphires; 40 cat's eyes; 45 agates, 74 topazes, 920 old diamonds; 3933 pearls; 4 large sapphires fixed as eyes; 6 corals and 30 conch shells.

The total weight of the arch of the Makara Toranam weighs 14711 units. grand total of the Prabhavali in weight is 31124 units.

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

The above is for the Lord who gave Krishna Deva Katakapuri (Orissa).

E. Gifts made on 2nd July 1517 A.D. By Krishnadevaraya

After returning from Simhadri Potnuru where he set up his triumphaj pillar (Kalinga desa capture.) (See No. 578 and 576 - T. T.).

24. One kantha malai.

25. One padakkam.

26. For gilding vimanam 30,000 varahas; (also ordered the Sthanattar to collect 1000 varahas from Godagurnadu for the weekly pulugukappu expenses for Tiruvengadamudaiyan, and certain other taxes of Godagurnadu amounting to 500 varahas for conducting daily morning offerings).

(Gold gilding of the vimanam completed on 9-9-1518).

F. Gifts made on 16th Oct., 1518 A.D.

A Kamalapuram inscription seems to say that he paid a visit to Tirumalai with Queen Tirumaladevi on 16th October 1518. But there is no inscription in Tirumalai or Tirupati to support this.

G. Gifts made on 17th Feb. 1521 A.D. (with Tirumaladevi alone accompanying.) (See 301, 302, 586, add 594 - T. T.)

By Krishnadevaraya

27. Pitambaram set with nine kinds of precious stones.

28. Kullavu (or head dress) set with pearls rubies, emeralds and sapphires;

29. Two chamaras (fly whisks) set with nine kinds of gems; and 10,000 gold varahas.

30. One padakam.

31. One navaratna padakam by Tirumaladevi.

H. Gifts made on 15th Dec.

In addition to the above mentioned gifts he made in the early period of his reign during his third visit on 13-6-1513., certain endowments for the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

merit of his parents, (father Narasa Nayaka Udiyar and mother Nagalamman-garu), which consisted of some ornament set with nine kinds of precious stones (portions of inscription are missing), and an annual Brahmotsavam in the Tamil month of Tai for which he endowed the villages of Chatravadi, Tururu and Karikambadu, in Godagurnadu.

Some officers of Krishnadevaraya also appear in these inscriptions as offering their gifts to the Lord and making donations and endowments to the temple. Some of the names which are given in the epigraphs are the following;

- (i) Pradhani Saluva Timmarasa
- (ii) Saluva Govindaraja
- (iii) Periya-Obala-Nayakkar Rama-Nayakkar, a commander
- (iv) Rayasam Kondamarasayya
- (v) Tryambakadeva
- (vi) Karanikka Basavarasa
- (vii) Karnikka Attavanai Basavarasa
- (viii) Gindi Basavarayalu
- (ix) Avasara Narasayya and his brother Timmayya
- (x) Udiyam Ellappa-Nayakkar
- (xi) Adaippam Baiyappa-Nayakkar
- (xii) Mannarpillai and Appapillai

Other subordinate officers who are mentioned in the epigraphs of his times and made gifts are the following:—

- (i) Bahur Mallarasa
- (ii) Nagaraju
- (iii) Tammu-Nayakkar
- (iv) Tiruvenkatayyan
- (v) Obalayyan
- (vi) Lakku-Nayakkar
- (vii) Tirumalai-Nayakkar
- (viii) Chinnappa-Reddi
- (ix) Ranjakam Srirangaraja

Some religious teachers and other prominent men of this time are also mentioned in the epigraphs. Even though Krishnaraya's religious leanings were

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

towards Vaishnavism, as amply testified to by his composition of the Telugu-kavya "Amuktamalyada" with the alternative title of "Vishnuchittiyamu he had shown special favour to and greatly honoured the Madhva-guru Srimat Vyasatirtha Sripada-Udiyar, the disciple of Srimat Brahmanyatirtha Sripada-Udaiyar. The discipleship is expressed by the term Karakamala-samjata, i.e., born out of the lotus-like hand of Brahmanyatirtha. He was the founder of the Vyasaraya-Matha. He was entitled Srimat Paramahansa-parivrajaka-charyavarya, Padavakya-pramanagna, Durvadigarvasarvasvapahara, Srimat Vaishnava siddhanta-pratishthapakacharya and Sakala-vidvajjana-manah padma-vanasaupastika.

Sriman Narayana Jiyar, the disciple and successor of Sri Van-Sathakopa Jiyar, who founded the Ahobila-Matha of the Vadagalai sect of the Srivaishnavas was an elder contemporary of Srimat Vyasatirtha. Narayana Jiyar appears to have stayed some time at Tirupati in the course of his religious tours through the country. Within the space of three months he paid two sums of 1860 and 3800 narpanam into the temple treasury in Saka 1438, Dhatu, the first on the 26th August and the second on the 7th November 1516 A.D., to form the capital fund from the interest on which he arranged for offerings for Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja and Alvars and Udaiyavar on specified days (Nos. 60 and 106—G.T.). This Van-Sathakopa Jiyar, whose disciple Narayana Jiyar was, must be the Sathakopa-Yati whom Allasani Paddana, the poet-laureate of Krishnaraya, mentions as his guru and to whom he offers his adorations as 'the asylum of all learning', and 'the dispeller of the thick darkness of sins of his disciples through the moonlight of his kind looks' (Manucharitramu Canto I, Introduction, verse 6).

A few Srotriya-Brahmanas also appear in some of these epigraphs. Naranayyan or Narayanadeva, son of Tatvadi Tirumalayyan, was a Srotriya-Brahmana of Gautama-gotra and Apastamba-sutra and a resident of Agaram Kampasamudram in the Padavidurajya. His gift of Tivalaippundi in Kondavali-simai, one of his srotriyam villages, made in Saka 1436, Bhava (26—7—1514 A.D.), is found registered in two inscriptions apiece (Nos. 27 and 284—T.T.). The incessant obeisance of the father Tatvadi Timmanan is recorded in No.344—T.T. Salaippakkam Narasayyar was another Srotriya-Brahmana and he gave to the temple the village of Muttur in Gandikota-simai in Saka 1452, Vikriti (29—12—1529 A.D.) (No. 927—T.T.). He was the son of Mantravadi Madarasar of Kasyapa-gotra, Asvalayana-sutra and Rik-sakha. Only a single record No. 76—T.T., belonging to the Talla-pakam family of poets who were the hereditary musicians of Sri Venkatesvara's temple, comes to notice in the reign of Krishnaraya. It registers the payment

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of a sum of 1500 narpanam in Saka 1439, Isvara (30—11—1517 A.D.) by Tallapakam Tirumalayyengar, son of Annamayyengar of the Bharadvajagotra, Asvalayana-sutra and Rik-sakha, for the deity's daily propitiation.

A few Nagarattar are also noticed here. Pappu-Setti, son of Vandaiyaram Chennamu-Setti of the Kundina-gotra, was one of the Nagarattar residing in Narasingarayapuram, a suburb of Tirupati. He made an endowment of 2500 narpanam for offerings for Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja and other deities in the name of himself, his father Chennamu-Setti and his mother Marakka, in Saka 1434, Angirasa (15—1512 A.D.). (No. 267—T.T.). Kondu-Setti, son of Dharmapuram Tammu-Setti, was another merchant residing in the same suburb of Narasingarayapuram in Tirupati. For some reason Krishnaraya is stated to have granted to him the village of Chinatayapalli situated near Velumapalem as Umbalikai. Probably the village was given to the merchant as a Jagir free of rent for certain services rendered by him in connection with the supply of provisions for the army during Krishnaraya's military progress in the south early in his reign, which appears to have commenced before Saka 1433, Prajapati, Karkataka su. (ba.) 14, Wednesday, Punarvasu (23rd July, 1511 A.D.), when a sarvamanya land was granted to the temple at Sandalai in the Tanjore district by Viraiya Danayakka-Udaiyar to secure victory to the king and to himself, as reported in No. 213 of 1926, nearly a year and a quarter prior to his camp at Sivanasamudram on 'state business' on the 22nd september 1512 A.D. Kondu-Setti already gave half of the village to God Kalahastigirisvara, i.e. Srikalahastisa of Kalahasti, and the remaining half village he gave to this temple in Saka 1439, Isvara (27—11—1517 A.D.) for offerings to Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja (No. 610—T.T.). A third merchant that comes to notice is Saranu-Setti, son of Periya-Pengandai of the Vennakka-gotra, and a resident of the main town of Tirupati. He made a deposit of 3700 panam in Saka 1449, Sarvajit (16—8—1527 A.D.), for certain offerings for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja (No. 244 T.T.). The term Nagarattar has sometimes been interpreted as 'members of the village assembly', but from its restricted application to the members of the merchant class in these and other records, it must refer only to the Vaisyas or Komatis who from time immemorial had carried on trade and commerce in India and are still seen to exercise it as their hereditary profession in small towns and villages in South India and are hence known as Vanijas.

Achyutaraya

With the accession of Achyutaraya to the throne, the Tirumala Temple attained its high watermark of prosperity. He had made a number

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

of gifts to the temple and had given royal endowments to it. His queen Varadajidevi-amman arranged for an avasaram for Tiruvenkātamudiyān in 1534 A.D.

Some of the officers of Achyutaraya who come to notice from the epigraphs are the following:—

- (i) Pradhani Saluva Timmana
- (ii) Saluva Govindaraja
- (iii) Rayasam Kondamarasayya
- (iv) Karanikka Basavarasa
- (v) Udiyam Ellappa-Nayakkar
- (vi) Baiyappa-Nayakkar
- (vii) Salakaraja Periya-Tirumalaraja.
- (viii) Salakaraja Siru-Tirumalaraja.
- (ix) Bhutanatha Rama-Bhatlayya.
- (x) Bhutanatha Ellappayya.
- (xi) Immadi Ellappayya.
- (xii) Bayakara Ramappayya.
- (xiii) Dalavayi Timmarasayya.
- (xiv) Perunkondai Virappanna.
- (xv) Angaraja Nagappayya.
- (xvi) Adaippam Visvanatha-Nayaka.
- (xvii) Adaippam Mallappa-Nayaka.
- (xviii) Rayasam Ramachandra-Dikshita.
- (xix) Bhandaram Timmappa and Siru-Timmaya.
- (xx) Nottakkara Nagappa.
- (xxi) Dalavayi Krishnappa-Nayaka.
- (xxii) Periya-Timmappa and Chinna-Ramappa.
- (xxiii) Sriranga-Nayaka.
- (xxiv) Sajjarautu Chikkaya-Savayan.
- (xxv) Matla Ramayya.
- (xxvi) Astigirinathar.
- (xxvii) Gangu Reddi.
- (xxviii) Adaippam Parmadamman and Rukminiamman.
- (xxix) Vengalayyar.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

- (xxx) Malaiyapparajan.
- (xxxi) Venkatadri Ayyan
- (xxxii) Kalahasti Dikshita.
- (xxxiii) Mallarasar Nagaragal.
- (xxxiv) Govinda Pandita.
- (xxxv) Panditar Purushottamayyan.
- (xxxvi) Narayana-Settiyar.
- (xxxvii) Periya-Samu-Setti.
- (xxxviii) Nami-Setti.
- (xxxix) Charanu-Setti.
- (xl) Krishnappa-Setti.
- (xli) Tirumalainathar-Pillai.
- (xlii) Pilaiporuttar.
- (xliii) Allappa-Pillai.

Sadasivaraya.

Sadasivaraya is represented in the Tirumala inscriptions by nearly a hundred and fifty inscriptions most of which begin with his introduction. A peculiar feature of this prasasti is that to the king is ascribed not only the lordship of the eastern, southern and western oceans which fringe the Peninsula, but also that of the northern ocean that is non-existent in the case of India itself. The earliest date that is available for him in these epigraphs, viz., Thursday combined with the star Punarvasu, the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the Karkataka month in the cyclic year Plava, current with the Saka year 1463, corresponding to the 21st July 1541 A.D., which occurs in No. 659-T.T. registering the gift of Muttur and another village to the temple by Srirama-Bhattar, son of Yandalur Tirumalai-Josyar, is about eight months anterior to the latest date furnished for his predecessor Achyutaraya in No. 504-T.T., viz., Thursday combined with the star Ardra, being the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the Mina month in Plava, current with Saka 1463, corresponding to the 23rd March 1542 A.D. It has been stated that Sadasivaraya had been chosen crown prince already in Saka 1459, Hevilambi (1537 A.D.), nearly five years earlier (Ar. Rur. Sep. For 1908—09, page 193), and this statement seems to be supported by the surname "Sadasivapura" found to have been given to Devarayapura in No. 89 of 1912 from Lepakshi dated in Saka 1460, Vilambi, i.e., one year later.

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

The latest date available for Sadasiva is Saka 1495, Srimukha, Kumbha (29th January 1574 A.D.), furnished by No. 133-G.T. which registers the gift of a certain Aravidu chief. But the latest date found for him elsewhere is Saka 1497, Yuva, Rishabha, corresponding to 9th May 1575 A.D., and it is remarked that this later date "only suggests the continuance of the nominal rule of Sadasiva even after Tirumala I had practically assumed the reigns of government in Saka 1493." as indicated by the imperial titles that are attributed to the latter in his records dated in the same Saka year 1493, in place of the Mahamandalesvara-biruda given for him in the records dated upto Saka 1492 (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, para 45; and Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 180). Sadasiva's reign therefore extended over a period of about 40 years from Saka 1459 to Saka 1497, including his co-regency during the last years of Achyutaraya.

Two visits of Sadasivaraya to Venkatesvara's temple are indicated in the inscriptions. The first was in 1554 A.D. and the second in 1563 A.D. A few grants of the king to private individuals also come to notice.

Sadasiva's reign was dominated by the chiefs of the Aravidu and other allied families by reason of the united support that they brought to him for his installation on the Vijayanagara throne at the hands of Aliya-Ramaraja. The Aravidu family is represented in Tirumala epigraphs by ten chiefs whose relationship to each other stands as brothers and nephews. They have played a prominent part in the affairs of the Tirumala temple during this period. They are Potlapati Timmaraja, his four sons Timmaraja, Vitthalaraja, Chinna-Timmaraja and Pappu-Timmaraja; Aliya-Ramaraja and Tirumalaraja; Kondaraja; and Potlapati Rangaraja and Sripati Obalesvara. The senior member among them was Potlapati Timmaraja, son of Ramaraja and grandson of Araviti Bukkaraja. Timmaraja's two younger brothers were Peda-Kondaraja and Srirangaraja. Timmaraja had four sons by his wife Gopamamba, viz., Tirumalaraja or Timmaraja, Vitthalaraja, Chinna-Timmaraja and Papa-Timmaraja, Peda-Kondaraja's son was Konetiraja, who had four sons, viz., Aubalaraja, Kondaraja, Timmaraja and Rangaraja. Srirangaraja had five sons Konaraja, Timmaraja, Aliya-Ramaraja, Tirumalaraja and Venkatadiraja, besides four daughters who were married to princes of the Gobburu and other families. Besides these members of the Aravidu family proper descended from Araviti Bukkaraja by his wife Ballambika through his son Ramaraja, Bukkaraja had by a different wife Abbaladevi three other sons Singarayya or Singaraja, Ramaraja and Ahobalaraja on whom the father conferred the chiefship of Nandyala and whose descendants henceforth came to be known as the chiefs of the Nandayala or Nandela family. Singaraja's son was Nandyala Narasingaraja whose two sons were Aubalaraja and Naraparaja.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

These Aravidu and the Nandyala chiefs with their sons and grandsons must have formed a compact and powerful body whose combined strength, like that of the Saluva chiefs at the end of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara a century earlier, was a factor to be reckoned in the state.

Tirumalaraya or Tirumalayyadeva Maharaja or Tirumalaraja represented in No. 633-T.T., was the son of Aravittu Bukkaraju-Ramaraju-Srirangaraja, and the younger brother of Aliya-Ramaraja. He constructed an Unjal-mantapam within the Sampangi-pradakshinam *i.e.*, the corridor round the inner prakara wall which contains the dhvajastambham, and therein arranged for the propitiation of the processional deities on festive occasions. This must be the one that is now known as the 'Tirumalaraya-mantapam,' situated just to the south of the dhvajastambham within the Sampangi-pradakshinam at its south-east corner. In Saka 1483, Durmati, Dhanus (15—12—1561 A.D.), he provided for offerings for the processional images during the five days of the Vasanta-tirunal, during the Unjal-tirunal formerly instituted by Saluva Narasimha, the ten Tirukkodi-tirunal or Brahmotsavams, fourteen other festivals and numerous holy occasions observed at the time in Sri Venkatesvara's temple. The processions of the images for the five days of the Vasanta-tirunal were to be conducted on the Sessa-vahanam (serpent vehicle) on the first day, on the Hamsa-vahanam (swan vehicle) on the second day, on the Garuda-vahanam (kite vehicle) on the third day, the Vaikuntha-vimanam (divine chariot) on the fourth day and the Anai-nampiran (elephant vehicle) on the fifth day. This Vasanta-tirunal during which Tirumalaraja arranged for processions and offerings at his Unjal-mantapam is seen from Nos. 649 and 659, A—T.T. to have been established by Manumapoli Timmaraja, son of Kamparaja of the Kasyapa-gotra and Apastamba-sutra, belonging to the Solar race. Tirumalaraja's arrangement for the conduct of this Unjal-tirunal or Dolamahotsavam is again recorded in a fragmentary inscription No. 190-T.T., comprising a few Sanskrit verses which trace the genealogy of the Aravidu family from Bukkaraja to Tirumalendra and his four sons. Bukka was entitled Antembaraganda and he had the "Boar" ensign. By Vallamji (Ballambika) he had a son named Ramaraja.

Ramaraja's son was Srirangaraja who had acquired great fame on earth and resembled Jayanta. Srirangaraja was the lord of Kalyanapura and represented on earth the Amarataru (Bhu-Parijata) in his gifts to Bramanas. On account of his daily gifts and prayers he obtained an excellent son, namely Ramaraja, who was well versed in the sixty-four arts and who was wedded by the goddesses of Heroism, Empire, Learning, Fame, Wisdom and Beauty.

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Ramaraja, was entitled Chalikka-Narayana, Nanavarna-sri-mandalika-ganda and Rayarahuttaminda. Tirumalambika was the queen of Ramaraja, just as Kausalya was the queen of Dasaratha. Ramaraja's brother was Tirumalendra who was like Lakshmana towards Raghava (Rama). This king Tirumalendra instituted the Dolamahotsava according to the rules of the Sastras. By his queen Vengalamba he had four sons, viz., Raghunatha who was a second Raghunatha (Sri Rama), his brother king Sriranga, the latter's brother Ramaraja who possessed critical scholarship and who equalled Manmatha in form, and the latter's brother Venkatadri.

Tirumalendra brought all kings under his subjection. On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Dhanurmasa in the cyclic year Durmati (corresponding to Saka 1483, on the 17th December 1561 A.D.), Tirumala made provision for the celebration of the Dolotsava for God Venkatesa. This date is two days later than that given by the Tamil inscription No. 633-T.T. noticed above. An extract in Telugu at the end of the inscription mentions that the above stone record registers the services, together with the genealogy, military conquests and the string of briudas relating to Tirumalarajayya's reduction of the Tulukanam-Alia, i.e., Turkish or Mahammadan chief, of Tirumaladeva Maharaja, the son of Srirangarajayya and the brother of Aliya-Ramarajayyadeva Maharaja. It is significant that among the members of the Aravidu family, Tirumala and his second son Sriranga alone are in the epigraph accorded a royal dignity. They no doubt enjoyed it subsequent to the death of Sadasivaraya, but it is to be doubted whether they had any chance to become kings during the lifetime of Sadasiva, especially while Ramaraja was still alive in Saka 1483 (1561 A.D.), which is some four years prior to the battle of Rakshas-Tangadi. It was after this battle in which Aliya-Ramaraja lost his life that Tirumala could step into the place of his brother as the chief minister of Sadasiva and ultimately ascend the Vijayanagara throne about Saka 1497 (1575 A.D.), which is the latest date available for Sadasivaraya (No. 5 of 1919). Tirumala's reign was short and during that period he had associated his son Sriranga with himself in the administration of the kingdom, "and eventually retired from the Karnata throne in his favour (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 181). Sriranga appears to have reigned until Saka 1507, Parthiva (=1585-86 A.D.), and then succeeded by his youngest brother Venkatadri.

(6) Tirumala under the Aravidu Kings.

The ruling line of the Aravidu family commenced with Tirumala, who, acquiring power as the chief minister of Sadasivaraya in 1565 A.D., after

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the death of his elder brother Aliya-Ramaraya in the battle of Talikota or Raksas-Tangadi ascended the Vijayanagara throne ten years later in about 1575 A.D., having at the same time changed his capital to Penugonda. His was a brief reign lasting for two or three years during which his second son Srirangaraya or Ranga II ruled as a co-regent with him. His Unjal mantapam, generally called the Tirumalaraya-mantapam, with its exquisitely sculptured high pillars bearing the figures of a warrior riding a horse standing erect over an elephant with another elephant higher up stands in tact to this day as a memorial of his service in the temple and forms the seat of the asthanam of the processional image of Sri Venkatesvara during the annual Brahmotsavam in the temple.

The next reign, that is, that of Srirangadeva Maharaya, is represented by half a dozen inscriptions ranging in date between Saka 1501 (1579 A.D.) and Saka 1508 (1586 A.D.).

Venkatapatiraya, generally known as Venkata I, is represented by about a dozen inscriptions extending in date from Saka 1514 (1592 A.D.) to Saka 1538 (1616 A.D.). He was the fourth son of Tirumala and the youngest brother of Sriranga II. From a record from Markapur in the Prakasam district, he is seen to have been a subordinate of Sadasivaraya in Saka 1489 (1567 A.D.). In two epigraphs from the Salem and North Arcot districts he is stated to be referred by his title alone, viz., "Viravasantaraya" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911—12, page 187). During the reign of his father Tirumala and his elder brother Sriranga II, he governed the Chandragiri-rajya as its viceroy, as indicated in the Telugu-kavya "Vasucharitramu" (Canto I, Introduction, verse 81) and in No. 185 of 1922 dated in Saka 1494, Angirasa, Ashadha (9—7—1572 A.D.), during the reign of Sriranga, and next held charge of the Udayagiri, Kondavidu and other outlying hill fortresses. He had married five queens out of whom Krishnamamba or Krishnajiamma mentioned in No. 97-T.T. was one. During his reign, Ranga III surnamed "Chikkaraya," the son of his elder brother Rama III, was co-regent with him, as also Rama IV, the son of Ranga III.

Ramaraya, generally known as Rama IV, was the son of Ranga III who was the son of Rama III, the elder brother of Venkata I. During the reign of Venkata I, Rama IV served as his co-regent and ascended the throne in Saka 1536—37, Ananda (=1614 A.D.) (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911—12, page 190). Only one inscription No. 329-G.T. dated in Saka 1549, Prabhava, Vrishabha (25—5—1627 A.D.), mentions him as the reigning king.

During this period appears the Matla chief Kumara-Anantaraja, son of Matla Tiruvengalanatharaja and Chennamamba of the Deva-Choda family

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

belonging to the Bhanuvamsa (Solar race). Matli, a village in the Royachoti taluk of the Cuddapah district, lent itself as the family name of these chiefs of the Deva-Choda lineage. Their rule over the eastern half of the Cuddapah district comprising parts of Badvel, Siddhavattam, Cuddapah, Pullampet or Rajampet taluks, with Anantarajapuram or Anantarajapeta near Rajampet as their capital, bestowed on the tract of the country forming part of the Rajampet taluk the name Matlavari-sima, as being the home territory to which was confined the authority of the later members of the family. Matla or Matli Kumara-Anantaraja was the grandson of the elder Anantaraja, the author of "Kakutstha-Vijayamu," through the latter's son Tiruvengalanatharaja. (Md. Ep. Rep. for 1916 para 75)

Kumara-Anantaraja's services were directed to the construction of the big outer gopuram of Sri Govindaraja's temple (No. 281-G.T.), the second gopuram at the foot of the hill which is generally called the Kotta-gopuram (new tower) and through which runs the pathway to Tirumala (Nos. 279 and 280-G.T.) and the one on the top of the front hill known as the Gali-gopuram (Nos. 269 and 270-G.T.). The first two towers contain inscriptions on their inner side stating that they were constructed by Matla Kumara-Anantarajayya, son of Tiruvengalanatharajayya-Deva-Choda Maharajulayya.

Kumara-Venkatapatirayadeva Maharaya is represented by two records Nos. 328 and 63-G.T. dated respectively in Saka 1553 (1631 A.D.) and Saka 1557 (1636 A.D.). This Kumara-Venkata, also known as Peda-Venkata II, was the son of Ranga IV who was a son of Aliya-Ramaraja. He was chosen crown-prince along with his successor Ranga VI by Rama IV in Saka 1544 (1622 A.D.). He is stated to have been crowned king in Saka 1552 (1630 A.D.) by Tirumala Tatacharya.

No. 328-G.T. registers the provision made by a certain Ramachandrayya for offerings for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja in Saka 1553, Prajotpatti, Kanya (29—9—1631 A.D.), and the construction of a mantapam by him to the west of the Matham of the Ilan-Kelvi-Jiyar on the south side of the street adjoining the Sannidhi-vidhi to the south. He excavated afresh the irrigation channel in Varadarajapuram which was at the time in disrepair. No. 63-G.T. also refers to the excavation of an old damaged irrigation channel in the tiruvidaiyattam village Avilali by Alagarayyengar Annangaracharyar, son of Prativadibhayankaram Venganacharyar of Srivatsa-gotra, Apastamba-sutra and Yajus-sakha, and his gift of some lands therein. The measuring rod of 32 feet is mentioned in it.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Srirangadeva Maharaya, generally known as Ranga VI, was the son of Pina-Venkata III, the younger brother of king Venkata II. He was crown-prince during the reigns of both Rama IV and Venkata II and ascended the Karnata throne on 29th October 1642 A.D. His reign lasted for a period of about 23 years upto Saka 1587 (1665 A.D.). During his reign, the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur invaded the Karnata kingdom and conquered it and "the able general Mir Zumla finally became its Nawab. King Ranga fled southwards and found refuge with one of his subordinates, a chief of Keladi" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911—12, page 193).

Srirangaraya is represented by two epigraphs of which only one is dated, viz., in Saka 1560, Bahudhanya, Mithuna (15—6—1638 A.D.). On this date a certain Brahmana of the Kasyapa-gotra and Apastamba-sutra, born under the ascendancy of the star Mula, provided for offerings costing 95 rekhai for which he made over to the temple two irrigation channels, from one of which was derived 160 patti of paddy, as measured with the Kadamaikkal (No. 5-G.T.). The other channel is said to have been situated in Maniyak-konpattu one of the villages comprised in the Tiruvidei-yattam-Ul-mandalam. The second inscription No. 436-T.T. merely records the eternal obeisance of a certain Ramudu of Tirupati, a servant of Srirangaraja, at the feet of Raghunatha.

Two later inscriptions, one dated in the cyclic year Rudhiredgari (1683 A.D.) and another in the Saka year 1606, Raktakshi (1684 A.D.), do not mention the reigning king, but they are referable to the reign of Venkata IV, the successor of Ranga VI (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, page 91). It is significant that these two epigraphs, together with a third No. 290-G.T., are written in Telugu. It therefore appears that by this time Telugu language had come to stay as the main local language of administration. No. 291-G.T. dated in Rudhiredgari, Vaisakha (Saka 1605—16—5—1683 A.D.), registers the ubhayam (service) of a certain Timma, son of Tuvarani Konda Pandita and the obeisance of his younger brother, while No. 290-G.T. merely registers, as an extract, the ubhayam of Rajasri Siddaluri Ramaji-Madarsu-Pantulungaru. No. 263-T.T. of Saka 1606, Raktakshi, Chaitra (20—3—1684 A.D.), records the gift of a kanthe (a necklace) of pure gold valued at 575 Srirangaraya-varahas as the capital for offerings for Tiruvengalanathasvami and Varahasvami, following those of Maharajasri Shudabanuja-Pantulu, by Rajasri Sivaraja-Ramachandra-Yetamataravu-Dabirusayi of Srivatsa-gotra, Asvalayana-sutra and Rik-sakha, and Timmanayyangu.

TIRUMALA TEMPLE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Thus the connection of the history of the Tirumala temple with the Vijayanagar kingdom may be considered to have commenced with the gilding of vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara temple by Sri Mangideva maharaya in 1359 A.D. and to have ended with the memorial slab left by Sri Rangaraya Maharaya in the temple in 1665 A.D. It lasted for over three centuries. Then came the political struggle for the supremacy of the Muslim kings and the fortunes of the Tirumala temple underwent a notable change.

Currency, Banking, Irrigation, Taxation, Food-offerings and other Economic Conditions of Tirumala Temple During Vijayanagara Period.

(1) Introduction.

In South India, the temple has always had a central place in the fiscal and monetary system of society, since the agrarian economy was predominantly agricultural. The economic importance of temples in the social and economic life of our country, before the advent of the British has not been studied in great detail. The Tirumala temple inscriptions contribute vital information on the socio-economic systems that prevailed in this part of the country, especially during the Vijayanagara period.

The inscriptions give us one of the best collections of material in one institution. The inscriptions mainly deal with endowments of land and money to the temple by various officials, temple priests, other devotees, etc. In addition to the above, they give enough details of the utilisation of the money to enable us to analyse the economic function of the Tirupati temple with the profuse land and money placed at its disposal by the devotees. The epigraphical material also provides vital information with regard to the agamic practice of the temple.

The temple inscriptions primarily cover the period from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries, thus providing one of the best collections of materials on any Indian temple during the medieval period. The Tirumala inscriptions

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

deal essentially with endowments of land and money and are therefore most useful for the analysis of the nature and utilization of the land and money placed with the Temple as religious endowments. Beyond the obvious usefulness of the Tirumala inscriptions as sources for economic analysis, these materials also provide vital information concerning the modification of the Temple's ritual in consequence of the introduction of different ritual forms and on the central place of the Hindu temple in the organization of medieval South Indian culture.

The main source for our study is the material given from the temple inscriptions. Usually such material is available only in archives and that is generally relied upon for a study of this nature.

In the present case, unfortunately, archival material in the form of contemporary documents, apart from inscriptions, are extremely rare for Vijayanagar, unlike later periods like the Maharatta and the Moghul rulers. Moreover, the archival matter though it may be 200 or 300 years old, has necessarily got to be accepted with a great deal of care, since traditionally, forging of revenue accounts has been resorted to by the Village Officers for various reasons of their own. Hence, when any general deductions and conclusions based upon village archival revenue records are drawn, they tend to be misleading, unless a great deal of care and cross referencing is done to check the accuracy of the records. In other words, the mere antiquity of an archival record is not necessarily proof for its correctness or for its veracity.

In the case of temple inscriptions, the above disability does not exist. In the first place, these inscriptions have not been written down for any temporal purposes where lure of money might have played some part in forging the accounts. These represent endowments to the Lord, and in such cases, on account of the great sanctity attached to it, a great deal of care and attention has been paid, to ensure not only complete accuracy of the information, but also a great deal of care has gone into the correct application of the money for the purposes for which they were endowed. A man may generally cheat the Government or even himself, but rarely does he cheat the Lord. It is a fact of common knowledge, that even now uncollectable loan documents, that are made over to the Lord and thrown in the Hundis, are generally collected by the temple authorities by a simple notice, since no one would like to be indebted to the Lord, and would like to square up his accounts to Him to the last pie. The importance of the temple inscriptions lies in this fact, that they are completely and totally reliable as data for drawing correct conclusions.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(2) Land Revenue, Tenure and Temple Lands in the 16th century Andhra Desa.

The inscriptions are mainly endowments of land, either whole villages or portions of villages, or some plots of land either irrigated or unirrigated. The endowments have been made in many cases with a stipulation that the funds are to be invested by the temple and a particular 'seva' or service or 'ubhayam' should be performed in the name of the donor, with the money that is earned as a result of the investment. In some cases, endowments are intended for one time expenditure in connection with a particular service. It is from the earlier type of investment, viz., that which is intended for investment and whose annual recurring income is intended to defray the expense of a particular seva, that we do get exceedingly interesting information with regard to the social economic system of the track round the Tirupati temple for the 16th century.

It is necessary to bear in mind, in this connection, the general condition of land tenure during this period. It is well known that during Vijayanagar period there were four basic forms of land revenue, viz.,

- (a) Bhandaravada or the king's lands, which were under the direct cultivation of the treasury, and from which the royal treasury received income year by year to defray the expenditure of the government;
- (b) Amaram, that is lands held on military service by Nayaks, who devoted the income from the lands towards maintenance of the stipulated number of soldiers, whose services could be called upon by the emperor in times of need. There are many variations to this tenure, some where the entire money is spent on maintenance, and some others, where only a part is remitted to the royal treasury and the other part is retained for service, etc.
- (c) Lands held on what is known as eleemosynary tenure, that is charitable endowments which were given to the Brahmins, temples, mutts or traditional educational institutions. Tenure was different in each case. In some cases the Mathadhipati will himself be the owner; in some cases the temple lands will be managed by the trustees, etc.
- (d) A peasant proprietor tenure, about which there has been a great deal of discussion amongst scholars of Vijayanagar History like Prof. T.V. Mahalingam and Dr. N. Venkataramayya etc.

(3) Temple's Share of the Income.

Whatever be the nature of the tenure, under which either village or village land was held, broadly the income from the land was divided into two shares

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGRA PERIOD

viz., 'melvaram' and 'kudivaram' the former going to the owner and the latter to the actual tiller of the soil. This system remained practically in tact till the British days. The 'melvaram' share went to the person or the Institution to whom the village has been granted, whether it be a temple or the royal treasury or Mutt etc., whereas 'kudivaram' share was retained by the actual cultivator. This system of division of the annual produce into the owner's share and the cultivator's share dates back from the Pallava and Chola period where they were known as 'Miatchi' and 'Kaniatchi.' Thus, when a land or a village was granted to a temple by the King, what actually accrued to the temple was merely the 'melvaram' share, which the King or the Treasury would in the normal circumstances have collected from the produce of the village, and not the 'kudivaram,' which always went to the tiller of the soil.

The first point therefore to be noted in a socio-economic study based on the temple inscriptions, is that the cultivator's share of the annual produce was nowhere touched, irrespective of the type of the tenure of the village, and the type of the person or the institution to which the land was granted.

(4) Temple Resources and Organisation of Irrigation Potential.

Irrigation development at Tirupati was important, first, because it provided a reliable and stable investment for monetary endowments. The number and magnificence of the ritual services at Tirupati depended upon a reliable stream of income which resulted from the investment of endowed funds. Without the assurance which this irrigation programme provided for the donor of money, it is doubtful whether money endowments for the deities of the Temple could have reached the proportions they did. Hence, the institutional growth of the Temple was closely associated with and dependent upon the programme of agricultural development which the Temple carried out.

The development of an efficient secular management of the Temple was also closely related to the irrigation programme. In the 1380's, after two centuries as an increasingly important shrine, the Tirupati temple came under the management of twelve trustees (sthanattar). In the course of the century of growth, from the 1450's, the function of the Temple management changed. This was an important factor in the irrigation programme. The relationship between the volume of resources which came into the Temple and the secular management of the Temple was an interdependent one. Part of the increasing endowments of land and money in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries must have resulted from the fact that management was efficient

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and responsible, as much as from the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers. During the sixteenth century, as endowments continued to grow in magnitude, the secular organisation of the Temple changed to accommodate and encourage the input of resources.

(5) Classified list of donors.

The Tirumala inscriptions give us complete details of donors whether the endowment was of a village or of money. These can be classed into the following 28 categories:

1. Emperor of Vijayanagara
2. Queen (Junior)
3. Queen (Senior)
4. Viceroy
5. Chief Minister
6. Chief Minister's family
7. Chief Commander
8. Generals
9. Palace Officer
10. Royal Officer
11. Royal Purohit
12. Subordinate officers and Feudatory chiefs
13. Revenue officer
14. Settlement Officer
15. Another Officer (whose exact function is not defined)
16. Jiyars
17. Ekaki-Srivaishnavas
18. Acharyapurushas and spiritual teachers
19. Sabhaiyar (Members of Assembly)
20. Vaidika-Brahmanas
21. Poet's family
22. Musician Poets
23. Scholar
24. Nambimar (Temple priests)
25. Madhva teacher
26. Temple accountants
27. Citizens and Merchants
28. Private (devoted) persons

An analysis of the nature of the endowments has been made for the spectrum of about 60 years from 1510 A.D. to 1570 A.D. roughly corresponding to the time of Krishnadevaraya (1508-1530), Achyutharaya (1530-1542) and Sadasivaraaya (1542-1568), from the Tirumala inscriptions. Tabulating the total number of village endowments made by donor groups in the temple during the period 1510 to 1570 A.D., we arrive at the following result:—

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Table 1.

Sl. No.	Grantor.	Type of tenure.	Krishna devaraya's reign.	Achyuta raya's reign.	Sadasiva raya's reign.	Total
1.	The King, Queen, Viceroy and other State officials.	Crown tenure	12	10	40	62
2.	Temple functionaries like Jiyar, Acharyapurusha, scholars, musicians, temple damsels, etc.	Charitable endowments	5	19	18	42
3.	Others like merchants, devotees, etc.	Peasant Proprietary etc.	1	6	3	10
Total			18	35	61	114

Similarly, the monetary endowments to the temple for the same period could be tabulated as follows:

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Table 2.

Sl. No	Grantors.	Krishnadevaraya's time.		Achyutaraya's time.		Sadasivaraya's time.	
		Value (panam)	% of Total.	Value (panam)	% of Total.	Value (panam)	% of Total.
1.	King, Queen, Viceroy and other state officials.	51,400	33 %	308,705	65 %	38,680	20.5 %
2.	Temple functionaries like Jiyar, Acharyapurushas, etc.	40,681	26 %	109,898	24 %	42,371	23.5 %
3.	Others like merchants, devotees, etc	53,185	41 %	51,988	11 %	108,555	56 %
Total		145,356	100	470,591	100	189,706	100

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

The socio-economic problems out of the above classification of donors groupwise and of the endowments landwise and moneywise raises the following points for consideration:

- (i) What was the total income from the lands endowed to the temple and whether this income was sufficient for the proper performance of the rituals and utsavams;
- (ii) What was the further source of income for the temples in order to improve the economic viability of the temple as an institution;
- (iii) What are the economic factors that lie behind the temple functionaries themselves endowing lands, villages and money to the temple, since generally it is always assumed, that the temple functionaries only received the benefits of the endowment of the temple, and rarely made any endowments;
- (iv) What is the reason for the increase in the monetary income of the temple during Achyutaraya's time as against the earlier period of Krishnadevaraya and the later period of Sadasivaraya;
- (v) Whether the monetary endowments were used up merely as one time expenditure by the temple for the rituals or whether they were invested as specifically stipulated in many endowments, and if so what is the nature of the investment, and what is the nature of the returns from the investments;
- (vi) What light can the above economic analysis, if it could be made, throw on the general economic life of the people in the 16th century A.D;

A careful study and analysis of some of the inscriptions themselves do provide an answer to the above questions.

Of the 115 villages granted to the Temple between 1510 and 1570, sixty-two out of 114 or 54 per cent came directly from state donors. Villages granted by temple functionaries (donor group two in Table 1) were held on eleemosynary tenure, and these lands originally had been granted to the temple functionaries by state officers and tributary chiefs for the most part.* Village grants by

* This cannot be established in absolutely certain terms because the inscriptions usually do not specify how the temple functionaries obtained their villages. In eight cases where the origin of villages granted by temple functionaries is specified, six came from state donors, one from another functionary, and one was purchased by a functionary from a local chieftain. See Nos. 284, 601, 588, 587, 681, P. 651 T T and No. 12, 429, 347, G. T. In general, no group other than holders of crown and service tenure lands had command over villages to a degree which would have permitted alienation to temple functionaries as brahmadeya grants.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Temple functionaries comprised forty-three of the 115 villages, or 37 per cent. Taken together, the village granted by state donors, either directly to the Temple, or indirectly through the intermediary grant to a temple functionary, numbered 105 villages or 91 per cent of the 115 villages granted between 1509 and 1568.

The income from crown villages and villages held on service tenure, which comprised 91 percent of the villages settled upon the Temple, was divided into two principal shares; a "major share" (melvaram) and a "minor share" (kudivaram or kilvaram). The major share of village income was employed for State or military purposes. The minor share was retained by the cultivators of the lands. These traditional dual shares represented claims upon the annual harvests of villages under crown or service tenure.** When a village under crown or service tenure was granted to the Temple, the division of village income into major and minor shares was retained. However, the major share of the income of the village-now a temple village- went to the Temple. The minor share, as before, remained with the cultivators.***

The primary purpose of a land endowment was to provide a perpetual income for a ritual service. In addition to the provision of income, these land endowments to the Temple provided a place for the investment of monetary endowments. Examination of the Tirumala inscriptions and of those of other South Indian temples in this period suggests that temple lands differed with respect to their suitability for investment and development. For development purposes, the most restricted form of temple village tenure was that arising from a grant of land which provided that the donor should have the right of tenancy over the land(kaniyatchi),§ and that the donor should pay into the temple an agreed sum of money each year. There were only three existing records of this sort of arrangement in the Tirumala inscriptions. §§ Another

** The use of the terms melvaram and kudivaram to refer to major and minor income shares and the terms referring to the right to enjoy these shares, miyatchi and kanyatchi, were in use during the Chola period (ca. 10th to 13th centuries) and even before during the 8th and 9th centuries of the Pallava ascendancy, see K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, the Colas, II, Part I (Madras: University of Madras, 1937); 395 and Kishori Mohan Gupta, the Land System of South India between c. 800 A.D. and 1200 A.D. Punjab Oriental Series No. XX (Dahore: M. Benarsi Das, 1933),

*** This fact was noted by the South Indian historian S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar in his study of the Tirupati temple: XX. A History of the Holy Shrine of Sri Venkatesa in Tirupati, II (Madras: Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam Committee, 1941), 403. According to Gupta, this was characteristic in South India.

§ See note 8, also 'kanyatchi' in Horace H. Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms (Calcutta; Eastern Law House, 1940) p. 402.

§§ No. 347-G.T; No. 648-T.T; and No. 53a-A. T.T.

restricted form of tenure of endowed lands, from the point of view of potential development, was that in which the lands granted represented only a fixed income of specified revenue with no other rights over the income of the village nor power to interfere with the occupants. This was called *srotriyam* tenure, and the donor of a *srotriyam* village received this right from the state in recognition of some service of honour. According to the extant Tirumala inscriptions, there were two such grants to the Temple in 1514.*** The Kaniyatchi and *srotriyam* tenures restricted the capacity of the Temple to receive a fixed income regardless of the total income of the land.

With the exception of the cases mentioned above, the Temple could develop its endowed land and realize additional income. As trustees of the major share of income from a temple village, the temple managers could apparently invest funds for permanent improvements as long as part of the additional income from the capital investment was apportioned to holders of minor shares (*kudivaram*)

(6) Investment by the Temple of Capital Endowment.

There are many inscriptions in Tirumala which specifically give directions about the nature of the investments to be made out of the capital endowment of the donor, and the specific utilisation of the return on it.

For example epigraph No. 559-T.T. which is engraved on the third prakara of the Tirumala Temple and pertaining to Saka year 1462 or 1540 A.D. of the time of Sri Achyutaraya mentions that the trustees of the temple, executed the epigraph in favour of Angaraja Nagappayyar (probably a bodyguard of King Achutaraya as his designation 'angaraja' indicates), to the effect that since he had paid the sum of 15,000 'narpanam's (*which term apparently means a gold coin*) into the temple treasury, for the purpose of propitiating Sri Venkatesa and other deities, the temple trustees will utilise this sum of 15,000 'nar-panam' for the improvement of the tanks and channels of the temple village, and with the income obtained thereby, prepare 300 *appa-padi* and offer it at Tirumala to the Lord, in the name of the donor. The full details of the *appa-padi* offerings, as for example that to be given on the Pavitrotsavam

*** No. 284-T.T; and No. 27-T.T.

- § Cultivators of temple village not only realized the benefits from the capital improvements in their land, and therefore greater minor share incomes, but they probably benefited materially from the investment initially since the money was mainly used for labour services in construction of irrigation improvement. It is probable that the actual labour was performed by the cultivators.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

day, the car festival day, the Floating Festival day, the 25 days of Ekadasi, the Unjal-tirunal or Swing Festival, etc., are all given in detail in the above inscription. It is thus clear that this endowment of 15,000 'nar-panams' was intended to be invested for the improvement of the tanks and channels which investment was expected to yield a monetary return which would be enough to perpare 300 appa-padi. This inscription therefore specifically mentions an investment of endowment in irrigation works, the return from which was intended to defray the cost of a specific service to the Lord.

There are many such inscriptions which give the same details. For example, inscription No. 639 T. T. on the South base of the Padikavali-gopuram mentions that 800 'nar-panam' given by one Ulagappan should be laid out for the improvement of the tanks and channels in the temple villages, and with the produce derived thereby the service to the Lord mentioned in the epigraph should be maintained.

In some inscriptions, like No. 411—T. T. the invested amount is in 'nar-panam' whereas the return is mentioned to defray the cost of tirupponakam which is another type of service to the Lord.

It is thus clear that the irrigation development of temple villages, (that is a village already granted to the temple by the King or other devotees), provided a reliable and stable investment for capital endowments which yielded a monetary return for doing a specified service to the Lord. In the first place, it must be remembered that a capital investment of the above nature requires an efficient management of the finances of the temple. From the 14th century onwards, the management of the temple was under 12 Trustees or 'Sthanattars' and one can reasonably conclude that an efficient financial management of the temple bore a constant relationship to the volume of resources which came up to the temple.

(7) Return from the Investment on Irrigation

In most of the inscriptions the capital amount invested is given in terms of 'panams', whereas the return is in terms of either 'appa-padi' or tirupponakam' or things like that which are intended as a source of service to the Lord.

Unless, therefore, a monetary nexus is established between the capital invested and the return reaped, it would not be possible for us to establish the percentage of return for the investment done by the temple. Fortunately there are one or two inscriptions which give us enough data to compute the above.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Inscriptions 421 T. T. and 2—G. T. give us full information on the above point. Inscription 421 T. T. is on the south wall of the Third Prakara of the Tirumala temple, and this mentions the execution of the stone epigraph in favour of Singaraja, son of Salakayyadeva Maharaja in Saka year 1463 of the Kumbha Masa of the cyclic year Plava, which corresponds to 10th February 1542 A.D. This mentions that the donor having paid 15,000 'nar-panam' into the temple treasury on that day, for the purpose of propitiating Sri Malaikuniyaninra-Perumal with 300 appa-padi as his ubhayam, the temple trustees will utilise the above sum for the improvement of tanks and channels in the temple villages, and with the income obtained thereby, will offer the service mentioned, viz., 300 appa-padis. This along with epigraph No. 559—T. T. already mentioned above shows that 15,000 nar-panam were needed for an irrigation investment, to yield an annual monetary return from out of which 300 appa-padis could be prepared.

Epigraph No. 2—G. T. on the South wall of the inner pradakashinam in the shrine of Parthasarathisvami in the first prakara of Sri Govindarajasvami Temple, Tirupati, mentions that in the year Plava, corresponding to Saka year 1463 in the Makara month 5th lunar day, corresponding to 20th January 1542 A.D., the temple trustees executed an epigraph in favour of Sriramayyengar, who had given a capital endowment of 56 'pon' or gold coin, which the trustees proposed to invest in temple villages, and with the harvest reaped therefrom will prepare the offerings mentioned in the inscription, as the donor's ubayam to the Lord. In the list of the offerings given it is stated that 5 panam will be used for one 'manohara-padi', 3 panams for 'dosai padi', 6 panam for one 'appa-padi' etc. and all these padis will be offered in the name of (name damaged) of Kasyapa-gotra, Apastamba-sutra and Yajus-sakha residing in the village of Kundannalu in Penukonda-sima. This shows that six panams were needed for one appa-padi.

The above data from the two epigraphs put together will enable us to arrive at the monetary return of the capital investment from the Tirupati Temple. Both the epigraphs are contemporaneous being executed in January and February of 1542 A.D. and hence would accurately reflect the price levels. Since the cost of one appa-padi is 6 panams, the cost of 300 appa-padis will be 1800 panams per year and since 15,000 'nar-panam' had been invested to give a return sufficient for 300 appa-padis, the monetary return for a capital investment of 15,000 'nar-panam' is 1800 'panam.' This works out to a percentage return of 12.

It must be remembered that the extra income by an improvement to irrigation and canals did not wholly accrue to the temple. The temple's

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

share was always the 'melvaram' share only, and hence any investment of funds for permanent improvements to irrigation and canal systems, resulted automatically in additional income to the cultivators, to the extent of their share of 'kudivaram,' in accordance with the tenure system and the apportionment of produce of the land produce then in force. Thus, the cultivators of the temple villages, not only had greater recurring income to the extent of their 'kudivaram' share, on account of the capital improvement done to the irrigation and canal systems by the temple authorities, but also benefitted materially from the initial investment itself, since the investment was spent mainly for labour service in construction of irrigation improvement. Thus, the local village people who would naturally have performed this service, would also have been benefitted by a large percentage of the capital invested in improvement since other overheads and other tools and material would have been negligent.

The monetary return for other donors as computed in a similar manner from other inscriptions shows that the percentage return varied from 6 to 15.

This variation is due to the fact that the earning capacity was determined by the particular villages chosen for investment. There are two factors that would influence the actual return.

- (a) The yield potential of the field, based on its fertility and its size; and
- (b) The share of 'melvaram' and 'kudivaram' which might have differed from village to village. Inscriptions show that 'melvaram' share varied from 40 to 75% of the total produce.

An average view could be taken that the normal average return would be about 8%. As already stated the above represents only the 'melvaram' share. If the 'melvaram' share is, say, roughly 50% of the total produce, or, in other words, if the 'kudivaram' share is equal to the 'melvaram' share, the total extra monetary production on account of the capital investment on improvement would be 16%.

We must, in this connection, remember one important factor. The above 'melvaram' share represents realisation of dues to the temple. As already stated above earlier, dues to the temple even in modern days are always paid in full and there are no arrears and no dissipations. Hence the 8% average return on the 'melvaram' share can be taken very correctly to represent cent-per-cent collection.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Since the 'melvaram' is generally the share due to the Royal Treasury, which in this case had been endowed earlier to the temple, we can conclude, as a general proposition, that if the dues to the royal treasury on improvement of irrigation and canal systems are collected in full, the return would be 8%. Since normally collection to the royal treasury (as in fact the collection of Government revenues till 40 or 50 years ago) is only about 40%, the rest being dissipated in various manipulation of accounts at various levels, we can as a general economic proposition conclude, that during this 16th century, government investments on irrigation gave an average return of 40% of 8% or 3.2% computing only the actual collection.

It might be of interest to remember in this connection, that according to modern classifications an irrigation work yielding 1.5% is said to be a productive investment and there is hardly an irrigation investment which gives a return of 3% on actuals. It would thus appear from the above analysis that the system of water management and revenue collection in the 16th century in Andhra Desa was run on very efficient lines.

The gap between the return to the Temple on a monetary endowment and the total return on the money seen as a capital investment in agricultural development is a significant one. This gap was the measure of welfare produced by the irrigation programme carried out by the Temple. For every capital improvement resulting from the investment in a temple village part of the additional income or product remained with the holder of the minor share of income of the temple village. Spread over more than one hundred villages, this additional income, which varied with the proportions of the major and minor shares, must have had a good effect upon the level of living of the cultivators of temple village lands.

(8) Cost data of each of the prasadams.

The exact quantity of the appams or sweet meats contained in one appa-padi can also be found out from one of the inscriptions.

Inscription No. 513-T.T. on the west wall of the prakara of the Tirumala temple of 5th June 1544 records the epigraph of the trustees of the temple in favour of Attilangu Nayakka of Vemampattu Palaiyam (one of the Military stations of the Vijayanagar empire) and details the ubhayam to be performed in the name of the donor for his endowment of 550 'nar-panam.' In the course of the epigraph this information is gleaned, "Vittavan-vizhukkadu appam padimunrum" i.e., 'the donor's share (quarter) of the offered appa-prasada i.e., 13 appam per padi shall be delivered to Singayan the cultivator

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of the donor's flower garden at Tirumala." This gives the interesting data that 1/4 of appa-padi consisted of 13 appams, i.e., one appapadi consisted exactly of 52 appams. It is interesting to note that even in the present day till a few years ago a prasadam 'padi' consisted of 52 appams only.

From another epigraph we also get full details of the ingredients and raw materials that were needed to make one appa-padi.

Inscription No. 267-T. T. on the south wall of the interior verandah of Tirumalairayan's mandapam and flour room in the second prakara of the Tirumala temple, dated 15th September 1512, records the agreement between the temple trustees in favour of Pappusetti-ayyan, one of the merchants of Narasingarayapuram, a suburb of Tirupathi. It mentions that out of the proceeds of the donor's endowment of 2,500 nar-panams, the articles listed are to be procured for the preparation of the prasada. In the course of the list of the raw materials required for preparation of various types of prasada it says,

" Towards 2 appa-padi to be offered to Lord
Govindaraja and 1 appa-padi to be offered to
Lord Raghunatha in total for 3 appa-padis,
the following articles are to be procured:
6 marakkals of rice
6 nali of ghee
600 palams of jaggery and
1 ulakku and 1 alakku of pepper.

Hence one appa-padi required, 2 marakkals of rice, 2 nali of ghee, 200 palams of jaggery and 1/3 ulakku and 1/3 alakku of pepper. These measures of weight and volume are extant well known tamil measures and their modern equivalents can be easily worked out.

Since one appa-padi required 6 panams and since ingredients are known, it should be very easy to work out a detailed cost analysis in terms of panams of the ingredients required.

Since panam can be computed in terms of modern rupee, a complete and detailed cost break-up of Tirupathi Temple prasada of 16th century is possible.

Also, since the basic breakthrough has been achieved viz., that 15,000 'panams' yielded 1800 'panams' a year or even computing 8% (which is the average yield) which will yield a return of 1200 panams a year, the cost equivalent of all other prasadam can be easily worked out from the inscriptions.

For example, inscription No. 192 - T. T. (of 10th July, 1514 A.D.) records a gift of 10,000 'nar-panams' for 8 'tiruponakam' (modern 'ven-pongai') to Lord Venkatesa. At 8% return 800 'panams' are required for 8 'tiruponakam' daily or assuming 350 tiruponakams per year roughly the cost of one 'tiru-ponakam' will be roughly 1/3 panam.

Similarly, inscription No. 247-T. T. (of 5th March 1506) gives a deposit of 840 nar-panam for 27 'atirasa-padi.' At 8% this means 27 atirasa-padi costs 51.3 panams or roughly one atirasa- padi costs 2 panams.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Inscription No. 186—G. T. mentions a deposit of 600 panam for 10 dosai-padi. At 8% return, 10 dosai-padi would cost 48 panams, or roughly one dosai-padi will cost 5 panams.

Similarly, the cost of all other prasadas can be worked out from the inscriptions. As inscription No. 267—T. T. of Krishnadeveraya's time already referred to above, gives a complete and detailed breakdown of the ingredients and raw materials required for the preparation of each type of prasadas, it will be possible to work out a detailed cost data of the prasadas of the temple.

(9) Monetary Endowments of Temple Servants to Tirumala Temple.

An analysis has been made of the monetary endowments to the Tirumala Temple by various donors from 1510 to 1570 A.D. The following is the result:

Table 3.

Donors	1509—30		1530—42		1542—68	
	Value (Panam)	% of Total	Value (Panam)	% of Total	Value (Panam)	% of Total
A. State Donors		33.0		65.0		20.5
Viceroy			30,675	6.5		
Chief Minister .. 1,200		1.0				
Commander						
-in-chief			15,000	3.0		
Generals .. 18,980		12.0	145,200	30.5	4,260	2.5
Royal Officers .. 19,990		13.0	11,010	2.0	1,580	0.1
Subordinate and						
Tributary Officers.. 11,320		7.0	106,820	23.0	32,840	17.0
B. Temple						
Functionaries		26.0		24.0		23.5
Temple Priests .. 28,215		18.0	66,963	15.0	22,482	12.0
Musicians,						
poets dancers .. 2,500		1.5	30,480	6.0	6,340	4.0
Scholars .. 2,520		1.5	4,185	1.0	5,747	3.0
Temple						
Accountants .. 7,446		5.0	8,270	2.0	7,802	4.5
C. Local Residents						
and Merchants		41.0		11.0		56.0
Citizens and						
Merchants of						
Tirupati .. 25,625		23.0	41,695	9.0	54,405	28.0
Private Devotees .. 27,560		18.0	10,293	2.0	54,150	28.0
Total .. 155,606	100.0		469,901	100.0	186,606	100.0
		100.0		100.0		100.0

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(10) Endowments by Temple Servants.

A peculiar feature noted in the chart analysis of the above inscriptions, is that the temple functionaries themselves have granted as much as 42 villages out of 114 in the 60 years taken for study. Similarly, their endowment accounts for 25% of the monetary endowment. This looks *prima facie* strange, since normally endowments are made by either devotees or royal patrons, and it looks extremely odd that the temple functionaries who should really be receiving these endowments would themselves endow as much as 42 of the total of 114 village endowments to the Lord.

There must be an economic reason for this and the temple inscriptions themselves give a clue to the elucidation of the above point.

Economically speaking the temple functionaries who generally, recited Sanskrit and Tamil verses, or were musicians, poets, dancers, etc., depended primarily for their livelihood upon their share of the prasada of the temple. In one inscription in the shrine of Sri Govindarajasvami of 1467 A.D. (No. 81 G. T.), it is stated that the functionaries of the temple petitioned that they might be permitted to distribute among themselves the prasadam offered to that Lord similar to the practice of Tirumala, so as to maintain themselves. This clearly shows that the prasada was the main source of income for the temple functionaries. (Even today the prasadas are the main items of their income.) It follows, therefore, that the greater the supply of prasada to the Lord, the greater the income accruing to the temple functionaries since they had no other income from the temple.

The question now arises as to how temple functionaries were able to mobilise the large resources that were necessary to enable them to make endowments to the temple, both of villages and of money, to the extent of 42 of the 114 villages, and to the extent of nearly 25% of the monetary endowments. The clue to a solution to this apparent paradox lies in the way in which prasadam was distributed.

It is clear from many inscriptions that there is a difference in the distribution of the prasada to a temple functionary as an employee and as a person making an endowment to the Lord. A temple functionary probably received only prasadam to maintain himself and his family. So far as a person making an endowment is concerned, he is, as per the temple practice, entitled to 1/4th share of the total prasadam being offered to the Lord. This is known as 'vittavan-vizhukkadu'. The word 'vittavan-vizhukkadu' represents that portion of the prasadam offered to the Lord which is to be given to the donor.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

The first mention of this practice at Tirumala is found in 1354 A.D. in Epigraph No. 102 T. T. on the North wall of the Varadarajasvami Temple of the 19th year of Tirubhuvanachakravarthi Nayanar Sriranganatha Yadavarayar which mentions that out of the prasadam taken out after being offered, he the donor shall be entitled to receive a quarter share.

'Vittavan-vizhukkadu' as a share of the prasadam to the person making the endowment is not dependent upon the practice of payment to temple functionaries prevailing in the temple, but is generally 1/4th of the total. Thus a person making a prasadam of 100 appa-padi would be enabled to receive 25 appa-padis as his share of the prasadam.

Since sacred food or prasadam was largely in demand from the devotees and pilgrims that thronged to the temple, the disposal of the 25% of the prasadam by the person making an endowment contributed a sizeable revenue income to him. The other 75% accrued to the temple as its share of income.

Inscriptions from the temple make it very clear that there was a well regulated trade in the prasadams. One inscription mentions eleven lease-holders who had the monopoly to sell the prasadam after procuring it from the donors and the temple functionaries. These were called as 'prasadakkarar'. For example, inscription No. 278-T. T. on the west wall of the second prakara of Tirumala Temple registers a sale deed in favour of one Tirumala ayyangar in Saka year 1457 or 1535 A.D. which mentions that the quarter share of the donor's prasadam as detailed in the inscription shall be sold to the purchaser. This is a sale deed in favour of one Tirumalayyengar by Saluva Govindaraja for the sale of the latter's share of the 1/4 prasadam. This clearly shows that prasadams were being sold according to well established trade practice and the sale deeds were also being registered by the temple authorities. There are plenty of such inscriptions registering sale deed of prasadams.

It would thus appear that the 'prasadakkarar' paid an annual amount to the persons to whom the prasadams were delivered and had the right to himself gather and sell it to the pilgrims, probably at profit. There are several inscriptions which go to prove the right of the donor to sell his share or 'vittavan-vizhukkadu' to a lease-holder and probably a large number of wealthy lease-holders thrived on this business. Many still do so!

The monetary endowments and the village endowments of the temple functionaries to the temple to such a significant percentage as mentioned above now take on a very significant colour. Since as per the temple practice any

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

person making an endowment was entitled to 1/4th share of the prasadam, and as the prasadam was a transferable commodity, whose sale was registered by a sale or lease deed, and could easily be converted into money, there was good incentive to the temple functionaries to invest their surplus income as an endowment to the Lord, since the monetary conversion of their 1/4th share of the prasadam as a result of the endowment, gave them enough monetary return on the capital which they invested as an endowment. In other words, an endowment to the Lord (in the absence of a safe banking system for a non-money-lender) was treated by them as a capital investment, and the prasadam return, was sold for cash, which was computed by them as enough of an annual return for the capital sunk by them, to motivate them to making greater and greater endowments.

The fuller nexus in terms of percentage return on the capital sunk as an endowment, and the return reaped as 1/4th share of the prasadam, has to be worked out by deeper and fuller study of the inscriptions. It is sufficient to know here that the return was sufficiently attractive to motivate the temple functionaries to invest their surplus cash as endowments to the Lord. This incidentally gave them the added advantage, since the 'punya' or merit of an endowment to the Lord also accrued to them.

Hence it would appear that the management of the finances of the temple were so finely balanced, that there was sufficient motivation for an endowment to the Lord, as the monetary return by a sale of the 1/4th share of the prasada was sufficiently attractive. It should be possible to work out a complete money flow chart of this operation by further studies in depth.

The same should hold good for endowments by the temple functionaries of villages also to the Lord, since the produce of the village share also went for an ubhayam, from which the donor received 1/4 share as his 'vizhukkadu'.

(11) Irrigation development by Investment of Tirumala Temple.

The above study of irrigation development as a capital investment by Tirumala Temple is not unique. The same is true of many other South Indian temples. What is unique in Tirumala is that we have complete and detailed inscriptional evidence to draw accurate conclusions on the above. Similar studies could be attempted in respect of other temples.

A generalisation regarding the socio economic conditions of the people of the region can also be drawn by the broad example of the Tirumala temple as has been attempted in one case above.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

The whole economic and financial functions of the temple could easily be mapped out completely by a study in depth of the wealth of material available in the Tirumala inscriptions.

The study could also cover changes in the temple management coinciding with the improvement in the income to the temple.

The pattern of payment to the temple functionaries based upon their payment in prasadam could also be worked out. It would also be possible to work this out in monetary terms by working out the monetary return on the devotee's 1/4th share of the prasadam. Having the example mentioned above, an investment of 15,000 nar-panams is enough to produce an offering of 300 appa-padis. The devotee's vizhukkadu or 1/4th share could be 75 appa-padis. The cost of 6 panams of one appa-padi is only the cost of production to the temple. The cost paid by the prasadam-leaseholder or the 'prasadakkarar' will be higher, say, 10 panams for appa-padi. This will give a return of 750 panams for 15,000 panams or a general interest rate of 5% which compares very favourably with a safe bank deposit interest rate till a few years ago.

Thus, the endowments by the temple functionaries was in effect an investment which gave them a 5% return. This investment sunk in irrigation works by the temple increased the prosperity of the cultivators to the extent of their 'kudivaram' share, increased the income to the temple leading to greater celebrations, which, by the expenditure involved gave rise to further economic prosperity and in addition acted as a 5% investment to the temple functionaries. This cycle was a self-sustaining and self-improving financial cycle since more income meant more investment which gave more income and so on in addition to improving the standard of living of the cultivators.

This is a unique economic and financial management system the like of which has not been seen anywhere and certainly not attempted even in modern times.

The wealth of the epigraphical details available in the Tirumala inscriptions would, if properly handled and studied in depth, enable us to map out fully and correctly a complete socio - economic picture of the societies of the 4 or 5 centuries to which these inscriptions belong.

(12) Other Miscellaneous Social and Economic data

Other miscellaneous socio economic data can be gathered from the temple inscriptions and they could be fitted into a proper economic spectrum of the 16th century A.D. by proper analysis. Some examples of the type of data available are given below:

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(i) Inscription No. 417—T. T. on the south wall of the third prakara of Tirumala temple records the agreement of the trustees in favour of Hanumayyan, a disciple of Kumara Tata Iyengar. It is dated 20th October 1545 A.D. It gives the valuable information that 200 rekhai-pon (gold coin) and 175 rekai-pon are required for the two types of ubhayams detailed in it. It says that since Hanumayyan having paid 3750 nar-panams into the temple treasury for these two items, the ubhayams will be performed. In other words, the requirement for both ubhayams is given as 375 rekai-pon, while the equivalent payment made is 3750 nar-panams. This gives the equation that one rekai-pon is equivalent to 10 panams. As many other data is given in the inscriptions in terms of rekhai-pon, the above equation will enable us to compute the cost of all in terms of panams.

(ii) Inscription No. 415-G.T. on the second prakara of the Govindarajawswami Temple records the agreement of the temple trustees and Srinivasa Iyengar one of the Tirumala Acharya-purushas. It is dated 3rd June 1547 A.D. It states that the donor has granted Periya-Ekkalur village yielding an annual income of 2000 chakram-pon (gold-coin) granted to him by Sadasiyaraya and, gives a very long and detailed list of the ubhayams like alankara, dadhyodana, etc., It is one of the longest inscriptions of the temple and gives very detailed information like the cost of 3 rekhai (or 30 panams) for 3000 mangoes. 1 rekai for 1 jack-fruit, 5 panams for 300 coconuts, 7 panams for 3700 betels, etc. A very detailed list of all available fruits, ingredients etc., is given. Since the total should come to 2000 chakra-pon, the monetary equation between chakra-pon and panam and incidentally of rekhai-pon also can be established. The entire monetary system of Vijayanagar can thus be very easily mapped out.

(iii) The above is one of the very rare Tirumala inscriptions which gives the yield of a village. Since paddy (and rice) being one of the major ingredients of the prasadam can be costed, as explained above, the paddy yield of the village working back from paddy to panam to chakra-pan can be worked out. The village is stated to be situated in Jagadabhi Gutti Sirmai and its modern location is easily found out. Hence a comparative agricultural yield of a village in the days of Sadasivaraya as compared with modern days can be worked out by intensive research. This will be a major breakthrough in the elucidation of the socio economic conditions of the Vijayanagar period. Added to it, the 'kudivaram' share of the cultivator can be worked out and we can have an accurate documented data on how prosperous and contented the villagers were in the Vijayanagar days.

(13) Distribution of Temple Prasadam.

The magnitude of endowments by functionaries of the Temple as shown in the tables given above raises the question of the means by which these persons were able to mobilize the large amounts of money represented in their endowments of the sixteenth century. The answer to this question lies in the manner in which the consecrated food was distributed by the Temple and the value of this food to pilgrims at the Temple. The food offerings, after being presented to the deities of the Temple, were distributed between two groups of persons: (1) the temple functionaries, who, as pointed out, received three quarters of each offering as a maintenance allowance and (2) the donors of money who received one quarter share of their offerings for their own disposal.* Consecrated food becomes an important commodity owing to the demand for it by pilgrims. As endowments to the temple increased under support of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Vijayanagar rulers, ritual performances became more frequent, and splendid, and this in turn attracted pilgrims.† The pilgrims at Tirumala sought consecrated food because such sacred food, when consumed at Tirumala or carried back to the pilgrim's village for others, bestowed additional merit. Thus, as the number of pilgrims increased, the demand for consecrated food grew.

Inscriptions from the Tirumala Temple make it clear that there was a trade in consecrated food. An inscription of 1547 mentioned eleven men who had the right to sell consecrated food after procuring the food from temple functionaries and donors (donor's share). This right was held on lease from the functionaries and others, and the sellers of consecrated food were called prasada leaseholders (prasadakkarar).** It seems evident that the leaseholder paid an annual amount to persons to whom the food was delivered by the temple managers for the right to dispose of it through sale to pilgrims. Nor was this an illicit practice. Some of the Tirumala inscriptions referred to the right of the donor to sell or transfer his one-quarter share of consecrated food, and the existence of wealthy leaseholders of consecrated food indicates that this was an established practice.‡

* The practice of granting one quarter share as the 'donor's share' (vittavan vizukkadu) was widespread in South India. It appears to be a late innovation, the first mention of the practice at Tirumala being 1354; No. 102.—T.T.

‡ The Temple maintained a body of learned propagandists achrayapurushas whose task it was to move about South India describing the Temple and encouraging pilgrims.

** No. 409—G. T.

‡ No. 278, 270. T. T. and No. 102—G.T.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The economic value of consecrated food had an important function in the endowment of money to the Temple. The ability to convert the food into money permitted temple functionaries to contribute about one-fourth of the money endowments by value in the period 1509—68.

(14) Changes in Temple Organisation.

Changes in the management of the Temple resulted from the great increase in endowments of land and money during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The number of temple villages increased from about fifteen[£] to over one hundred between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth centuries; monetary endowments, carrying with them the responsibility of productive investment, reached large proportions. Through this century of rapid growth, the basic secular management of the Temple remained intact. The management was centered around twelve trustees (sthanattar) of whom seven were laymen from Tirumala and five functionaries of the Temple. The chief administrative officers under the temple managers were the temple works office and the temple accountants.

The management of the Temple's secular affairs under the sthanattar was created in the late fourteenth century when festivals and food offerings were few. As wealth in the form of lands and money began to pour into the Temple under the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers, the Temple expanded rapidly. A number of minor temples were established along with feeding houses and rest houses for the comfort of the increased number of pilgrims. The establishment of these minor and auxiliary institutions was a natural part of the growth of the Temple consistent with the class of texts (āgamas) upon which temple procedures were based and with the development of other temples in South India.

The numerous minor and auxiliary temple institutions established at Tirupati during the century of growth between 1456 and 1570 were administered in a different way from the pre-1456 institutions. The new institutions had a significant degree of self-management and financing, having their own manager (kartar), treasuries, and storehouses. Permanent endowments were made expressly for these institutions, and the income from these endowments did

£ This figure of fifteen must be regarded as tentative and is probably low. Many of the earlier inscriptions were damaged in building and rebuilding prior to the 15th century.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

not become a part of the regular Temple income. Hence, while the development of new institutions did not alter the basic organization of the Temple, the functioning of the Temple management underwent important changes. The strict and dominating control of the sthanattar was loosened although their overall control was still apparent.

Administrative decentralization effected two changes in the management of secular affairs. Firstly, the temple managers took up the specialized functions of investment of money endowments in temple villages and the distribution of the consecrated food to a wider network of recipients than ever before. In view of the great increase in endowments and therefore of offerings, this task of investment probably absorbed all the time of the temple managers. Secondly, daily management of the new institutions was left to managers (kartar) and the functionaries associated with these institutions. The temple managers (sthanattar) maintained close control over the major shrines of Venkatesvara and Govindarajaswami, but only a general supervisory control over the newer institutions.

The decentralization of the managerial function though undoubtedly conducive to a greater degree of efficiency left the temple managers free to concentrate upon the investment process and the management of the major shrines and permitted those most interested in the other institutions to manage their own affairs, especially their financial affairs.

The major achievement of the secular management of the Temple in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the productive combination of the monetary and land resources of the Temple. The responsibility of securely investing large endowed funds to yield a stable income over a long period was an onerous one. It was necessary for the temple managers to anticipate the income which would result from the investment of a money endowment in a temple village in order to specify the value of the annual offering in the name of the donor. It was apparently also necessary to negotiate with the cultivators of the temple village, the holders of the right to the minor share of income from the land, in order to adjust the new income shares arising out of the capital investment. The temple managers were also responsible for the creation of the new facilities, *i.e.*, tanks and irrigation channels, from which greater production would result and, with the assistance of the temple works office, they brought these facilities into being. Finally, the managers were responsible for the distribution of the donor's shares of consecrated food to the donors or those they designated. When the large number of endowments are considered, these tasks and the necessary

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

accounting must have been prodigious. The fact that endowments increased through most of the period would indicate that these responsibilities were met successfully. This was a tribute to the secular management of the temple.

(15) Distribution of Food-offerings.

The old temple prasadams which had been instituted when Tirukkalathidevan in 1209 A.D. and Tiruvenkatanatha in 1332 A.D. made their endowments seem to have been entirely for the benefit of those serving in the temple. There is no mention of any portion being appropriated for the benefit of the pilgrims, although they might have had a share directly or indirectly during distribution. The endowments were relatively small. Even the Sthanattar of those days do not appear to have taken any share for themselves. But from about the year 1390, the Sthanattar and the other temple servants seem to have definitely appropriated a sizeable share of each taligai for distribution among themselves leaving the remaining quarter share of the donor which was styled Vittavan Vzhukkadu. Sometimes the donor gave away his quarter share for distribution to pilgrims. The details of distribution of the three quarter share are not given in any inscription. One Mullai Tiruvenkatajiyar who was the manager of the Arisanalayam Nandavanam and matham and also the Koyilkelkumjiyar made an endowment in 1390 A.D. In the distribution of his quarter share as donor, he made provision for allotting a share of each of the twelve members of the Sthanattar, himself being one of the members. This innovation appears to be the beginning of the Sthanattar receiving remuneration. In later years the Sthanattar received the largest share in the shape of cash emoluments during festivals in addition to the prasadams which every donor of food offering seemed bound to give them out of the donor's quarter share.

The pilgrim who depended for his food upon the temple prasadam had to purchase it from such of the temple servants as had more than what they required. There were rare instances in which the donor ordered that the entire quantity of the food offered by him should be distributed among the pilgrims. But even if his injunction had been carried out scrupulously many could not have had the benefit of it. The system of remunerating service in the temple in the shape of cooked food was a wholesome arrangement.

(16) Measures and Weights in the Temple.

Paddy, rice, pulses, pepper, ghee, oils, salt, cardamom, asafoetida, milk, curds, cumin and mustard seeds were being purchased by measure. Sugar-

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

jaggery, tamarind, turmeric, cuscus and sandal paste were purchased by weight in palam and visai. But the weights adopted for the purchase of camphor, refined camphor, saffron and musk were different from the former and were the same as the jeweller's weights for gold and precious stones. Betel leaves and arecanuts were purchased by number.

The measure in use in the Tirumala Temple was larger than that in use in the Tirupati Temples. The former was known as the Uchchiyilninran Kal and the latter as the Chalukya Narayanan Kal or Chalukki. This difference continued to the end of the inscriptional period. By how much the former was larger than the latter is not given in any of the inscriptions. How the standard measure of our days would compare with either of the above two, it is difficult to ascertain.

The lowest was called a soligai or pidi that is as much as a person can take with one hand. This was also taken to be equivalent to half an alakku.

2 pidis or 2 soligai made one allu or alakku.

2 alakku made one ulakku.

2 ulakku made one uri.

2 uri made one nali.

One nali was therefore equivalent to 4 ulakku or 8 alakku (allu) or 16 pidis or 16 soligai.

2 marakkals alias tumbus made one kuruni.

2 kurunis made one padakku.

20 marakkals (80 nalis) made one vatti.

24 marakkals (96 nalis) made one kalam.

Ghee and oil were purchased in units of jars, the contents of a jar being 20 nalis.

The weights used for sugar, tamarind etc., were the palam and the visai. A lesser standard weight than the palam is not given. Nor is there any evidence of seer, maund and 'baram' having been in use. The purchase of tamarind in such a large quantity as 3650 visai is mentioned only in terms of visai.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Weights used for the purchase of gold, musk etc.

In connection with the weighment of gold, the terms kalanju, kadi, manjadi are used in the inscriptions of the 9th century A.D. A coin known as old kasu of a low denomination is also mentioned. Its value in terms of gold is not ascertainable. In regard to the coin or the weight known as kadi, all that can be now said is that more than 15 of these made one kalanju. Panam or Varahappanam, manjadi and kudiram, continued to be in use for several centuries. From other sources the scale of weights as used by jewellers are gathered and given below.

- Four grains of paddy weighed one pana or kunrimani.
- 2 pana weight (rati or gunja) made one manjadi or tukkam.
- 3 pana weight made one valla
- 9 pana weight made one Varahan weight.
- 10 Varahan weight made one palam.

(The weight of one Varahan or Star Pagoda was $52\frac{3}{4}$ grains).

- 8 Pana or ratis made one masha—15 grain rotsy.
- 4 mashas made one tanka.
- 12 mashas or 3 tankas made one tola—180 grains troy.
- 12 pana weight made one kalanju.
- 35 kalanju made one kudiram (420 pana weight).

Gadiana is a weight which occurs in an inscription of 1684 A.D. and is of Gujarati origin. It was equivalent to $\frac{1}{2}$ tola weight. A Gadiana is also stated to weigh 52 grains Troy.

(80 toals made one seer— $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. troy.

40 seers made one maund—100 lbs. troy— $82\frac{2}{7}$ lb. avoird).

Although precious stones were used in ornaments, their weight is not shown separately in any of the early inscriptions. Only the number of each kind is given. It is only in one of Krishnadevaraya's inscriptions that the weight of these is given in ratis and manjalu. In most cases the vague term tukalu is used.

(17) Proportion of ingredients in prasadam

The earliest cooked food or prasadam is the Matrai.

(1) Matrai is a term used to designate the minimum quantity of cooked rice mixed with curds which is offered daily to the Mula Beram after the morning

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Tirumanjanam. It was usually taken to be 4 nali of rice cooked and mixed with thick curds made from cow's milk. In later days, some powdered ginger was also added.

(2) **Sandhi Tirupponakkam:** In this temple the day of 60 ghatikas is divided into five Sandhis and food offerings of some kind or other are made at these intervals. Sandhi Tirupponakkam is a rice food, the standard unit and ingredients of which are as given below:

Rajana or Samba Rice	1 Marakkal	Pepper	1 Soligai
Green Gram (split).	1 alakku	Salt	1 soligai
Ghee	1 alakku	Curds	2 alakku
		Vegetables.	

(3) **Tirukkanamadai:** To break the monotony of the above bland food, a variety which is a bit sweeter was also made in small quantity. It was called tirukkanamadai or akkali prasadam.

Its ingredients are:

Rajan or Samba	Ghee	11 alakku
Rice	1 marakkal	Sugar or Jaggery 50 Palams

Ginger in small quantity: Fruits of four kinds.

In an inscription of 1457 A.D. sugar was increased to 60 palams and ginger and fruits omitted.

(4) **Paruppaviyal tirupponakam:** When more green gram, ghee and sugar were added to a tirupponakkam, it was called Paruppaviyal tirupponakam. Its ingredients are:

Rajana or Samba	Pepper	1 soligai.
Rice 1 marakkal	Salt	1 soligai
Green Gram	Sugar	5 palams.
(Maniparuppu) 1 nali (8 alakku).		

Coconuts and vegetables. The coconut was chipped, fried in ghee and added.

(5) **Dadhyodanam:**—The ingredients underwent slight changes from time to time. This dish was usually offered immediately after a tirumanjanam.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The ingredients are:

Rajana or Samba		pepper	$\frac{1}{2}$ alakku
Rice	1 marakkal	Ghee for seasoning	$\frac{1}{2}$ alakku
Thick curds	5 nali,	Jaggery for	$\frac{1}{2}$ nali
		(sprinkling over)	(ulakku)
Dry ginger	5 palams or		
(powdered)	$\frac{1}{2}$ alakku		
Cardamom powder	$\frac{1}{2}$ alakku		
Coconuts, seasoned vegetables etc.			

In an inscription of 1517 A.D. there is slightly different recipe given:—

Rajana or Samba		Mustard	1 soligai.
Rice	1 marakkal	Ghee	5 alakku
Thick curds	4 nali	Turmeric powder	1 palam
Dry ginger	1 palam	Limes	
Pepper	$\frac{1}{2}$ soligai	Vegetables & sauaces.	
Salt	2 alakku	Cardamom	$\frac{1}{2}$ soligai

(6) Pongal and Panchadarai Pongal.

These preparations occur in inscriptions of the seventeenth century A.D. The ingredients are not stated.

(7) Payasam: Its ingredients are:—

Rice	1 marakkal	Ghee	4 alakku
Milk	6 nali	Sugar	200 palams.

The rice was boiled in milk. It was usually offered as ardhajama sandhi during the night. We would now call it Kshirannam.

(8) Ogarai, or Chitrannam: Five varieties of these are mentioned viz., dadhyodanam, puliogarai, kaduguogarai, ulundu ogarai, ellogarai (or tilannam). Except for dadhyodanam, the ingredients are not given. But for tilannam the ingredients are:—

Rice	1 marakkal	Sugar	10 palams
Ghee	1 ulakku	Gingelly seeds	$\frac{1}{3}$ nali.
(9) Paruppaviyal. Its ingredients are:—			
Rice	1 marakkal	Green gram or Maniparuppu	1 nali
Ghee	1 uri	Sugar	10 palams.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

(10) Dosaippadi; Its ingredients are:—

			Alternative.
Rice	1 marakkal	Rice	1 marakkal
Black gram	1 marakkal	Blackgram	1 marakkal
Curds	1/5 nali	Ghee	3 ulakku
Ghee	1 3/4 nali	Sugar	10 palams

The above is the average taken from the ingredients for 25 padies. Dosai is now irappadi, or night offering. It is also offered on Ekadasi days.

(11) Godhi: Its ingredients are:—

Broken wheat	2 marakkals	Sugar	100 palams
Green gram (broken)	1 marakkal	Ghee	2 nali 2 ula- kku (20 alakku)
Cardamom	1 alakku		

Godhi was similar to the modern preparation called Seera.

(12) Paledukkulambu: This is a preparation which was offered at the ardhajamam puja along with payasam. It came into use for the first time when Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar in 1469 A.D. made a provision for offering half a nali of thick boiled milk. The two queens of Sri Vira Krishnadevaraya presented two gold cups each weighing 374 (ettu) for offering the milk called Sel pal in Tamil and 'Anavala' in Telugu and Periya Obala Nayak Ramanayakkar, the commander-in-chief of Krishnadevaraya's forces, presented 200 cows for providing the required quantity of milk which was boiled until it became very thick. To this thick boiled milk was added one alakku of ghee, one alakku of refined sugar, and cardamoms, the milk was called paledukkulambu or as we now would call it Tirattuppal.

(13) The undermentioned preparations, from numbers (13) to (21) are known as Vagaippadi: (Reference is given in each case to the date when first mentioned in the inscriptions).

Appam. (No. 3-T.T. 1456 A.D.) Its ingredients are:

Rice	2 marakkals.	Jaggery	100 palams
Ghee	2 nali	Pepper	3 alakku.
Cumin seeds and coconuts.			

(14) Atirasam. (No. 54-T.T. 1468 A.D.) Its ingredients are:—

Rice	1 marakkal	Jaggery	100 palams.
Ghee	2 nali	Pepper	1 alakku.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(15) Vadai. (No. 54-T.T. 1468 A.D.) Its ingredients are:—

Black gram	2 marakkals.	Pepper	1½ alakku
Ghee	3 nali	Cumin seeds	1 alakku
Green ginger	3 nali.		

Sometimes pepper and cumin seeds were omitted.

(16) Sukhiyan (No. 45-T.T. 1445 A.D.) Its ingredients are:—

Rice	1 marakkal	Ghee	1 nali
Pulse (green-gram)	1 marakkal	Coconut	1
Jaggery	50 palams.		

Later ghee was increased to 2 nali and jaggery to 200 palams.
(No. 599-T.T.) 1507 A.D.)

(17) Sidai. No. 564-T.T. 1490 A.D.) Its ingredients are:—

Rice	1 marakkal	Ghee	1 nali
Gingelly seed	1 marakkal	Jaggery	50 palams.
(cleaned)		Cumin seed	½ alakku.

(18) Iddali. (1506 A.D.) There are two varieties mentioned in the inscriptions:

The ingredients of the first are:—

Rice	2 marakkals.	Ghee	2 nalis.
Blackgram	1 marakkal		

The ingredients of the second were:

Rice	2 marakkals.	Ghee	3½ nalis.
Blackgram	1/3 marakkals	Sugar	20 palams

(19) Manoharappadi. (No. 509-T.T. 1547 A.D.) Its ingredients are:

Greengram split	1 marakkal	Bengalgram	1 marakkal
and Sugar		(split)	

The pulses were roasted or fried in ghee and the sugar was made into a treacle. The pulses were then mixed with the treacle and made into balls.

The Manoharappadi of the present day is however made with

Rice	16½ seers	Ghee	25 seers.
Greengram	2½ seers	Sugar	60 seers.

CURRENCY.....DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

(20) Kunukkuppadi. (No. 571 and 404-T.T. 1544 & 1548.)

This is made by mixing two parts of rice flour with one part of black gram flour. The mixture is fried in ghee and mixed with jaggery treacle. This mixture is made into balls. Every South Indian family is familiar with Kunukku as it is one of the sweets usually prepared during functions. This however is not one of the dishes made and offered at the present day.

(21) Bhetanikkai. Attavanai Bhasavarasar introduced this novel preparation as a prasadam and not as a paniyaram. Its composition is:—

Blackgram	6 nali	Rice	1 marakkal.
Wheat	2 nali	Blackgram	2 nali
Ghee	8 nali	Wheat	2 nali
Cumin seeds	1 alak	Ghee	8 nali
		Cumin seeds	1 alakku.

It is a novel preparation into which neither salt nor sugar enters. The pulse and the wheat might have been mixed and ground and then fried in ghee with cumin seeds added as spice.

We do not find it mentioned in later inscriptions.

(22) Junnu Padi. (No. 653-T.T. 1546 A.D.) This dish is mentioned in an endowment made by Maruraja Ramaraja Sripati Obaleswara in 1546 A.D. Its composition is stated to be:

Milk	2 marakkals.	Refined camphor	$\frac{1}{2}$ pana weight.
Refined Sugar	1 viss.		

(23) Khanda Sarkarai. (No. 683-T.T. 1537 A.D.) Khanda Snrkarai is something similar to Junnu. Thallappakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar introduced this dish. Its composition is:—

Refined sugar	2 viss	Milk	$\frac{1}{2}$ nali.
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The two are boiled together till they form a semi-solid mass.

(24) Kasikkayi. (No. 277-T.T. 1512) The ingredients of this are:—

Godhi (broken wheat)	1 marakkal.	Sugar	100 palams.
Sesamum seeds (selected)	1 marakkal	Ghee	2 nali

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The wheat and the sesamum seeds might have been fried separately in ghee and the wheat converted into flour, and mixed with the gingelly seeds. This flour would have been poured into the treacle made with the sugar, ghee added and the mass made into balls.

(25) Tentalai. (Tenkulail): This very familiar dish was introduced in the Tirumala and Tirupati Temples only in the 16th century A.D. After some time it ceased to be prepared. Its ingredients are rice, blackgram and ghee; pepper and salt are also added. The details are not given in any of the inscriptions.

(26) Sambhara Elpodi. (No. 683-T.T. 1537): One uri of milk mixed with pepper and powdered gingelly seeds and cumin seeds formed this preparation. It is likely that gingelly seeds and pepper were roasted before being powdered.

(27) Ellundai. Its ingredients are:—

Gingelly seed	1 marakkal	Pepper	1 alakku
	2 nali-6 nali	Dried ginger	5 palams.
Jaggery	60 palams.		

Tirumala in the Post Vijayanagara Perid.

I. The fall of Vijayanagar at Tallikota in 1565 A.D.

1565 A.D. was a memorable year in the history of the Deccan. It was the year in which the famous battle of Tallikota otherwise known as Rakshasa Tangadi, was fought, which ended in the complete destruction of the Vijayanagar army and in the desecration of Vijayanagar city. The then last ruling Vijayanagar ruler was Sadasiva. During his reign, his brother-in-law Aliya Rama Raju was his *pradhani* or Chief Minister. With the help of his two brothers he had vanquished the *salakam* brothers namely Pedda Thimmaraja and Chinna Thimmaraja and placed Sadasiva the son of Achyutaraya's younger brother on the throne.

As the most powerful political force in the empire, Aliya Ramaraja ruled the empire in the name of Sadasivaraya, no doubt keeping him in the back ground, but all the same, holding the provincial governors under strict control. He was valient, courageous and also audacious. He strengthened the army and enlarged it. In view of his power and strength, the mutually warring Sultans of the five states of the dismembered Bahmani kingdom sought his help now and again, and he rendered it, but behaved himself with hauteur and insolence towards them and their envoys, so that they felt insulted personally. So four of the Sultans plotted together for a concerted invasion of Vijayanagara to destroy him and to annihilate the empire. They gathered large armies and joined together on the plains of Bijapur, advanced towards the Krishna river and encamped themselves near Tallikota.

Being aware of the advance of the invading Sultans, Ramaraja despatched his younger brother Tirumalaraja with a large army to block their fording the river. He sent his youngest brother Venkatadriraya with another large army, and he himself proceeded with the main army of the empire, comprising

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the contingents of all its provinces, without keeping even a small force at the capital to guard it. He was over-confident of success. There is a memorable passage by Robert Sewell on the fall of Vijayanagar in his "Forgotten Empire" from which the following quotations are taken: "He was ninety-six years old, but as brave as a man of thirty," he wrote, and proceeded to write, "that in spite of their brave show the enemy were children and would soon he put to flight," and 'he preferred to superintend the operations from a litter rather than remain for a long time mounted.' 'So confident was he of victory that it is said he had ordered his men to bring him the head of Hussain Nizam, but to capture the Adil Shah, and Ibrahim of Golkonda alive, so that he might keep them for the rest of their lives in iron cages.'

In the midst of the raging battle, "Rama Raya, thinking to encourage his men descended from his litter and seated himself on a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet....ordering his treasurer to place heaps of money all around him, so that he might confer rewards on such of his followers as deserved his attention, together with ornaments of gold and jewels." The fire of the enemy batteries 'proved so destructive that 5000 Vijayanagara men were left dead on the field....and 5000 enemy cavalrycut their way....towards the spot where the Raya had taken post. He had again changed his position and ascended his litter.....when an elephantdashed forward towards him, and the litter bearers let fall their precious burden in terror.....Before he could mount a horse, a body of the allies was upon him, and he was seized and taken prisoner. The Commander decapitated him and exhibited his head on a long spear, when, seeing their chief dead, the Hindu forces retreated pell-mell. Probably Venkatadri also lost his life in the battle.

Tirumalaraya alone survived, and, retreating to Vijayanagara, hastily packed all the treasures and fled to Penukonda fortress with gold, diamonds and precious stones laden on 550 elephants, carrying the state insignia and the celebrated jewelled throne of the kings, and taking emperor Sadasivaraya with him.

The defeat and rout of the Vijayanagara forces in the battle of Talikota, but really waged at Rakshasa-Tangadi about 30 miles south of Talikota and 10 miles south of the river Krishna, on 23rd January 1565 A.D., entailed such disastrous consequences to both the capital city and to the empire that neither of them could recover. For two days after the battle, the Sultans and their armies rested and refreshed themselves on the battle-field and on the third day reached the forlorn city of Vijayanagara, and for five months

TIRUMALA IN THE POST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

wreaked their vengeance on the defenceless city, sacking and slaughtering its helpless myraid dwellers and destroying temples, palaces and pavilions and demolishing priceless statues and sculptures. "The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use." The loot must have been enormous. Couto states that amongst other treasures was found a diamond as large as a hen's egg, which was kept by the Adil Shah. 'With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description.' 'Such was the fate of this great and magnificent city. It never recovered, but remained for ever a scene of desolation and ruin.'

II. Conditions after the fall of Vijayanagar and Araviti kings.

After the ruin of Vijayanagar, the whole territory was seized and ultimately surrendered to the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda. In 1566 A.D., a year after the disastrous battle of Talikota, Golconda armies advanced against Rajahmundry and finally captured it in 1571—72. Meanwhile Bijapur attacked Adoni and took it. In 1573 Adil Shah of Bijapur proceeded against Dharwar and Bankapur and captured them after a year and a half. Then he turned towards Konkan and reduced it. Three years later he attacked Bellamkonda, "and the Raya in terror retired from Penukonda to Chandragiri." When Srirangaraya succeeded Tirumalaraya, the Golkonda Sultan advanced upon Penukonda and took it together with Srirangaraya as prisoner in 1578 A.D., but released him later, and then occupied the eastern region including Ahobalam and held it for about half a dozen years. "An inscription of 1584—85 of Sriranga in Ahobalam states clearly that this misfortune to Ahobalam was due to the defection of the Matla Chief who held authority in that region." In 1579 A.D. he also subjugated the fortresses of Vinukonda and Kondavidu, and Kochcherlakota and Kammam, and came to possess large tracts on the south of the Krishna river. In 1589 A.D. Muhammad Quli of Golkonda invaded Kurnool and Cuddapah districts and occupied Kurnool, Nandyal, Gandikota, and other places, and also made raids into Nellore district. In 1593 the Bijapur Sultan marched against Mysore and reduced it. A

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Vijayanagara viceroy governed Mysore till 1610 after which it became independent under its Rajas. In 1602 the Nayakas of Tanjore and Madura assumed independence.

Tirumalaraya on fleeing to Penukonda in the last week of January 1565 with emperor Sadasivaraya after the defeat of the Vijayanagara army, administered the southern part of the empire in the name of Sadasivaraya till the latter's death in 1568, when he occupied the throne himself and reigned till 1575. He was succeeded by his second son Srirangaraya II as emperor of Vijayanagara whose reign lasted till 1586. About 1578, he changed his capital from Penukonda to Chandragiri. He was followed on the throne by his youngest brother Venkata I who reigned till 1614. He died issueless, and so a civil war broke out for the succession. Gobburi Jaggaraya, the brother of Venkata's queen Bayamma, upheld his sister's alleged son's claim to the throne, and was supported by Timma Nayaka and Makaraja (probably the Chief of Karvetinagar in the Chittoor district). Sriranga III, the nephew and the nominee of Venkata I, occupied the throne but he was deposed and confined in the palace by Jaggaraya, who on learning of Sriranga's attempted escape at the instance of Velugoti Yachama Nayaka, having already secretly transported his second son Rama to the Velugoti Chief, enforced stricter vigilance over him; and so Sriranga was forced to commit suicide after killing his own queen and two sons and daughters. Yachama Nayaka sustained the claim of Rama successfully and installed him on the throne with the support of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore said to have been anointed at Kumbakonam as a fugitive prince. Rama reigned from 1616 to about 1632. He too died issueless, and had already nominated Venkata II and Sriranga IV in 1622. Venkata II succeeded Rama and reigned till 1642, when Sriranga IV succeeded him in October 1642 and reigned till 1672. Sriranga's name continued to appear in inscriptions till 1681. Thereafter the names of Venkata and Ranga are said to appear alternately with the names of Madhava and Rama intermediately between them in the inscriptions from 1678 to 1793, but by then the Hindu empire was non-existent.

From Penukonda, Tirumalaraya repressed the Muslim incursions to the south. But his son Sriranga had to forsake Penukonda and take his residence in Chandragiri, yielding that part of the territory to the enemy. After him, his brother Venkata fought hard against Golkonda forces and kept them beyond the Krishna river. The Chittoor, Vellore and Chingleput districts, and perhaps a part of South Arcot district, appear to have been under the nominal rule of the Vijayanagara emperors till about the middle of the 17th Century. Venkata II and Sriranga IV were obliged to fight frequently against

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Bijapur and Golkonda armies to retain possession of Tirupati and Chandragiri together with the adjoining region. The provincial governors of the Vijayanagara kingdom assumed independence and were disloyal, so that Sriranga IV became so distressed as to appeal to the Mogal Emperor Shah Jahan through his son Aurangzeb while the latter was the viceroy of the Dakkan in 1656, for support against his recalcitrant officers, even offering to embrace Islam if so insisted on. But the letter of appeal of Sriranga IV had not reached Shah Jahan, and this contingency did not materialise.

III. Endowments to Tirumala temple in these disturbed days

As ministers of Sadasivaraya, Araviti Aliya Ramaraja and Tirumalaraja made munificent endowments to the Tirumala temple. But after ascending the throne of the decadent empire, not a single endowment was made by any member of the Aravidu dynasty. The endowments made after 1574 A.D. were made by some of the officers serving under them, by the *Acharyapurushas* and *Jiyars* attached to the temple or by well-to-do devotees. This Aravit dynasty ruled for nearly a century from 1575 to 1665 A.D. It is stated that Venkatapatiraya got himself crowned in Tirumala, that he made Chandragiri his capital, and that he was frequently visiting the Tirumala Temple. Certain Vijayanagar coins bearing the inscription 'Sri Venkatesvaraya Namah' are referred to as evidence of his close association with Tirumala. But none of the Aravidu Emperors made any endowments.

Another feature worth noting is that out of 192 inscriptions of this period, it is only in the case of 32 inscriptions, that a date can be assigned with certainty, and only eight of these inscriptions find a place on the walls of the Tirumala Temple, the last one belonging the year 1616 A.D. All the others are found on the walls of Sri Govindarajasvami Temple in Tirupati or on the Alipiri structures at the foot of the hill ascent. *The centre of interest therefore seems to have shifted to Tirupati after 1616 A.D..* This might have been due to the want of adequate feeding arrangements in Tirumala, perhaps on account of the failure of the annual income from the lands endowed to the temple caused by the ruined or neglected condition of the irrigation channels. We however find that Ramarajayya's *avasaram* (sandhi offering) of 200 taligai was being offered in Tirumala in 1616, (No. 687-T.T.) and that from out of the Sthanattar's share of this, the Srivaishnava Ramanujakutam was allotted 12 taligais from that date. We also find from Narayana dasari's endowment that in 1606 A.D. (Nos. 427-G.T.), the Ramanujakutam in Tirupati was providing food to pilgrims at a cost of 50 Rekhai Pon. The only Ramanujakutam in Tirupati was the one started by Araviti Kondaraja in 1547 A.D.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

This was the one which provided food for nearly 2000 pilgrims a day. How these pilgrims fared after 1616 A.D. we cannot say for certain. The bulk of the food offerings made during the century following the battle of Talikota, was made for specific festivals or ubhayams, most of which was in Tirupati. The food offerings would therefore have benefited the natives of Tirupati more than the visiting pilgrims of Tirumala temple.

During this period of confusion there were however three instances of endowments of whole villages. The first of these (No. 412-G.T.) was made by one Periya Timmappa Nayakkar residing in Vijayanagaram in 1592 A.D. The village endowed by him was Agaram Pundamalli situated in Palaiyam Sirmai of Terku Magamai yielding an annual income of 320 rekhai pon. All the Ubhayams of this endowment were in the temples of Sri Govindarajaswami and Sri Ramanuja in Tirupati. The second endowment (No. 413-G.T.) was that of the village of Timmanayakapuram situated in Kondavidu sirmai of the Vadakku Magamai yielding an annual income of 200 rekhai pon. It was made by Koyil Kelvi Annan Ramanuja Jiyar in 1594. Some of the ubhayadars of this endowment were in Tirumala and some in Tirupati. The third instance was the endowment (No. 427-G.T.) by one Narayana Dasari Nayakkar of Timmapuram village situated in Chandragiri Rajyam (Ulmandalam) and yielding an annual income 600 rekhai pon. All the ubhayams of this endowment were in Tirupati for Sri Govindarajaswami and for Sri Raghunathaswami installed by him on a mantapam on the banks of the Govinda-pushkarini.

Endowments in the shape of grants of whole villages cease with the cyclic year Parabhava Saka 1528 (1606-1607). Thereafter endowments are invariably made in the shape of re-excavation of old spring channels or the excavation of new ones for the irrigation of the lands in the tiruvidayattam villages, all of which are situated in Ulmandalam near to Tirumala and Tirupati. Between the years 1596 Durmukhi, and 1616 Nala ten irrigation channels were re-excavated in this manner by six donors. Silambidaiyar Setti of Ramapuram (No. 350 G.T.) renovated the disused channel called Rayaneri Kalvay in Ramapuram, so as to increase the yield annually by 140 rekhai pon. Bokkasam Narasayyan of Vijayanagaram (No. 366-G.T.) improved an irrigation channel so as to make the lands watered by it yield annually 27 rekhai pon more than the former yield. Hanumayyar Annangar, commander of the Vijayanagar forces, stationed at Malyavantam Hills, Vijayanagaram (No. 97-T.T.) re-excavated three irrigation channels in Kallaru and Nariyaru river limits and also granted 3/4 share of a new village founded by him called Annangarpalayam the annual income derived out of the endowment being 365 rekhai pon. Singayanayakan re-excavated (No. 324-T.T.) the Nattuk-

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

kalvay in Pundi village and also gave 2 shares of Pallam lands and in return for it obtained the right to offer one tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa. Nottakkara Venkatayyan of Dannayaka Achyutapuram village founded by Venkatapatirayadeva Maharayar (No. 686-T.T.) re-excavated two irrigation channels in 1614, one in Nayakan Kalvay village in Kudavur nadu which gave an increased yield of 400 puttis of paddy, the price of which was 4 panam per putty. Lastly Sriman Mahamandalesvara Chinna Timmarajayyan through his agent Ghattu Tiruvenkata Ayyangar of Tirunarayanapuram (No. 687-T.T.) excavated two irrigation channels, one in the temple village of Ilamandaiyam and the other in a village, the name of which is missing in the inscription. The lands irrigated by the channels yielded paddy valued at 281 rekhai pon and 6 panams over and above what they were previously yielding.

In all the above cases, the excavation of channels in the villages of ulmandalam would have been done only at the request or the suggestion of the Sthanattar. The donors were men of influence, who could muster local labour and execute the repairs. This form of endowment shows to some extent the pitiable economic condition into which the country was drifting after 1606 A.D.

Another reason for making endowments of this kind might have been the impossibility of realising income from lands situated far away from Tirupati owing to the disturbed state of these regions. The Sthanattar and the Tiruppani Bhandarattar had to supervise the management of more than 200 villages situated in different nadus, sirmais, and magamais of the Vijayanagar Empire. It does not however appear that any serious difficulty was felt in the management of landed estates even so late as 1616 A.D. For instance Mahamandalesvara Chinna Thimmayyan's endowment states that Ramarajayyan's avasaram of 200 taligais every day was regularly functioning in November 1616 A.D. It may be remembered that two out of the four villages granted for the purpose, Singalabavi and Valakolil were situated in Raichur and Mudgal sirmai, which were then distracted by war and that the other two villages Yaralachcheri and Makalipatti were situated in Periyapakkam sirmai (probably in Terku magamai). We also learn (No. 412-G.T.) that by the year 1616 A.D., the number of annual Brahmotsavams for Sri Govindarajaswami had risen from three to four, and that the other festivals were also being celebrated as usual. Eleven Brahmotsavams were likewise being celebrated in Tirumala every year. Ubhayams were plentiful, many of them being those which were instituted after 1580 A.D. The Ramanujakutams

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

in Tirumala and in Tirupati were functioning. The irrigation sources and channels alone appear to have been much neglected, either on account of the disturbances or an account of the continuous failure of rains.

IV. Tirumala in the last days of the Araviti dynasty.

There is an inscription of 1665 of Sriranga Raya who visited Tirumala to worship Tiruvengalanatha in the summer of 1665 A.D. probably praying for divine help in his attempt to regain his kingdom.

1. విశ్వావసు సంవత్సర శ్లేష చ 10 లా
2. శ్రీ తిరువెంగళవాడదేవుని... ..శ్రీమ....
3. ద్రాజాది రాజ రాజవరమేశ్వర శ్రీ పీఠ
4. శ్రీ రంగరాజ నదాపేవ

The year of the inscription is given as the cyclic year Visvavasu and the corresponding Sali Saka is not mentioned. But the prasasti shows that it refers to the Vijayanagar Emperor Srirangaraya.

He lost his territories to the Golkonda and the Bijapur Sultans. His kingdom went to the share of Mir Jumla, commander of the Golkonda army in 1656 as a jagir held directly under the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan, Tuppakki Krishnayya Chetti was Mir Jumla's commander of the army and Syed Ali was his agent in Madras during his absence in Delhi and Bengal between 1656 and 1663 when he died. Neknam Khan was appointed as Nawab in succession. He had therefore to bring to submission all the revolting elements. Tirupati temple could not have been a revolting element. Srirangaraya is said to have recaptured this area in 1657. But it is not known if he was in actual possession of it in 1663, when Neknam Khan succeeded Mir Jumla. In any case Neknam Khan came with an army of 40,000 men. Even the English and the Dutch Factors had to agree to the payment of rents to him. He even increased it from 380 pagodas to 1200 pagodas a year in the case of Madras. Neknam Khan's agent was Chennampalli Mirza who is known to have camped in Tirupati in 1668 A.D. Srirangaraya's visit in 1665 lies between the dates 1663 and 1668. If he had been the ruling Emperor at least of Chandragiri in 1665 his visit would have been recorded in language with greater flourish and the inscription would have been on the wall of the temple and not on a separate slab.

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

It is known that Srirangaraya made a last great effort in 1664 to regain his lost kingdom, but he failed to muster sufficient strength. Mysore let him down. The inscription of 1665 A.D. has therefore to be construed as a final appeal to the mercy of Tiruvengalanatha deva. There was no hope but to pray incessantly to Him. This year 1665 might therefore be taken to mark the end of the Vijayanagar Empire in the Tirumala temple area.

The connection of the history of the temple with the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar may thus be considered to have commenced with the gilding of the Vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara's temple by Sri Mangideva Maharaja in 1359 A.D. and to have ended with the memorial slab left by Srirangaraya Maharaya in the temple in 1665 A.D. It lasted for just over three centuries.

The sway of the Shiah Muslim Kings of Golkonda and Bijapur over the Carnatic country was but a passing phase. Aurangzeb after he became the Emperor at Delhi was keen on extinguishing them because of his overpowering ambition to capture and annex the Deccan and the Carnatic countries to his empire. He captured the Carnatic but failed to annex it to his empire. His ambitions were checkmated by the rapid insurgence of the Maratta power; by the entry of Shahji under the aegis of his Bijapur Muslim king into the south, by the establishment of a Maratta principality in Tanjore; and later by the entry of Shahji's son Sivaji on the plea of settling some succession disputes with his brother Venkaji over their father's estates; and finally by his daring attempt to establish a Maratta supremacy over the entire Carnatic by baulking the ambitions of his personal enemy Aurangzeb. As in the days when the Vijayanagar Prince Kumara Kampana fought the Sultanate of Madura, so also when Sivaji and his successors had to fight against the muslim armies of Aurangzeb, the fortress of Chengi (Jingee) played a prominent part in the conflict. The mutual destruction of the Muslim and the Maratta powers and the consequent rise of the British power were inevitably connected with the fortunes of the temple.

V. Conditions in Tirupati area described in 'Sri Venkatesvara Vihara Satakamu.'

There is an interesting poem addressed to the Lord of the Seven Hills by an unknown author in the form of nindastuti called "Sri Venkatachala Vihara Satakamu" (Descriptive catalogue - Telugu - Item 1710).

An anonymous Telugu poet, as an eye-witness, has most pathetically described in the poem, the tribulations, hardships, acute suffering, agony, misery, rape and murder of men, women and children, undergone at the hands of the Vajirs and the cavalry of Sultan Abdulla Qutub Shah of Golkonda,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

their desecration of Hindu temples and holy places, and how they plundered and broke the idols in the famous and holy temples in Lower Tirupati. The poet's name is missing in the poem entitled "Venkatachala-Vihara-Satakamu," a centum of Telugu verses (but only 98 verses are now available) in "Sisamalika" metre, the fourth line of each of the "Teta-gita" stanza appended to the "Sisamalika" verses uniformly invoking Venkatesvara as "satru-samhara Venkatachala-vihara," etc.

The author appears to have been a Vaishnava, as he queries in verse 66 "How can I utter the "Kartaru-mantra" of the Muslims, giving up the "Gayatri-mantra" and "remain sinfully with bare face devoid of the namam." and how can I adore the Penugonda-Babu (Nawab), discontinuing my prayers to You, the World-Father." In verse 7 he asseverates that, if a Brahmana like himself possessed a weapon like the Disc of Venkatesa, he would surely wield it ferociously to strike, pierce, kill men and horses to fall on each other as corpses, and drive the Turks upto Golkonda. In verse 9 he says that "Your Arava (Tamil) ears which so long listened to the psalms of the Dravida-Grantha (Tamil-Prabandha) should not be closed to them is our anxiety," i.e., they should not be obliged to hear the Muslim lore instead of the Tamil pasurams of the Alvars. In stanza 91 the poet avers that till then he glorified only the holy name of Venkatesa sanctified by Vedic flavour and did not praise any human being, and asks "What shall I do henceforward?"

In V. 4 he states that Modegunta, Kavali, Jaladanki, Kodavaluru and Gandavaram trembled at the sight of the huge war elephants, innumerable cavalry and the array of fierce sword-handling army men of "Suratani Abdula" (Sultan Abdulla of Golkonda) sometime previously; and in v. 77 he wonders how Nellore town would bear the onset of the terrific soldiers of "Suratani Abdula," while the different sacred temples in it have been profaned, the trees in the gardens have become the sport of the elephants, the holy worshipping places of the devout Brahmanas have formed the resting place of the "Saradaru" (Sardar, an army chief) and the "Padmakaramulu" (lotus-ponds) have been contaminated by urination. Continuing, the poet wails "Kavali, Kovuru, Duvvuru, Nelluru, Poluru, Pellakuru and Ravuru have been clouded with dust-winds raised by the straddling of the Yavana cavalry"(V. 76).

He states that the enemy occupied Nelaturu, Tallapaka, Mannuru, Utukuru, Oramupadu, Penu-Balapeta, Koduru, Manneru, Kuruva and Mamuduru (Mamanduru) (V. 55), and Kalahasti (V. 57); and while crossing the "Rallakaluva" the army raised such huge noise that the hill-caves rever-

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

berated into the sound; and he exhorts Venkatesvara "Even though Your fans, vehicles, umbrellas and the golden war-drum are missing, the diamond chain presented by Achyuta-Krishnaraya (such chains were presented by Krishnaraya and his two queens) should not be lost; and also you should not sort the coins and other articles deposited in the Koppera (receptacle) (V. 50).

In another verse he says "When the Turks penetrated the temples and broke the idols into pieces, and annoyed the great religious teachers and licked the namams (upright caste-marks) and pulled the small tuft of hair of their heads, is it not possible for you to slay them? In my weakness I implore you. Your sympathetic mind is my fortune." (V. 5).

Continuing in the same strain the poet further prays to Lord Venkatesvara as follows:—

"Only the old fame of your valour continues as the holder of the disc, but you are incapable of assailing the Turks; only the glamour of Lachchi (Lakshmi, Goddess of wealth) being your better half stays, but you are disinclined to forego even one pie of interest on money promised to you; only it is the word (People's idea) of your being the Supreme God, but you cannot bestow thousand and sixes on Your suppliants; (Rs. 1116 is generally considered as a high gift; and the 1006 mentioned by the poet here is probably meant to indicate 1116 only); only the celebrity of your being gold-garmented stands, but your food is of unpounded rice alone; you do not allow your plates to be cleaned; so stingily you have accumulated money. If you intend paying this money to the Turks as ransom, will your bhaktas (devotees) trust you? (v. 89). I entreat you, as your well-wisher, not to pay money to the mean-minded people" (V. 90).

About conditions in Tirupathi the poet says "All formal restraints on the behaviour of men have vanished, and the Turks have violently surrounded Tirupati and are looting it (V. 94). Should you not strike the Turks who spoiled Your food-offerings, converted the thousand-pillared mantapam space into stables, made a gori (tomb, sepulchre) of your temple, for Babayya (a high Muslim officer); filled the garbhagrihamulu (sanctums) with filth, broke the idols, stole the sacred jewels, threw kitchen articles into disorder, struck the Nambis, hewed the bodies of the Jiyangars, desecrated the surrounding tirumalighalu (mansions of the archakas and big men), and are robbing the people?" (V. 95).

In the vain of nindastuti, the poet continues "If you do not destroy the Turks, I shall not keep quiet; I will expose acts of secrecy of your earlier

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

life. I have not forgotten them: your misdeeds of having stolen and swallowed butter, of having outraged the modesty of the married cowherdesses in Repalle, of the sin of having killed Putana who came to suckle you like a mother, and of your haughtiness in having incited your brother Balarama to strike with the harrow the yamuna river without regard to Her old age." (V. 80).

In a mood of anger he cries out impetuously "Do not call Yourself "Srihari," but designate yourself "Mrityujahalli"; not "Perumallu," but "Khoda"; not "Vishnu," but "Kartaru"; not "Krishna" but "Babayya"; because the "Dakkinul" (Dakkanis), Turks, "Parasilu" (Persians), "Tana-kil" (men of tana or thana, military posts), will insult, abuse, stripe and cudgel you. I have thus prewarned you out of gratitude, since I ate your food and enjoyed other benefits fully; and I have no other thought. Without being frightened by these horrible sights, try to escape early in good time." (V. 85).

In the end, the author apologises to Venkatesvara, remorsefully submitting, "Arrogantly I called you a coward; you a supreme warrior; merciless; the ever-solicitous protector of bhaktas; appearing powerless but really the all-pervasive universal power of different forms inhering even in the smallest atom and the pores of hair; seemingly inactive, but really the illuminer with self-effulgent and self-resplendent light. In my distressed mood, I blamed you with intent to exhort you for the good of the world to destroy the assailing Turks; I repentantly implore you to bear with my thousand offences." (V. 98).

It is evident from the narration by this anonymous poet of the havoc caused and atrocities committed by the Muslim armies of Sultan Abdullah Kutb Shah of Golkonda in the central region of the decrepit Vijayanagara empire comprising both lower and upper Tirupatis, and by the armies of Bijapur in the southern region, that the Hindu population suffered grievously, vast numbers having lost their homes, property, families, husbands, wives, children and other relatives and their own lives, and seeking refuge in woods and forests and other uncongenial places.

This horrid situation might have been created by the army of Sultan Abdullah, his Vajirs and his army, giving full free vent to their savagery, so as to terrify and cow the people at the time of their invasion and for some time onwards until the people and the region were brought under complete subjection. Thereafter, as always happens after an invasion and occupation,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

they would have mitigated the severity of their strict rule and the people too would have grown accustomed to the peculiar conditions of their new depressed life.

It is interesting to try to locate when exactly this savage treatment of Tirupati took place. We know from other evidence that it was Mir Jumla, who as minister of Golkonda, first conquered this region; and when he defected to Aurangazeb while he was the Viceroy of the Dakkan under his father Shah Jahan in 1656 A.D., this area was declared as part of the Mogal empire. Thereafter Sultan Abdullah succeeded in reconquering it and retained full possession of it until his death in 1672 A.D. Hence this invasion of Abdulla of the Tirupati region described by the poet must have taken place some time after 1656 and before 1668 when the English East India Company sent an envoy to the Golkonda viceroy at Tirupati to get its charter confirmed. Possibly it might have occurred about 1660-62 A.D. There is no mention of Mir Jumla's name at all in the poem, but Sultan Abdulla's name is mentioned twice.

The Tirupati region after its subjugation was administered by Golkonda viceroys with their head-quarters at Tirupati itself, until the Golkonda Sultanate was extinguished in 1688 by Aurangazeb.

The following verses from this poem would be of special interest in this connection.

సీ: ఎడిగుళ్లు సొచ్చి దేవళ్ల బద్దలుచేసి, దిట్టింది తేజీల గట్టునవుడు
జిగురుపాల కటంచుఁ జిగిరించు రావిమాఁతులు, నజ్జ నజ్జగాఁ గొట్టునవుడు
గురుసార్వభౌముల గోరుపోతుక పట్టి, నామముల్కొదలఁచి నాకునావుడు
గద్దించి వెనవైదికపు బాపనయ్యల, పిల్ల జుట్టూదంగఁ బెత్తునవుడు
సెక్కిమా నీకుదురకలఁ జక్కుసేయి విన్నవించితి నా వెట్టి విన్నవఁబు
చ రఁగమా చిత్తమిదె నాడుభాగ్య మొర, శత్రునంహర వేంకటాచలవిహార.

సీ: పొట్టేళ్ల గతిఁ బట్టె బోడినన్నానుల, డీ యని తాకులాడించునొకడు
సోమయాజులబ్రహ్మమాత్రముల్ ద్రెంచి నీం, గాణివిండ్లఁ నల్లెగట్టు నొకడు
ఖాన్ హేరా యంచు గుడి కీలు గుఱ్ఱము, వెక్కిఁభేయని తలదెత్తనొకడు
పైకాలు గొమ్మని బల్మిఁగోమటివారి చెలువ పైబడి బూతుసేయు నొకడు
యవన సమ్మర్ద దుర్గినందైన దిగువ, తిరువతిని జూడు మిటువంటితఱిసి నిదురి
పోషువన్నాడు మీయన్న లేవలేక, శత్రునంహర వేంకటాచల విహార.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

పీఠా ముడి క్రింది సోమరిపోతు క్రితావ్య, కారులకేల నంగరము గొడువ
 అలుమేలు మంగ సొమ్ముల పెట్టిమలు కాను, కొని యుండుటే చాలు హనుమనికిని
 తీసి విక మంది విరు ల్పమర్పించి, తెరుగాటు కరిగెను గురువనంది
 చెంచు మిఠారిలో బంపబాణక్రిడ, లోలుడయ్యెను కప్పదాలవ్వవారి
 నీకుమది కోవమింతయు లేకపోయె, బోయెగాకేమి తొండమామ్మమిపాలు
 దున్న నింతకుఁ దురకల మన్నిగొనడె, కక్రతునంహార వేంకటాచల విహార

VI. The legend of Sri Venkateswara's indebtedness to Kubera.

The threatened attack of the temple mentioned by the poet did not, however, take place. It however appears to have had the effect of setting the stanikas of the temple, thinking out ways and means of preserving the great shrine from the cupidity of these iconoclasts.

It is to this period, that we must attribute the invention of the story of the God having borrowed money from Kubera for his marriage with Padmavathi and undertaking to pay interest to him, through the kings who hold sway over this part of the country and the levy of fees on devotees for the several darshanams, of the institution of a pilgrim tax and charge of fees, in coin, of value equal to the presents offered to the God. This appears to have then resulted in an average annual income of two lakhs of rupees to the shrine. The worshippers, who were anxious to preserve the institution free from alien interference, gladly and liberally contributed towards the funds of the temple. The sultans of Golconda and their successors, the Nabobs of the Carnatic, farmed out this revenue to Hindu renters, thus realising annually a steady and certain income from it. They could not afford to forego such a fruitful source of revenue by interfering with the worship at the shrine. Thus was the temple saved by playing on the cupidity of the conquerors and the foundation for the great income of the temple laid:

The temple authorities seem to have put up a convincing story of the debt to Kubera, by actually preparing a bond relating to the transaction, which, the Archakas say, is preserved even to this day. Whatever be the truth, the temple archakas of that period are entitled to the eternal gratitude of posterity, for this daring piece of diplomacy, which, while conciliating the cupidity of alien rulers, made it in their own interest to preserve the shrine from harm.

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

This loan transaction is vividly described in the Venkatachalamahatmyam; a copy of the bond executed by the God in favour of Kubera is furnished below: There is nothing in it to show that the God undertook to repay the debt through the sovereigns ruling the country between the Palar and the Svarnamukhi rivers.

श्रीनिवासः उवाच

कथं लेख्यं मयापत्रं मृणादाने वव क्षमे

ब्रह्मोवाच

ऋणग्राही श्रीनिवास
धनदायी धनेश्वरः
आत्मकार्यं निमित्तं तु
कल्याणार्थं कलीयुगे ॥

वंशाखे शुक्ल सप्तम्यां
श्लिष्टे चैव वस्तरे ।
निष्काणां राममुद्राणां
लक्षाणि च चतुर्दश
द्रव्यं दत्तं धनेशेन
वृद्धिग्रहणकारणात् ।
संवृद्धिं दिदिस्तता मूलं
स्वीकृतं चक्रपाणिना ।
विवाहवर्षे मारुच्य
सहस्रान्ते धनं पुनः ।
दातव्यं यक्षराजाय
श्रीनिवामेन शाङ्गिणा ।
एकः साक्षी चतुर्वक्त्रो
द्वितीयस्तु त्रिसोचनः ।
तृतीयोऽवत्यराजस्तु

वेत्ति सर्वमिदं दृढम् ॥

इत्थेतद्वृणपत्रं तु

श्रीनिवासो लिख्यस्वयम् ।

(भविष्योत्तरपुराणे एकादशोऽध्यायः)

Srinivasa asked,

Tell me how the bond of debt should be drawn up by me.

Brahma said,

Srinivasa is the borrower, (borrowing of) Kubera the lender, for his personal object, viz. marriage in the Yuga of Kali, in the month of Vaisakha, on the seventh day of the Sukla fortnight, in the year Vilambi.

The lord of wealth Kubera having given cash, viz., fourteen lakhs of Niskas bearing the Ramamudra, for earning interest, and the Lord Chakrapani, (bearer of the disc) having agreed to pay the principal with interest, it is hereby agreed that Srinivasa the Sarngi shall pay to the King of the Yakshas, at the end of thousand years commencing from the year of marriage.

The first witness, the four-faced Brahma, the second, the three-eyed Siva, and the third the Asvatha, the King of trees, know all these presents in eternity. Thus the loan-bond was drawn up by Srinivasa in his own hand.

—*Bhavisyothara Purana.*

(Chapter XI, Slokas 120-125, p. 352 of the Sri Venkatachala Mahatmyam).

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

VII. Tirupati under Golconda Kings.

In 1636 Shah Jahan, emperor of Delhi, invaded the Dakkan, annihilated the power of Ahmadnagar, and made a treaty with Bijapur, by which Bijapur was left free to subjugate as much territory from Vijayanagara's shrunken estate as possible. Golkonda was likewise declared free in this respect. Bijapur took Vellore, and Golkonda seized Chandragiri. Gingee fell to Bijapur in 1649. From 1638 Golkonda began its conquest of the Vijayanagara state through its powerful minister Mir Jumla, who in 1656 defected to Aurangzeb while he was the Viceroy of the Dakkan under his father Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan declared the territory conquered by Mir Jumla as belonging to the Mogal empire, and conferred it on Mir Jumla himself as his fief, but Golkonda reconquered it and continued in possession of it even in 1672 and later until the Golkonda state was crushed by emperor Aurangzeb about 1686—88, after the Mogal emperor put an end to Bijapur in 1686. Thus both the Dakkan and Carnatic formed part of the Mogal empire.

Meantime in 1668, while the central region was held by Golkonda, the English East India Company at Madras sent an envoy to the Golkonda viceroy at Tirupati who directed him to proceed to Golkonda and meet the Chief, Neknam Khan, first to get its charter confirmed and then see Mir Jumla afterwards. Again in 1680 the Company sent an envoy to meet the then Golkonda minister Akkanna, and he met the minister's brother Madanna there, who advised him to go to Tirupati to contact Akkanna. Therefrom it is obvious that Tirupati which flourished as a famous centre of pilgrimage, became also the centre of political and even military administration during this period.

The region round Tirupati was only gradually conquered and brought under the rule of Golkonda, and the whole process occupied the period from the treaty of Shah Jahan in A.D. 1636 right down to Mirjumla's transfer to the Mughal court in A.D. 1656, and therefrom again to A.D. 1672 when it may be said finally that the Nawab of Golkonda took peaceful possession of it. It was regarded as peculiarly the possession of Mirjumla under Golkonda first, and under the Mughal empire after A.D. 1656 when he transferred his allegiance to the Mughals.

Golkonda in the meantime, was interested in this area, and took it from the officers of Mirjumla, who still struggled to maintain their position there, although a great deal of Golkonda's strength was weakened by the unexpected recovery of Sriranga in these unsettled days. First Kuli Beg, otherwise known as Raja Kuli, then Musa Khan and then Neknam Khan successively were

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

appointed to the charge of this locality, and, under the last, the English got their charter renewed as they felt that Golkonda conquest of the locality was final. It remained under the authority of Golkonda till Golkonda itself was conquered by Aurangzeb, Shivaji's invasion through the territory having been more or less an incident of the Golkonda regime.

Soon after, the territory passed to the possession of Akkanna, when Madanna and Akkanna became the principal responsible officers for the government of the territories of Golkonda. All these officers governed the territory through subordinate officers who had their headquarters within the region, and conducted the government from there; and Tirupati figures as the headquarters of this subordinate government, where Chinnappalli Mirza, the local governor had to be seen by the English agent, who was thence directed to Golkonda itself to see the Nawab, Neknam Khan. When Akkanna had actually become the successor to Neknam Khan in this locality, he probably had a subordinate government there; but the principal subordinate, a nephew of his own by name Wodili Linganna, figures as the Tarafdar of Woonamallee, while Tirupati seems to have retained its importance as a centre of Government. Akkanna himself is said to have paid a visit to Tirupati, where he stayed for a week on official business before he returned to headquarters in A. D. 1681.

With the fall of Golkonda naturally the Golkonda Carnatic passed into the possession of the Mughal empire. Having conquered the two southern kingdoms and crippled the Mahrattas, Aurangzeb is said to have sent forward ambassadors to the south demanding the allegiance of all the other Indian states.

With the fall of Gingee a southern province of the Mughals was established, but not being sufficiently distinct and having been more or less regarded as a fief of Zulfikar Khan, no capital is mentioned specifically as that of the Mughal Carnatic. But Zulfikar Khan's services were wanted elsewhere. He had to leave behind his lieutenant Daud Khan in charge. Daud Khan resided for some time in Gingee, and then in Arcot, and then for a short time in Madras. The camp that he made for himself on the other side of the Palar river on the highroad to Vellore became Arcot of later history, and was actually made the recognised capital of the Carnatic, when his own civil officer, Sayyad Muzafar became Nawab in his turn as Sadat-ulla-Khan of Arcot in A.D. 1710...

We might date the foundation of the province of Arcot with this officer, a man of administrative capacity, having had his training under Aurangzeb.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

He was genuinely interested in the welfare of his subjects, irrespective of caste or community. He belonged to the famous community of Newait, to which community belonged Hyder Ali, and in which we could mention many of the Muhammadan officers distinguished for their sympathetic and non-communal administration. With Arcot as the capital, Vellore naturally become the citadel of the province. Chandragiri and Tirupati figured also as important centres and headquarters of divisions under the bigger province. This province of Arcot *i.e.*, the territory that really was the Golkonda Carnatic, enjoyed a measure of prosperity and good administration under Sadat-ulla-Khan, and his successor Dost Ali for a period of more than thirty years.

Sadat-ulla-Khan ruled as Nawab till 1732 when he was succeeded by his nephew Dost Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic. It is his death in 1740 that threw the Carnatic into a vortex of wars. The Carnatic was by and large well-governed and quietly administered by Sadat-ulla-Khan, and his nephew successor Dost Ali, whose administration was generally beneficial and therefore popular. The death of the first in 1732 and the accession of his nephew in his stead without any reference to the Nizam gave the Nizam offence. With his preoccupation with the Mahrattas and the troubles in the Mughal empire itself, the Nizam did not wish to embroil himself with a war nearer home. So he encouraged the Mahrattas invading the territory of Dost Ali and demanding the usual inevitable chauth.

The Mahrattas invaded the Carnatic, and, before Dost Ali had intimation of it they were already at the head of the pass leading into Chittoor. Dost Ali made the best of a bad bargain, and took his stand at the pass of Damalcheruvu through which the Mahrattas had to descend by the Kallur Pass to get into the plains. Notwithstanding the strong defences, Dost Ali suffered a defeat, both himself and a son of his by name Hussain Ali falling in a battle in 1740.

Safdar Ali a son of Dost Ali had come up in obedience to the commands of the father; but the battle was by then over, and he had therefore to take up a defensive position and negotiate the terms of a treaty with the Mahrattas through his father's Minister Mir Asad, a prisoner with the Mahrattas. After plundering the country the Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhonsle agreed to withdraw on the payment of a crore of rupees, which Safdar Ali agreed to pay. Safdar Ali now became Nawab, and, for greater safety, shifted his capital to Vellore, where his cousin Murtaz Ali or Murtiza Ali was at the time holding the Governorship in succession to his father. He had accumulated much wealth and had married a sister of Safdar Ali.

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

When later differences broke out between them the Nizam invaded the Carnatic at the head of a very large army. The government at Arcot submitted and the Nizam confirmed the infant Muhammad Ali as the Nawab appointing Anwar-ud-Din, a much trusted official of his as guardian to the young prince. Anwar-ud-Din removed the prince to Arcot and was carrying on the administration from there, when the occasion of a marriage in June 1744 was taken advantage of to assassinate the young prince. Anwar-ud-Din satisfied the Nizam as to his innocence and was rewarded with the Nawabship of the Carnatic in 1744, Safdar Jung having been assassinated just two years before.

VIII. Tirupathi during the times of Mahrattas.

In 1740 the Mahrattas invaded the Carnatic under Raghoji Bhonsle and descended into the Chittoor district by the Kallur pass, and defeated and killed Nawab Dost Ali and his son in the battle at Damalcheruvu. Then Dost Ali's another son, Safdar Ali, sued for peace from Vellore fortress and Raghoji Bhonsle agreed to retire on payment of a crore of rupees.

It must have been at this time of his invasion in 1740 when he was in the Chittoor district and very near Tirupati that Raghoji Bhonsle took the opportunity to visit Venkatesvara's temple, pay his obeisance to Him and present valuable jewels to Him. His offerings were:—

One string of pearls with a pendant of a flat ruby inlaid in a flat emerald etched, valued at about 33,000 rupees;

One string of pearls with a pendant of etched flat emerald, valued at about Rs. 28,000;

One set of 17 pearl strings with 20 pearls in each string, valued at about Rs. 28,000;

One Kalikiturayi- a jewel of precious stones curved at the top to be attached to the crown, valued at about Rs. 8,500; and

One pearl garland of 5 strings of 20 sets with a pendant of diamonds on the obverse and rubies on the reverse, valued at about Rs. 45,000/-;

These jewels are still preserved in the temple in "Raghojivari-pette."

There is a solitary inscription dated 19th March 1684 (Sali-Saka 1606, cyclic year Raktakshi, Chaitra Suddha 14, Angaraka varam Hasta nakshatram) of this period. It is on the south wall of the second prakaram of the Tirumala

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

temple and is of special interest. The language and the script are Telugu of the ordinary gramya style. The preamble is not in the old grand style giving the name of the king with prasasti. The reason would have been the difficulty to state who the King at the time was, the country being in a distracted state of war although the Golkonda sultans had become defacto rulers. Madanna and Akkanna had been to Tirupati about 1681 making a fairly long stay. The present endowment was for a food offering of the Suddhanna Alankaram variety—that is cooked rice, some cooked green gram pulse, and curds, for Sri Venkatesvara and for Sri Varahasvami and one pot of payasam, and pachchadi and dosaippadi. The distribution of the offered prasadam was to be made among the persons actually doing services such as singamurai (fuel supply), panimurai (public works of the temple) the two jiyangars, sthanala varu, kanganiippan and desayi (or strangers), padikavali utara parapatyam, adhyapakam and sundries and also for vini-yogam or free distribution to pilgrims in goshti; also sthala Srivaishnavas.

The old time-honoured procedure for distribution of prasadams had thus been broken by 1681. The measurement of rice still continued to be by the time-honoured sola and half sola (Kovila sola or the temple sola, and not the bazar measure). The endowment amount was not placed in the hands of the old or the new Sthanattar. The new managers were called Tirumala Tirupati Sthanalavaru. The endowment was not in cash but in the shape of a gold Khanti of aparangi gold (ornament worn round the neck). Even the Kanthi was left in the possession of one Kunrapakkam Ayyavaru Timmanayyavaru who was expected to supply the articles required for the performance of the services, the Sthanalavaru being responsible for making the offering to God daily.

"Towards the expenses 200 is kept in the possession of Kunrapakkam Ayyavaru. This endowment may be enjoyed. In this manner this may go on through your posterity." The Khanti was of aparangi gold weighing 25 varahan weight and valued at 525 Srirangaraja gaga (పంచవీర గాగ) The donor is one "Raja Sri Sivaraja Ramachandra Yadamalera Dabirsa of Srivatsa gotra, Asvalayana sutram and Rik Sakha."

The prasadam was asked to be offered to the Deity immediately after another one for which endowment seems to have been made by one Maharaja Sri Shuda Bhanuji Pantulu garu. From the details given for distribution of the prasadams it is inferred that the sthanalavaru (which we may take to be the same as the word Sthanattar) had been reduced to four in number from the number six which they were in 1638 and that the new managers were Telugu people.

TIRUMALA IN THE PAST VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

Previously the inscriptions used to commence with the words "Subhamastu; Svasti Sri....." This inscription commences with "Sri Venkatesa, Subhamastu." The word 'Nirvahan' as referring to the share of the Sthanattar has disappeared and no distribution of the prasadam on that account was made. The donor himself stipulated how the distribution should be made; it was not left to the old established procedure. Those who were doing the actual manual work were given the lion's share. The Sthanalaru were given a nominal share. The desantaris received a share. The terms of Periya Koyil kelvi and Ilam Koyil kelvi to designate the jiyars gave place to Pedda Jiyangaru and Chinna Jiyangaru. This would indicate that the Koyil kelvi office was abolished. A new office Uttara Parapatyam had come into existence. The donor's share called Vittavan vizukkadu was only a nominal one. Adhyapakam and Sthala Srivaishnavas got a share. The traditional subscription to an inscription disappeared. The old Sthanattar and the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar seem to have gone out of the temple by this time.

Even the very name by which a food offering to the deity was usually known came to be altered. Formerly, from the earliest days, the food offering used to be designated as Tirupponakam or Sandhi Tirupponakam whether it was Suddhannam (cooked rice only) or other preparation. The name given in this inscription is 'Avasaram' (అవసరం). One of the meanings given for the word 'Avas' in Sanskrit is food. This term is noticed also in three previous inscriptions of the years 1554, 1579 and 1616. The inscription also tells us that there was a similar food offering (avasaram) instituted by one Maharaja Sri Shudaji Bhanuji Pantulu. There seems to be some justification to infer from this inscription that Aliya Ramaraja's food offerings ceased after the conquest of the country by the Golkonda Kings and that the few who were continuing to do service in the temple stood in need of some wholesome food like Suddhannam.

Sadat-ulla-Khan was appointed in October 1713 as the Nawab of the Deccan country and Fauzdar of Carnataka Golkonda countries. The Jageer of Zulphikar Khan was made over to him. He was a peace loving man. One Todar Mullji was considered to wield the greatest influence with him. The statue of this Todar Mull with those of his mother and wife are in the Tirumala temple from which we may infer that he did some real good to the temple during his life time. The English in Ft. St. George in sending some presents to him wrote (January 4, 1714) that "he was very influential with the Nabob and would manage to prevent the Nabob's marching towards Chennapatnam side."

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

In a letter dated 18th May 1740 written by Ravanutla Audiappah, a servant of the English at Kodakanti near Arcot, there is a piece of information that on that date Baji Rao's mother and his wife had arrived at Tirupati (to worship Sri Venkatesvara) and that Krishnaji Pantulu had gone out from Arcot to receive them. The same Ravanutla Audiappa wrote to the English a letter on 27th September 1740, received on 1-10-1740 (Country Correspondence), from which it is seen that the income from the Tirupati temple was being systematically appropriated by the Nawab of Arcot and that a sum of Rupees Fifty thousand was ordered to be handed over to the Vakils of the Marattas as an urgent and partial measure of satisfaction of demands. Out of this amount the Vakils had the sanction of Baji Rao to distribute Rupees Twenty thousand on charities in the Tirumala temple. The distribution might have been in compliance with the intentions of Baji Rao's mother and wife when they worshipped the deity on 18th May last. This letter of Ravanutla Audiappa is of interest as it shows the difficult plight in which Safdar Ali (Nawab) was placed at the time. "The Vakils belonging to the Marattas had already made a very strong demand of the Nawab for their money. Although he was much displeased with them for their ill behaviour yet he received them civilly, and allowed them some money for their expense and promised to pay them one hundred thousand rupees on account of their masters. Fifty thousand rupees is already ordered to be paid them at Tirupati out of the money that place produces to the Sircar. I am told the Vakils before mentioned sent their people to Tirupati to receive the money and told them to distribute twenty thousand rupees for charity there at the Pagoda (agreeable to their master's orders) and to bring the remainder. The other fifty thousand rupees it is not yet known when or in what place it will be paid."

About the state of the area generally there is a letter dated July 9, 1740 written by the President (F.S.G.) to Bombay which states:—"There remains a considerable sum yet due to Marattas of that which was stipulated to be paid them upon which account their vakils talk in very high terms. The Maratta army which consisted upward of 40,000 horses under the command of Futta Singh and Raghuji have since been joined by 20,000 more under the command of Siddhoji. They are now in the dominion of Mysore and have raised great contributions. They seem inclined to march further southward before they return again to Northward. This province continues still without any Government and without any force to protect it. The late Nawab and his son were greatly indebted to their soldiers who refuse to list again until they are paid their arrears."

Tirumala During the days of the Carnatic Wars.

I. General.

The effect of the Carnatic wars was that the East India Company acquired the portions of Carnatic from the Nawabs of Arcot. In 1748 A.D., The Nawab of Arcot assigned the revenues from the Tirumala temple to the Company. On the close of the fourth Mysore War in 1799 A.D., and after the deaths of Nawab Mohammed Ali in 1795 A.D. and his son in 1801 A.D., the Company came to an agreement with Mohammed Ali's second son Azeem-ul-Umara in July 1801 A.D. by which the entire political authority over the Carnatic was ceded to the East India Company against a fixed stipendiary allowance to the Nawab.

II. Tirumala in Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary

We have reference to Tirupati in the course of the Nizam's invasion in 1743 to which reference was already made. The famous and well known diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai notes that the officers of the Maharatta contingent, Raja Chandra Sen and Raja Nimbali Siyudosi visited Tirupati at the head of their 20, 000 troops for worship. This would mean that Tirupati continued under some kind of administration, and worship was being conducted peacefully.

The next reference is to the year 1746 and the diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai, notes the receipt of presents from the zamindar of Karvetinagar who is called Raja Narasinga of Bommarazupalaiyam, and among the presents was prasadam from Tirupati. He also notes that he was requested to pay a visit to Tirupati. There is also another note later in the year in October of a certain Arumuga Pandaram, a physician sent over to treat this Raja, returning after visiting Tirupati and Kalahasti. About the same time he also notes that a sowcar (banker) of Pondicherry paid a visit to Tirupati.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

There is an interesting reference to the year 1747 when an English Dubash by name Mutiyal Nayak visited Nasir Jung and was returning from Hyderabad by way of Tirupati. It is noted there that those that had to go to Hyderabad from the south passed through Tirupati as though it were on the highway to Hyderabad. The diarist here notes that an attempt was made to waylay this English agent and take possession of all that he carried by way of presents, from the Nizam.

There is another note in April 1748 referring to an ascetic coming from Tirupati carrying 300 pagodas with him for celebrating the Vaikasi festival at Tiruvendipuram near Cuddalore.

The next following reference is a very interesting one, and is dated 3rd October 1749. The note says that one Srinivasachar who was Amaldar of Tirupati did not pay the stipulated rent and fell in arrears. He fled from the place, and another person by name Vasudevachar was appointed on condition that he paid a lac of pagodas for the outstanding dues upto the end of the year 1749, and was given a further tenure of office for three years at 47,000 pagodas a year. This was apparently an arrangement made originally by the Nawabs of Arcot. In a later entry the diarist mentions the death of a certain Dumalli Krishnaji Pandit. He is described as the Dewan of Nawab Sadat-ul-la Khan, and is said to have died on the 22nd November 1749. He is further described as a Golkonda vyapari, a sect of Telugu Brahmans generally officials, who enjoyed the confidence of the Nizam, apparently the first of the name, Nazir Jung and Muzafar Jung alike. He is said to have attended the Brahmotsavam at Tirupati soon after Anwar-ud-Din Khan's death, and it was on that occasion that he leased out the Amaldari to Srinivasachar. He is said to have joined camp at Udaiyarpalayam and died there. He is said to have demanded, from Arcot, crude camphor, musk and Malacca sandal-wood for the use of the temple at Tirupati which the diarist states he had forwarded.

It becomes clear from this that the Nawabs of Arcot had farmed out Tirupati to particular officials for yearly payments. The entries in the diary make it clear that, after the death of Anwar-ud-Din, a fresh lease was given to Srinivasachar, who failed and had to give up his position; and another Vasudevachar was appointed in his stead as Amaldar. In this appointment, the specific annual revenue to be paid by the Amaldar is stated to be 47,000 pagodas a year, and one lac in payment of arrears to the end of the year 1748, and he was given the tenure of office for three years following 1749. This makes it clear that it was the usual practice to farm out this revenue for a

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

stipulated annual payment, and that was being done by those who got possession of the locality as a result of the battle of Ambur. The person actually referred to, Dumalli Krishnaji Pandit, seems to have been an official of the Arcot Nawabship who enjoyed the confidence also of the Nizam. Therefore this arrangement must be on behalf of the victors. Here the editor of the Diary, Mr. Dodwell adds that "the Tirupati revenues consisted of the dues collected from the pilgrims at the three annual pilgrimages, and amounted to 45,000 pagodas plus Rs. 52,000. I suppose the runaway Amaldar to be the same as the man who managed the Tirupati revenues for the English later on."

It would seem from the above that the 45,000 pagodas were the revenues of the temple from its landed properties, etc., and Rs. 52,000 the amount from the contributions made by the pilgrims. This would mean that the first Nawabs of Arcot settled the revenue of Tirupati by farming it out to persons specifically appointed, perhaps Vaishnavas, who had to pay a part of the revenues collected yearly, and the two separate items would, in those circumstances, mean revenues assessed in pagodas from lands etc., and the other sums collected from the contributions of pilgrims which is set down in rupees as a matter of convenience. This would make a total demand of nearly 2½ lacs of rupees annually. Srinivaschar's running away was because of this heavy assessment.

III. The Carnatic Wars and Tirumala temple income being assigned to East India Company.

The first Carnatic War (1746-48) was a sequel to the war of Austrian succession in Europe and was consequently waged in India between the English and the French. The French seized Madras from the English, and Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab of Arcot, sent an army for its release from the French, but it was defeated by the French. The involvement of the Nawab of the Carnatic in this so-called first Carnatic War was a minor matter. The war in Europe ended with the treaty of Aix la Chappell in 1748, and accordingly the first Carnatic War also ended in India.

The second Carnatic War (1748-65) was the actual Carnatic war fought in the Carnatic territory extending upto the Kerala State in the south and to Mysore State on the West and prolonged until 1760, and ended with the close of the Seven years War in Europe through the Treaty of Paris concluded in 1763.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Dost Ali (1732-40) succeeded his uncle Sadat-ullah-khan (1710-32) as the Nawab of Arcot and sent his son-in-law Chanda Sahib in 1736 to conquer Tiruchinapalli from the widow of its Nayaka. By hook or by crook he took possession of it, and his brother conquered Madura. Then he attempted to seize Tanjore from its Mahrashtra king Pratap Sing (1739-63), who appealed to the Chhatrapati Sahu at Satara. Raghoji Bhonsle, a co-son-in-law of Sahu was despatched with an army, which was encountered by Dost Ali in 1740 at the Damalcheruvu pass, west of Tirupati and in the severe battle fought at the place, Dost Ali was killed. Thence Raghoji Bhonsle proceeded against Chanda Sahib, captured Tiruchinapalli with Chanda sahib as prisoner and took him to Satara. Nizam Asaf Jah, the Subadar of the Dakkan appointed Anwar-ud-din in 1743 as the Nawab of Arcot, the ruler of the Carnatic.

Chanda Sahib's son, Raja sahib negotiated with the French governor of Pondicherry for the release of Chanda Sahib, and the French Governor paid a ransom of seven lakhs of rupees to the Mahratta Chhatrapati and got him set free in 1748. With the help of a French force Chanda Sahib defeated Anwar-ud-din in the battle of Ambur (In North Arcot District) in 1749, in which Anwar-ud-din was killed.

Anwar-ud-din's son, Muhammad Ali retreated to Tiruchinapalli and, with the help of the English, proclaimed himself as the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1749. Nasir Jung the Subadar of the Dakkan, confirmed him as the Nawab. But Chanda Sahib with the aid of the French waged war at several places against Muhammad Ali who was strongly supported by the English, until Chanda Sahib was taken prisoner at Srirangam in 1752 and killed, when Muhammad Ali became the unchallenged Nawab of the Carnatic.

However, on account of the seven years war in Europe, the war between the English and the French continued in India, during which the French capital Pondicherry was seized and destroyed by the English and the Nawab the French Governor and the Commander Count de Lally were taken prisoners when peace was announced. With the peace of Paris settled in Europe in 1763, Pondicherry and other possessions were restored to the French.

In this second Carnatic war, the main interest was the securing of the Nawabship of the Carnatic for Muhammed Ali and his confirmation without a rival. This was achieved through many a battle fought in the country, with heavy expenditure and with numerous lives lost, at the expense of the Nawab but incurred by the English Company. And Muhammad Ali was

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

required to reimburse the Company this money. Having no other means, he assigned the income of Sri Venkatesvara's temple to the Company, while for his own expenses which he incurred from large debts from the Company's servants and private persons with interest at a very high rate of 30 to 36 per cent, he made over some districts to them to collect their income. The English were bent upon acquiring the whole territory from him, and the opportunity came when Muhammad Ali's son and successor, Nawab Umdat-ul-Umara, died in July, 1801. When Umdat-ul-Umaras' son Tajul-Umara declined to receive a pension and give up the Carnatic kingdom to the English, his nephew Azimud-Dawla gladly accepted the pension as the nominal Nawab, and the English took possession of the country. Accordingly, the English got possession of Sri Venkatesvara's temple as their property.

IV. Tirumala Temple and stray military skirmishes in this period.

Muhammad Ali assigned the revenues of the Tirumala shrine to the East India Company as the only means of discharging his obligations to the Company for having established his authority in the Carnatic. This was about 1750 A.D. The East India company also continued the practice of farming out the revenues and contented itself with protecting the shrine from the attacks of adventurers who swarmed in this part of the country during the unsettled conditions prevailing after the break up of the Mogul Empire. One such attack was in 1753 A.D. by Muhammad Kamal, who marched to Tirupati. The East India Company sent a small force to protect the renter but it was surrounded by Kamal's troops upon the plain of Tirupati and driven back with great loss. On the following day reinforcements arrived and the issue of battle was once more tried. At first fortune appeared to have gone against the English, for the enemy held their ground and the English Officer in command, Ensign Holt, was killed, but when the next officer Ogilvie, continued the English attack, fortunately, the elephant which carried Muhammad Kamal was killed. Kamal was captured and executed on the spot. In 1757 A.D. again, Nazebulla, the brother of Muhammad Ali, rebelled against him and "amused himself and his followers by frequent raids on the territories of the western poligars (Kalahsti and Karvetnagar)". In August 1757 A.D. he attempted to attack the shrine "during the Brahmotsavam festival when a very large proportion of the revenues of each year are realized from the crowds of pilgrims who attend during the days it continues. A detachment was sent from Madras which occupied the town below the sacred hills. Nazebulla's designs being thus frustrated he retired from the neighbourhood but displayed his resentment by stopping and turning back as many pilgrims as he met, so that the income of the temple for that year was seriously diminished."

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Robert Orme in his "History of Military Transactions of the British in Hindustan" furnishes what appears to be a contemporary diary of these raids on the temple. He writes "This temple, one of the most famous in the Deccan, is situated on the top of a mountain. The feast of the God to whom it is dedicated is annually celebrated in September (obviously referring to the Brahmotsavam) and offerings made by the concourse of pilgrims, who arrive from all parts to assist it, amount to so great a sum that the Brahmins, besides what they reserve to themselves, pay the Government an annual revenue of 60000 pagodas or £ 24,000 sterling. This revenue the Nawab assigned to the English in part of expenses they had incurred in the war, as neither the Brahmins nor the pilgrims are solicitous as to whom the money is paid, provided the feast goes on without interruption. "

Robert Orme in his book gives further details of military skirmishes in which the following quotations are taken. "Towards the end of September 1758, a French Officer (Moracin) proceeded from Nellore with a detachment of troops through the woods and mountains of Venkatagiri, to attack the shrine before the commencement of the Brahmotsavam. The French Officer was accompanied by Nazebulla with his troops from Nellore and Abdul Wahab, from Chandragiri, aided them with his troops. They arrived at the pagoda on the 5th of October, the day on which the great festival began (obviously the Brahmotsavam) which lasts for 25 days. They gave no disturbance to the pilgrims but summoned the ruler to dismiss his guards and deliver up the revenues, who not having a force sufficient to make effectual opposition, made proposals to rent the revenues of this and the ensuing feasts to the French, on the same terms as he had hitherto held from the English Government and tendered a sum in hand which Moracin accepted and confirmed him in the employment. Then, leaving a part of his detachment to guard this valuable acquisition, he proceeded on the 16th, with the rest and the troops of Nazebulla to Arcot"; but this arrangement did not suit Abdul Wahab who had always coveted the revenues of the temple. He was 'much offended' and retired with his troops to Chandragiri.

In 1759 (March), during the progress of the siege of Madras by the French, the Mahrattas under Gopal Rao were encamping at Damalcheruvu, in the Chandragiri taluk. They offered assistance first to the French and then to the English but their offers were declined by both. "Gopal Rao to compensate and revenge the disappointment sent a detachment round the hill, which took possession of the town and Pagoda of Tirupati, intending to collect revenues of the approaching feast in April which the Government expected to receive." Gopal Rao had to leave Tirupati as he was wanted by his master

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

Balaji Rao at Poona, but he left a small detachment at Tirupati under the command of an officer named Narayana Sastri and also permitted Abdul Wahab to return with his troops to Chandragiri. Abdul Wahab however utilised the opportunity to attack and drive away the Mahratta troops; on the strength of this achievement, he applied to the Company to grant him the farm of the Pagoda, "but as his rank exempted him from control, the Presidency let it to the same renters as were holding it" previously.

Narayana Sastri took up his residence in "Karakambadi, a town in the hills, 15 miles distant, belonging to the petty Poligars but subject to a greater, called, Matlavar, with whose assistance he raised forces, mostly such as were to be found on the wilds and on the night of 30th June, by a by-path in the mountains of Tirupati, got possession of the temple on the Summit. The troops maintained by the renter and the two companies of sepoy with Ensign Wilcox were in the town below, which commands the usual path of the pilgrims to the Pagoda." "Narayana Sastri therefore waited for another force which Matlavar was to send, when one from the rock and the other from the plain were to surprise the town. They accordingly made the attack on 9th July at four in the morning and after skirmishing for an hour were beaten off and the Mahrattas still kept the pagoda. A few days later, the town was reinforced by the Presidency, with three companies of sepoy, 15 Europeans and a small gun. None but Indians and they of the better castes are permitted to ascend the hill on which the pagoda stands; for the Brahmins pretend that if the summit should be trodden by forbidden feet all virtue of the Pagoda in the remission of sins would be lost until restored by an immense purification. Not apprised of this creed, the sepoy sent by the Presidency were as usual a mixture of Muhammadans and various castes of Indians. So that, out of 600, only 80 were worthy to mount to the assaut and the Europeans were utterly excluded. The renter nevertheless with 80 sepoy and his peons with matchlocks in all not exceeding 500 men ventured to attack the enemy in possession of the pagoda and was repulsed but the bloodshed in the attack did not unsanctify the pagoda." "The mountain was in the possession of Narayana Sastri and the town in the possession of the English." Another contingent, under Major Calliaud, consisting of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoy arrived at Tirupati on 8th July 1759. "But as before, the reinforcement of sepoy furnished few of the right sort, to attack the mountain. Calliaud therefore marched against Karakambadi with the Europeans, four companies of sepoy and two guns; the way was over the hills and valleys covered with wood but inhabited by people fit only for skulking attacks, although of no contemptible caste, being entitled to the pagoda of Tirupati." All fit men of Calliaud's sepoy were sent to the renter's aid. The village of Karakambadi

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

was burnt and the Poligar himself was killed in this engagement. The attack on the hill was also successful. Narayana Sastri retreated to Matlavar territory and the renter was reinstalled. "A small body of English troops was left to protect him for a time. These troops were harassed by the Poligar's peons; in a second raid on Karakambadi, Ensign Wilcox was mortally wounded and the force retreated to Tirupati."

In January 1782, Hyder besieged and took the Chandragiri Fort which was then in the custody of the Nawab's brother Abdul Wahab. Abdul Wahab surrendered the fort to Hyder without a struggle but Hyder had no sympathy for this treacherous prince. He made him prisoner and sent him with his whole family to Seringapatam and we hear no more about him. He always coveted the Tirupati revenues and was hanging round Chandragiri in hopes of securing the income. With him passed away the last danger to the shrine. It must be stated to the credit of Hyder Ali, that he did not interfere with the temple or its revenues but allowed its institutions to continue as before. From the list of Amuldars given elsewhere, we see that once 'Anikala Narasia' managed the temple on behalf of Hyder for two years from 1782 to 84. "In 1804 A.D. again, a few of the Poligars, who were not satisfied with Mr. Stratton's Permanent Settlement, seized all the passes leading to Tirupati intending to plunder the pilgrims but when a force was stationed at Tirupati to protect both 'Lower and Upper Tirupati,' the danger passed off."

Though these attacks on the temple did not seriously affect it, these details in the language of Mr. Orme, a contemporary writer, have been given as they furnish evidence not only of the great respect in which the shrine had been held by earlier rulers of alien faiths, but also of the elaborate and scrupulous precautions observed by them, so as not to offend the usages of the temple and the sentiments of its worshippers, whatever their own opinions might have been in the matter. The young English Ensigns in charge of the troops, risked their own lives and the lives of their men and tamely suffered defeat and loss of revenues, rather than allow Europeans, Muhammadans and the prohibited castes of Hindus to get up the mountain, even though they felt that these prohibitions were unreasonable. Mr. Orme expresses his feeling of annoyance at these prohibitions, which resulted in delaying relief to the temple, by the quaint remark "but the bloodshed in the attack did not unsanctify the Pagoda!" The occupation of the temple by the Mahratta Officers with the assistance of the local Hindu Poligars would appear to indicate that the great Hindu power tried to recover the shrine from the

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

control of the Nawab, whose two impecunious brothers, Nazebulla and Abdul Wahab, were responsible for the several attacks on the temple, in order to secure for themselves the rich annual offerings.

Ever since Hyder Ali's rise to power, the English suspected Muhammad Ali of complicity with him. On 12th July 1792, the Madras Government entered into an agreement with him, "by which the Government engaged to keep up a military establishment, towards the maintenance of which the Nawab was to pay nine lakhs annually; while in the event of war, it was stipulated that the whole of the country should be assumed, one-fifth of the revenue being paid to the Nawab. It was further agreed that the Company should collect the peishcush of the chief poligars in the Carnatic and should place the amount so collected to the credit of the Nawab." Thus, the Zamin-daries of Karvetnagar, Kalahasti and Venkatagiri came under the rule of the Company. The last two Mysore wars added to the district, the Kangundi and the Punganur zamindaries and also the Palmaner taluk, which was then known as Venkatagirikota taluk.

In 1795 Muhammad Ali died and he was succeeded by his son Umdut-ulumara. The Company now sought to modify the treaty of 1792 but he rejected their proposals.

The Fourth Mysore war, in 1799, was made the occasion to demand further contributions from the Nawab, who could not comply with them. It was therefore resolved to assume the entire management of the Carnatic. Further, the discovery of reasonable correspondence between the Nawabs and the Mysore Government, "absolved the Government from all obligations resulting from previous treaties." As Umdut-ul-umara was on his death bed, this resolution was not put into effect immediately. On his death, terms were proposed to his son, Ali Hussain, but as he rejected them, the Company passed him over and appointed the deceased Nawab's brother Azim-ul-umara as the Nawab.

On 31st July 1801, Azim-ul-umara entered into an engagement with the Company, "by which he handed over the whole of his authority over the Carnatic and accepted a stipendiary allowance of one-fifth of its estimated revenues for support of himself and his family." Thus the East India Company became the political successor to the throne of the Carnatic.

Starting as a renter of the temple, the Company became its owner. It is a strange coincidence, that while Venkata II of Chandragiri gave them the first bit of land for the new settlement of Madras, exactly a century later, Sri Venkatesvara supplied them with the first funds to start on their career

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of conquest of the country. It must however be acknowledged to the credit of the Company and its servants, that they fully realized what they owed to the God, and treated even the smallest detail of its institutions with utmost sanctity and reverence, while they themselves instituted several special charities at the temple; to this class belongs the "Munro Taligai" which continues to date.

V. Tirumala during Hyder Ali's time.

Starting as a military officer under the Maharaja of Mysore, Hyder Ali gradually worked his way upto prominence and was faujdar of Dindigul with considerable power and large revenue at his disposal. Gradually he consolidated his position and became king in 1761 A.D. This assumption of authority in Mysore by Hyder Ali brought down the Marathas upon him in 1765 A.D. This necessitated the Nizam and in the English taking sides and the Carnatic was drawn into the struggle along with the latter.

The zamindars round Tirupati, particularly the Poligars of Chittoor and the zamindars of Karvetinagar, Kalahasti and Venkatagiri were in a difficult position. Most of them joined Hyder but professing friendship to the English, except Venkatagiri. The English won a victory at Sholinghur, which brought the zamindars of Kalahasti and Karvetinagar to the English side. This was followed by the siege of Vellore in the course of which Coote advanced as far as Chittoor and took possession of it. As the monsoons were liable to break out violently, there was need of cessation of hostilities. The English army retired to Madras. During the campaign of these two years, Muhammad Ali was able to render no assistance. His officers made efforts only to betray the English, their allies. Among these happened to be his own brother Abdul Wahab, who was given the government of Chittoor, but who had since appropriated Chandragiri and was holding the fortress. He handed over the latter fort to Hyder. It was in this state of circumstances that the English were induced to take over the administration of the Carnatic for a period of five years allowing the Nawab a fifth of its total revenues for his maintenance, which, for the time, proved to be beneficial. During all this campaign so near, the English army did not come anywhere near Chandragiri, and Abdul Wahab who had already entered into correspondence with Hyder was allowed to remain there quietly. But, after taking possession of Chittoor, when Hyder marched upon Chandragiri, Abdul Wahab submitted without a struggle, and Hyder transported the whole of Abdul Wahab's family to Seringapatam excepting two young daughters of his whom he retained in his camp breaking his promise to permit their returning to Madras with Abdul Wahab.

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF CARNATIC WARS

Thus Chandragiri fell into the possession of Hyder and Tirupati along with it. Hyder's treatment of the holy place, it must be noted, was magnanimously remarkable, and shines brilliantly in contrast with those of his predecessors. Wilks notes, in the course of his narration of the ignorance of this fortress and the resources of the country about it both in Sir Syre Cope and in the Madras Government, that "Hyder's more than half-Hindoo propensities had induced him to grant unqualified indemnity to the sacred temple of Tripaty, only nine miles distant from Chandragherry, to the extent of not even interfering with the payment of a tribute to Mohammad Ali for similar indemnity."

VI. Tirupati as a centre of Government under Golkonda and its revenue administration.

Travellers on official missions seem generally to have passed through Tirupati on the way upto Golkonda, the headquarters, or down from there to the south, say, Fort St. George, the headquarters of the East India Company. Mir jumla must have come into the possession of this region some time before the fall of Gingee, or about that date, and must have brought it under his own government. But what arrangement he made exactly for the conduct of the government of this, and how it affected the position of Tirupati are not known. We may be certain that he had some kind of an organisation for conducting the government of the locality which included the region of Tirupati

A little subsequently to this, we find the Golkonda ruler, Abdulla-Qutub Shah, organising a government of this region under governors of whom the most distinguished was Neknam Khan, from whom the English East India Company at Fort St. George received a renewal of the charter granting them the fort and the privileges of trade in it. We have also information that, under this Neknam Khan, there was some government at Tirupati, as an English Agent was going to Neknam Khan for the purpose of securing this charter, who in the first instance proceeded to Tirupati, and, after seeing the sub-Governor Chinnapalli Mirza there, was ordered to proceed to Neknam Khan himself at Golkonda. This shows clearly that Tirupati did become the headquarters of a sub-government, and there must have been arrangements corresponding, for the conduct of the administration not only of the dependent territories at greater distances but of all that depended upon Tirupati itself. We have however no information what the kind of organisation actually was. The revenues of Tirupati, however, could not have escaped the conquerers whether it be Mir jumla or his successors. Mir jumla particularly, and those

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

who followed him naturally, were not moved by motives of mere pride in the conquest and extension of territory; much rather it was acquisition of wealth which was their primary concern. They must therefore have put the temple at Tirupati under some kind of an arrangement by means of which they could benefit to the maximum extent from the income of the place, consistently with conducting the administration and contributing to the undiminished revenue of the region from time to time.

The revenue of the Tirumala temple must, from the information that we have, obviously have consisted of two large and distinct items. The first, revenue derived from lands which consisted of two kinds, A number of whole villages, the revenues of which were granted to the temple, some of which were even outside the limits of the district formed the first. But the far larger portion really was landed property in the vicinity of the temple and between it and the river Svarnamukhi which had been brought under cultivation through the application of the necessary resources from the temple treasury to which the pious devotees made specific donations for the purpose, large as well as small. There was a considerably large area of lands therefore which might, in a sense, be said to belong directly to the temple, which played the part of landlord, cultivating the lands by tenants on a footing more or less of permanent occupancy.

The temple provided the funds for creating irrigation facilities, for improving facilities such as already existed, and providing also facilities for bringing even hitherto uncultivated lands into cultivation, so that the temple did what the ordinary capitalist landholder is generally expected to do. For all practical purposes therefore the temple was as much of a landlord as any individual holder of large acres of land would be. In regard to the collection of the revenue, etc., the temple had its own machinery for its own purposes where it owned villages entirely. In respect of villages which were included in units having its own organization, such as for instance, several villages round Tiruchchanur under the control of the Tiruchchanur Sabha and others like those in the immediate vicinity, there must have been some kind of an arrangement between these Sabhas and the temple. The Sabhas must in this case, as in the other cases, have made the arrangements for the collection of the revenue and played the part of an intermediary, partially at any rate, so that we may say generally, that, so far as the landed properties of the temple went, the temple stood in the position of land owner, and the tenants were cultivating tenants with occupancy rights more or less of a permanent character liable to be distrubed only for default in payment.

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

The intervention of an authority like that of an alien government brought about a rearrangement which almost unconsciously created a revolution in regard to this matter. In this instance, the alien government came in not after the place had been reduced to some kind of an anarchy as in the period of the Carnatic wars. What actually happened was that the central power under the old Governments had become extinct either because of conquest or because of gradual decay. In any case, the central administration ceased to exist and exercise effective authority, and such machinery as the old administration had established for the purpose of collecting revenue and doing various other administrative duties for its own conveniences, had to do the same duty even after the collapse of the central authority on an independent footing which gave them freedom to alter and amend the time-honoured arrangements to suit their own convenience. That is one kind of a general change that actually came over later. What seems to have happened earlier, was that the arrangements which the governments had instituted for purposes of giving protection to the inhabitants by means of middle men in place of petty officers of government, themselves took care of the duty of collecting the revenue and policing the area originally put in their charge. They were doing it ordinarily under the control of the government as long as there was a central government. When however for some reason or other, the central government went out of existence, they continued to discharge those duties, but often on their own terms, to which the inhabitants had to agree as they had no other alternative open to them.

This is how, what are called palaiyams arose. The arrangement came to be called in some places in the anarchical period just preceding the establishment of Vijayanagar, the padikkaval arrangement. We have a number of documents where villages entered into this kind of an arrangement with a powerful chieftain in the neighbourhood, who had the machinery to offer efficient protection to them. When the central Government went out of existence definitely, these established themselves in their own position and rendered the service on terms of their own. They came to be called poligars (palaiyakkarans), and the estate which they held were called palaiyams; and many of those palaiyams, of which we hear of as many as a dozen to twenty in the region round about Tirupati, probably came into existence that way.

Another possible arrangement is that where there were big zamindars in the locality who had large estates acquired in various ways by service or otherwise, they took the neighbouring villages under their protection, in return for payments in consideration thereof. These would be zamindars as

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

distinct from the palaiyams. The distinction between the lands constituting the zamin and the villages that had come in otherwise under their protection would gradually diminish, and these would become more or less zamindari villages.

VII. Tirupati under Amaldars.

It is on record that Mir jumla amassed vast wealth in the region that he conquered for Golkonda nominally, by appropriating the wealth of temples. Tirupati is in the heart of the districts that Mir jumla first of all acquired, and Tirupati was the shrine, whose wealth must have been well known to all people. It must therefore have definitely come to the notice of Mir jumla; but what actually he did with respect to the temple we do not know. Early in the history of the Nawabship of Arcot, we find Tirupati already recognised as a shrine with a vast income, and it was put under contribution by having to pay a certain portion of its annual income to the state. This contribution is set down at 60,000 pagodas by Orme, and at 45,000 pagodas and 52,000 rupees in early British records, as we have already noticed. The arrangement made seems to have been, as in the other cases of which we have evidence, to hand over the temple to a renter, whose business it was to manage the collection of the revenue and pay what was stipulated to the government, manage the affairs of the temple and make his own profits on what was left.

That seems to have been the early arrangement introduced under Nawab Sadat-Ulla-Khan and his successor, Dost Ali. In the period of confusion of the Carnatic wars under Muhammad Ali, Tirupati did prove to be a source of steady revenue, and was an object of attraction to the various parties that had influence.

The English East India Company wanted it badly. The French Company coveted it. The Nawabs perhaps would gladly have had it if they could. We find notes in the Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary where both Madame Dupleix and Madame Godehu tried to rent it out and make large profits in the process. We have a number of instances in which the anxiety of the English Company was expressed for the revenues of it, and they took steps to defend the temple against attacks. We also note that the Nawab's subordinates, Nazibulla and Abdul Wahab, were equally drawn to it. The Mahrattas several times attacked the place, and the revenue that could be got out of it was possibly part of the attraction for the one or two unsuccessful attempts at taking possession of the temple by them.

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

It was only Hyder Ali who seems to have been a shining exception, when, as Wilks states it, he left the temple entirely to itself, with its revenues and payments as they were. That was the condition in which it came to the hands of the British. They continued the old arrangement of appointing an Amaldar from among the Brahmans, perhaps even Vaishnava Brahmans, as we hear of two appointments one following the other, of a Srinivasachari and a Vasudevachari by the Dewan of the Arcot Nawabs, Dumalli Krishnaji Pandit. The British continued that arrangement and perhaps obtained a rent of 2 to 2½ lacs of rupees a year coming in steadily and regularly. This is nothing improbable seeing that the average annual income of the temple was then about a thousand rupees a day, and it is not impossible that the visitors to the temple and the payments made there, were about as much or a little more than a century ago.

VIII. Tirupati and Mysore State.

The first great dynasty that held rule over the whole of what constituted the old native state of Mysore forming part of Karnataka State, was the Hoysala dynasty. This dynasty in the course of its history felt bound to extend its authority into South India, in support of the Cholas as against Pandya aggression from the south and internal rebellion. This interest in the affairs of the Cholas, and the consequent interference to which it led, became so frequent and necessary, since the rule of the Hoysala Narasimha II who had to interfere there several times in favour of the ruling Chola. His son Vira Somesvara thought it more convenient to make an alternative capital for his residence near one of the Chola capitals Uraiyur. He fortified a place across the Coleroon on the northern side of Srirangam, Uraiyur being just on the southern side near Trichinopoly town. This became the southern Hoysala capital, Tiruvikramapura, in which Somesvara himself resided till he was defeated by the great Pandya Jatavaraman Sundara Pandya I.

In the course of the twenty years following the first incursions of the muslims in the distant south, things had so shaped themselves that the Hoysala was able gradually to advance his authority in the region round Tirupati, and ultimately place himself in Tiruvannamalai as a really more strategic centre for almost the same reasons that his predecessor Somesvara felt the need for fortifying a capital at Kannanur.

Among records in the Tirupati temple, we find some relating to the great Perumala Dandanayaka, who was the principal minister of Narasimha III

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and even of Vira Ballala III in the first years of his reign. The Dannayakan-kottai chiefs were successors of this Perumala Dandanayaka. This minister was succeeded by two of his sons, who held similar positions successively, one following the other. Ketayya Dandanayaka was the elder of the two, and Singayya Dandanayaka was the younger. We have records of these having instituted food-services in the temple at Tirumala, one of these services being named with the characteristic Mysorean title of "Sitagara Ganda," a title assumed by Perumala Dandanayaka as a result of a successful war against the Yadava enemies that he had to fight on the northern side of Mysore territory. This family seems to have been allied with the Yadavaraya rulers who held authority in those days in the region of Tirupati, and that made their association with Tirupati really more natural than that of the officers or viceroys of a distant ruler. Their inscriptions carry us to the early thirties of the fourteenth century, and thereby give us clear indication that Hoysala Vira Ballala with his capital in Tiruvannamalai had secured the country, behind him in support of his position. Mysore services to the temple at Tirumala began with the agents of this Hoysala, and the "Sitagara Gandan Sandi" is indubitable evidence of the association of Mysore with this holy shrine.

On the fall of Vijayanagara, and during the end of the reign of Venkata-patiraya, the foundations of the independent kingdom of Mysore under the Odayar Rajas were laid. This dynasty has done great service to the Tirumala temples.

The Annals of the Royal Family of Mysore records Raja Odayar as having presented to the God at Tirumala an umbrella with pendants of real pearls and other articles required for worship and offerings, as well as dress. He also provided for the burning of a perpetual lamp in the sanctum, and for a daily Sahasranama worship with provision for food-services. The same work credits Kanthirava Narasa Raja Odayar (1639—1659) with services to the temple at Tirumala along with others, such as those of the Siva temple at Nanjangudu and the Vishnu temple at Melkottai, as well as other temples, each according to its own standing. The next ruler of the dynasty to have shown particular devotion to this temple was Dodda Devaraja Odayar who succeeded Kanthirava Narasa. He is said to have provided for a garden of tulasi at Tirumala, and presented to the God a pavilion set with gems for seating the God, and also provided for a daily service or food for offering which he provided two large vessels of gold. His successor, in many ways the greatest ruler of the dynasty, Chikka Devaraja Odayar (1672—1704), made his donation to Tirumala along with a number of holy places. He was

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

responsible for the building of the Varaha temple within the building of the Mysore fort, wherein he installed the Varaha image which he brought from Srimushnam which had suffered from the depredations of the recent Muhammadan invasions. He provided in the temple at Tirumala for the burning of a perpetual lamp fed with ghee, and for the performance of worship with Sahasranama as also a service of food to be offered in gold vessels as in the case of his predecessors. The next ruler of importance is Dodda Krishna Raja Odayar, who followed after Chikka Devaraja Odayar's son and successor. He instituted daily services, and special services on occasions of great festivals in the temple at Tirumala and for the perpetual maintenance of these, he provided, from the revenues of a certain number of villages specified, 600 Kanthirai Varahas. He issued a copper-plate grant for this purpose in 1730, and marked off the villages themselves with boundary stones with the characteristic Vishnu marks of the conch and the disc. The inscriptions of this ruler, such as No. 37 at Kunigal in the Tumkur district, and No. 54 of Yedattore make general statements and refer to the large number of charities instituted by him in holy places, such as Kasi, Jagannatha, Tirupati, etc. He was known to have been a particularly religious minded and charitable ruler even among the members of this generally pious minded ruling dynasty. The next ruler is one known as Chikka-Krishna Raja Odayar, at the end of whose reign Haidar Ali assumed the administrative power in the state. He heard that the gold vessels and the umbrella with pearl pendants, the gift of his ancestor Raja Odayar, had both become so damaged by use at Tirumala that they were no more fit for service. He satisfied himself by examination that it was so, and, at great expenditure, provided new articles similar to those that had been presented, thus renewing the great services of his predecessor; and, not satisfied with that, he provided for certain services of his own and other presentations of value. Among the articles that he renewed are mentioned two small gold umbrellas said to have been presented by Chikka Deva Raja Odayar which do not find mention in the latter's donations. In addition to presentation on his own account of gold and silver ornaments and vessels necessary for various services in the temple, he also presented costly dresses and two large gold vessels for offering food to the deity which was to be distributed among the worshippers daily after service to God.

The Muzarai department in Mysore which has charge of the Mysore charities of the temple at Tirumala, as of other temples and religious institutions within the state and elsewhere, have in their records material of value. The documents in this office do not reach beyond 1730 and Dodda Krishna Raja Odayar's referring to the grant of 600 "Kanthirai Varahas." According

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

to the records in this office, Maharaja Sri Krishna Raja Odayar III, the grandfather of the well known Krishna Raja Odayar made valuable presents of his own in addition to seeing that the charities made by Mysore rulers before him were maintained unimpaired, and the Akhanda Dipa to be perpetually maintained.

Among the nirupas and sannads of Mysore there is one dated 1738, which provides an annual revenue of 156 Kanthirai varahas for the festival of the deity being carried on the back of an elephant (Anai Vahanam), in addition to the 600 varahas granted for general purposes in 1732. The next nirupa is dated 1804, which must have been issued during the reign of Maharaja Krishna Raja Odayar III. This provides for an additional revenue of 117 varahas granted in Tirumala. A caution is made in the order itself that the lands ought to be managed with care, so that the amount of revenue may not diminish. In 1815, an order was issued appointing a Sheristadar for the management of the chatram at Tirumala. A document of 1818 calls upon the manager of these charities at Tirumala to report whether the pujas are being performed regularly, ordering the submission of regular periodical reports on the matter. Another interesting document of 1819 approved of the action of the manager of the state charities in Tirumala, transferring articles, & c., sent by the Sri Parakalasvami of the time for service during a certain Brahmotsava. The Manager transferred these to the chatram Sheristadar and his action was approved. It also enjoined upon the manager that he should have the custody of the seal. An order dated 1820 intimates a remittance of Rs. 4,000 from the Fouj Katcheri, Bangalore, towards the expenses of the feeding house. The Fouj Katcheri is the office of the Foujdar who was in charge of the Bangalore Division. There was a circular the year before, to the officers of the state ordering that facilities be provided for comfortable and safe travelling to the Sheristadar of the Tirumala chatram who came to render accounts and was returning with all the records etc., back to Tirumala. An order of July 1823 enjoins the carrying out of repairs to several buildings at Tirumala, and calls upon the manager to send forward a nominee of his for appointment as Superintendent of the chatram. So from the commencement of the eighteenth century right on to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth there has been good control maintained in respect of these charities of Mysore in Tirumala.

Mysore occasionally figures in the complicated transactions between the Nawab of Arcot, the Nizam, the Maharattas, and the East India Company, in the course of the wars which terminated in the establishment of the Madras Presidency. The benefactions of Mysore to the temple, and the continued

TIRUMALA DURING THE DAYS OF THE CARNATIC WARS

interest that Mysore evinced in the affairs of Tirumala, are in evidence in the popular-mind, as several monumental works of other patrons even are generally referred to as owing to Mysore. As one prominent instance, it may be mentioned, that the second gopura at the foot of the main steps, which was built by Matla Kumara Ananta as the other, the Saluva Narasimha tower had got to be placed aside perhaps by a realignment of the approach, was till recently called Mysore gopuram, notwithstanding the inscriptions on the structure itself. It is just possible that Mysore was responsible, partly or fully, for the realignment of the path, or it may be that Mysore made the repairs to the gopuram itself. In any case, it indicates an ordinarily prevailing notion in the minds of the people that Mysore was always ready and only too willing for benefactions of all kinds in regard to Tirupati.

The Tirumala Temple under the Management of East India company.

(Information from Mackenzie manuscripts)

I. Introduction.

The East India Company acquired portions of Carnatic from the Nawab of Arcot in 1748 together with the assignment of the revenues from the temple of Sri Venkatesvara. On the close of Fourth Mysore War in 1799 and after the death of Mohammad Ali in 1795 and his son in 1801, the Company made an agreement with Mohammad Ali's second son Azim-ul-umara in July 1801 by which he handed over the entire political sovereignty over the Carnatic to the East India Company in return for a fixed stipendary allowance. Thus from 1748 i.e., middle of the 18th Century, the East India Company came into possession of the income of the Tirumala Temple of Sri Venkatesvara, and later it took over the direct management of the Temple in the beginning of the 19th Century when they arrived at an agreement with Mohammad Ali's son.

The various details given in the Mackenzie manuscripts are given below. The original grammer and spelling in English as found in these documents have been reproduced as they are, and they have not been corrected.

II. TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

(In Fort St. George Diary and Consultations)

From 1751 onwards there are records to show what amounts were collected every year, the agency employed for doing it and how eventually the management of the temple and its lands was handed over by the Nawab of Arcot to the English. The large collections made annually lured the French also to aspire for the mastery over the temple.

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

In this connection Anandarangam Pillai's statement in his Diary that the renter Srinivasachari absconded without paying the kists due, and that one Vasudevachari was appointed in his stead as the renter for three years, from 1750-51 on condition of paying one lakh of pagodas towards outstanding dues and 47,000 pagodas every year is not wholly correct.

Vasudevachari did not actually enter into a contract. The political conditions at the time were such that Srinivachary could not have been sure whether Chanda Saheb would be the Nawab of Arcot or whether Mahammad Ali would continue. The best course for him would have been to procrastinate payment. Vasudevachari seems to have served only as a screen, and Srinivasachari only seems to have continuously been the renter so far as the temple was concerned. There is an entry on 3rd Junaury 1752 in the Ft. St. George records which states that "Shanavas Archaloe" had promised to pay the remainder of the "Tripetty" money to 'Boeconjre cosidoss.' The excuse which the renter pleaded for the delay was due to the removal of Buccanji's people to a place "Venkatygary" on account of the troubles in the country. By Nov. 6, 1752 the President acquainted the Board of Directors that he had received bills from Tirupati to the amount of Rupees 41, 250 and Pagodas 10,000 which was carried to the credit of the Nabob, 'Mohammad Ally Khan.' The revenue came to be assigned in due course to the English who punctually and vigorously collected every rupee received in the temple. They were received in three principal instalment known as the September, December and June kist (corresponding to Brahmotsavam, Mukkoti and Anivarai Asthanam). The following is a list of the collections

Years.	Collections received	
	in Pagodas.	In Rupees.
1753-54	56,432	92,000
1754-55	59,124	58,841
1755-56	52,665	53,235
1756-57	45,296	51,240
1757-58	45,245	50,866

On October 27, 1755 Mr. Pigot reported to the Select Committee F.S.G. that Capt, Polier had escorted with his troops the Nawab to Arcot where he made a splendid entry. The Arcot poligars were subdued by Kilpatrick. Bangaru Yachama Naik settled the annual rent for 1,40,000 rupees and Bommarazu for Rs.2,37,000 a year.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The despatch from the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee at F.S.G. states:—

“Nov. 20, 1756. The Nawab has again assigned to the Company for the current year 8 lakhs of rupees from the Arcot country. Bommarazu-Palayam poligar paid 7994 Palliput pagodas and will pay Rs. 70, 000 more in four months time. The Tirupati renter paid regularly in 3 instalments yearly rent of 45,000 Sadut-ulla Khan Pagoda (4 or 5% better than current pagoda) and 52, 000 North Arcot rupees”.

There is an entry dated October 13, 1757 to the effect that “The superiority of the French forces compelled the English to recall the troops from Conjeevaram to Madras and to order back Polier who was marching North to protect Tirupati from Nazib-ulla-khan..” Information obtained from some subsequent entries is given below. November 10, 1757—The Nabob's debt on April 1756 stood at 13,71,906 pagodas; by June 30 last it had fallen to 11,91,324 pagodas; this was rendered possible by his paying his assignment in full, the full receipt of Tirupati rents and the mortgaged countries of.. October 2-15-1758. The Tripetty rent has been regularly paid, the principal collection is now beginning and it is hoped will not be interrupted by the French. Post Script to the above says. “The French have occupied Arcot, Tripetty and Conjeevaram”.

A letter from Mr. Pigot to the company dated July 28, 1759 while estimating revenues of various provinces etc. says “...Other revenues are reckoned as follows : Tripatty, 2,50,000 Tripassore, 2,00,000; Conjeevaram 1,50,000”.

It is therefore a safe assumption to say that the English Company was getting annually about 2½ lakhs of rupees from the Tirumala temple and the lands attached to it.

From the entries of the dairy dated 3 January, 11th & 24th February and 23rd March it is seen that Srinivasachari was the renter for the year 1751-52 and that he continued to be the renter in 1753 also. The lease was being renewed every year. In 1751 the English complained that there was negligence on the part of Diwan Sampat Rao in taking steps to have the Tirupathi collections sent to the Governor of F.S.G. punctually by means of Sowcar's Bills. The Nabob thereupon sent special instructions to Sampat Rao to pay personal attention to the matter since it affected the safety of his country. Money was to be collected by one Abdul Bob Khan a relative of the Nabob stationed at Chandragiri. The English Governor wrote to him on August 18, 1753, “You tell me that you will order your people to send the Tripatty money;

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

May I not with reason ask you how you could order than to receive it; how often do you call me your brother and tell me the Nabob owes his welfare to my assistance". Abdul bob Khan's reply to this dated 7th September 1753 reads "I am extremely pleased to receive your letter wherein you was pleased to desire me to send the Tripatty money". In July 1753 Abdul Bob Khan had intercepted 50,000 rupees and the Nabob had to write a severe letter on 31st July 1753 to Bob Khan to see that his men did not collect any money from the renter, but that the latter should be allowed to hand over to Diwan Sampat Rao who would settle all accounts. Bob Khan threw the blame on one Yeklas Khan. The lease for the year 1753-54 was actually given to Srinivasachari about the middle of September 1753 and at the request of Sampat Rao the English sent a detachment of some Europeans and Sepoys. They also wrote to Kumara Yachama Naik, Damarla Venkatappa and Guruvaraz to assist the renter in collecting the money during the approaching annual festival. Srinivasachary was asked to pay the full amount of the collection to the English. Srinivasachary reached Tirupati on the 6th day of the festival. In the meantime Mohamad Kamal an adventurer from Nellore turned up to capture the temple and appropriate the income. Nazeb-ulla, Capt. Hott and Damarla Venkatappa engaged him in battle in the plains of Tirupati and cut off his head on 2nd October 1753. Srinivasachari complained that Mohamad Kamal had collected already 13649 pagodas and another Esarar Khan had received Rs. 60,000/—. He therefore requested the English to write to Anwarde Khan and excuse the renter from paying Rs. 50,000 to the Nabob which amount represented also charitable gifts made by the pilgrims to the renter. This latter is of interest to us. These charitable gifts really represent collections made from the Tirukkaivalakkam and Tirumun kanikkai amounts which in former times used to be paid to the Sthanattar and which in later times were given to the Nabob and the renter on the occasion of the numerous festivacel, etc., celebrated by the pilgrims.

Nazibullah and Bob Khan however complained that the real income for the year was very large and that the renter was duping the English. Thereupon the English guards at Tirupati seized the renter on 18th December 1753 and carried him to Madras whereon the Governor had all the accounts audited by Diwan Sampt Rao in Kanchipuram. The accounts were settled and he was permitted to go back to Tirupatty which he did and paid on 9th May 1754 star pagodas 35383 and odd to the company in settlement of all dues to the end of December 1753. In september 1754 the Nawab formally assigned in full the rents of the Tirupati Paragana to the English. Srinivasachary was again confirmed in September 1754 as

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

renter for the following year and one Krishnaji Pant was appointed and joined on 23—8—54 as Tahsildar to assist him. On 28th July 1755 Srinivasachari reported to the English that the army of the Nabob of Cuddapah with a Maratta named Narasinga Rao, was camping near 'Avedula sanna Canama' with a view to capturing Tripatty at the time of the September festival. But actually there was no disturbance caused. In July 1757 the Tahsildar, the renter and Damarla Venkatapathy wrote to the the Governor of Madras that Nazibullah Khan had written to Venkatapathy that he was the Deputy of the Moghul and that he would be marching to take possession of Tripatty, and settle the revenues of Kalahasti and Venkatagiri. The Nobob of Arcot also wrote on 22nd July 1757 that Nazibullah had been induced by the French at Wandiwash to join them and to proceed against Tripatty. He wanted the English to send some Europeans and sepoys to Tripatty. In the meantime Balvant Rao, the Maratta commander informed the renter that he would be going to the Hills with an army of 2,000 horse to worship the God on 13th August 1757. The Governor wrote to him "You are sensible that the place has been under the care and management of the English for some years past and not to cause any disturbance considering the friendship between him and the English". But Keiredy Khan wrote to the Nabob that Balvant Rao, intended to take possession of the place. The sepoys sent by the Company arrived in Tripatty on 30—7—57. Balvant Rao who came on 12th August with 3000 Horse, was met by the renter at a distance of 4 crosus (8 miles) from Tripatty where the army was left and Balvant Rao went alone to the Mount and paid his devotion to God and then marched with his army to the Canama. But in fact an attempt to capture Tripatty was made by Nazibullah who according to Srinivasachari's report to the Governor of Madras was camping on 26—8—1757 at Gadwar (perhaps Kodur) after capturing the fort there. On 29th August an army of Europeans and sepoys was despatched to Naidupet to join there Damarla Venkatapathy and Bangaru Yachama Naik and to oppose Nazibullah. Nazibullah is said to have coaxed the renter to join him, but in vain. Perhaps no attack was actually made on Tripatty. From the beginning of 1758 however real danger was apprehended. Abdul Bob Khan entered Chandragiri with 1000 horses, 1000 sepoys and 5000 peons on 28th January. Acting on the complaint made by the renter the Governor of Madras wrote to Bob Khan to desist from doing any harmful act. Balvant Rao and Amrita Rao were molesting Damarla Venkatapathy and the other Zamindars and Poligars for payment of more than the legitimate 'chauth' amount. The renter wrote that Balvant Rao had occupied the Siddhant Fort and that Abdul Hamid Khan had handed over to his Diwan Vasaji Pant the Gurrampakonda Fort with half the country. The Diwan also intimated to the renter that he would go to Tirupatty with 4000 horses in five or six days to pay his devotion to God.

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

On the 7th October 1758 the Tahsildar informed the Governor that the French with the help of the chief of Machilipatam, Nazebulla Khan of Nellore, and Abdul Wahab Khan of Chandragiri having entered into a confederacy took possession of the Tripatty Pargana. Abdul Wahab fixed his standard and employed his people to maintain security. But the French demanded that Abdul Wahab should first furnish security and then rent the Pargana. He was unable to comply and Srinivasachari was sent for and the Pargana rented to him after obtaining security for the first feast kist and Sanad given. This was on the 7th October 1758 which was the fifth day of the Brahmotsavam. The Tahsildar wrote to the Madras Governor to send troops and recapture the temple and the Pargana. The Governor found fault with Srinivasachari for betraying his masters. But Damarla Venkatappa replied that he used his discretion wisely so that the Pargana did not pass into the hands of Abdul Wahab. It may be stated here that when the French entered Tirupathi on 6th October the company's troops dispersed and went via Rayalcheruvu to Madras. On the 16th October Nazibullah and the French Chief went to Chandragiri. The Governor found fault with Bangaru Yachama Naik and Damarla Venkatappa for having allowed the small French force to pass through their territory without any attempt to prevent the entry. He wanted them to show better fidelity to the Nabob and the English. He indicated that further action would be taken after the rainy season was over. The sanad of Srinivasachari was given by the Chief of Matchilipatam. Abdul Bob Khan obtained in the name of his son the Tahsildari of Tirupathi. Srinivasachari was not agreeable to this and found his affairs in confusion. The capture of Tirupatty by the French was not an unexpected event. The despatch from the Select Committee to the Secret Committee of F. S. G. dated Oct. 2nd and Oct. 5th 1758 reads, "The Tripatty rent has been regularly paid; the principal collection is now beginning and it is hoped will not be interrupted by the French". The postscript says that "the French have occupied Aroct Tripatty and Cenjeevaram".

III. TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN THE MACKENZIE MANUSCRIPTS AT THE BEGINING OF THE DIRECT MANAGEMENT BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The Tirumala Temple continued to be an unfailing source of income till September 1800, as is seen from a letter from Lord Clive to the Nawab of Arcot in connection with the arrangements to be made for the pilgrimage of

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Raja Raghottam Rao to Tirupati. Although the temple along with the pargana of Tirupati was nominally the property of Nawab of Arcot, the revenues of the temple were assigned by him to the East India Company. Even this fiction disappeared in 1801 when the East India Company dispossessed the Nawab and assumed the direct administration of the Temple.

There is a manuscript in the Mackenzie collections entitled 'Kyfeat of the boundaries of Tripetty' which contains a map showing the limits of the temple state. The note and the map are reproduced below as they are quite interesting.

Kyfeat of the Boundaries of Tripetty.

Mackenzie Manuscripts: Translations Reports

Vol. XVI, page 476—C.

About 150 years ago, in the reign of the Rayels before the country was conquered by the Mlechha or Mussalmans the Carnatic was divided out and boundaries were fixed, within which the revenues were settled—then to be paid to the Raja Loke (or Kings) and within these limits, the respective forces of the chiefs were to remain under their separate command.

Thereafter the Moguls having increased in power, began to conquer the country; the Polligars who were around the Limits of Tirupatty having also become powerful reduced these countries.

THE ANCIENT BOUNDARIES OF TRIPETTY ARE AS FOLLOWS viz.-

1. On the East near Callahasree beyond the bank of the Soovarn Mookaree River near a Pagoda of Iswar was placed a Boundary stone on which is inscribed the Chacrum of the swamy.

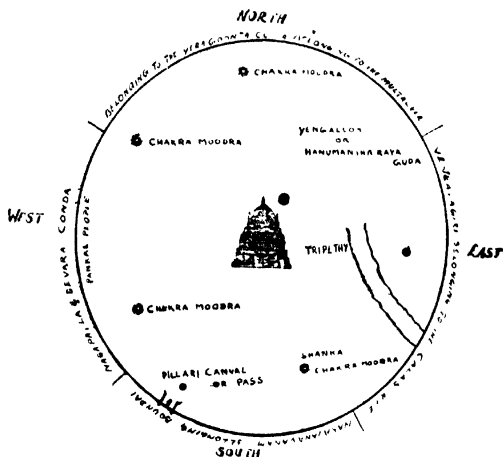
2. On the South from Narrainvarum and west to near Pillaree canama is placed a boundary stone, with the shenka chacrum moodra.

3. West of that stone in an angle between the Hill of Devarconda towards Nagapatala Tallook, are placed boundary stones with the chacra Moodra in the Wood of Chamul-Arun'ya (chamala Forest).

4. North of Tripetty from Yeragoonta, Yanagulloo, Hanumanta Raya Gidda as far as the Cotta of Callahasree, was the Boundary; but the Muttalwar people having destroyed the petty Palligars took these countries and there is placed a chacdrum-moodra.

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

On the four sides the Boundary extends as far as three gows.



The possessions of the temple would in the beginning of the 19th Century have extended in the east upto the limits of Kalahasti and in the North upto the Venkatagiri. In the South the boundary appears to have extended up to Narayanavanam and Karvetinagaram and in the West the temple estate included the present limits of Chandragiri Taluk and appears to have extended northward to Nagapatla Devarakonda (Vayalpad taluk), Yerraguntlathota (Rayachoti Taluk of Cuddapah District).

There is another manuscript in the Mackenzie Collections, which says that in 1787 Muhammad Ali sent a commission, headed by a Chief Officer named Syed Mohamed Khan and an English officer named Sir Barry Close to investigate these encroachments and that after one and half years of hard work, the commission recovered several villages but the Nabob's Government was too weak to retain them. The poligars again seized the villages and Muhmmad Ali had to confirm the villages to them, on their offer to pay enhanced peish-cush.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The above manuscript is given below:—

Encroachments on the Temple Estate YADAST OR MEMORANDUM

Mackenzie Manuscripts: Translations & Reports Vol. XVI, page 476 to 476-dt

Teerjeevaleeyattoo, Valamundala & Godagullnaad formed the ancient boundaries of Triupathy, but the Poligars having presented Nuzzerett the Soobadar, Nabob and etc., by violence and force, they destroyed the Polligars and took possession of their countries; and the country beyond the boundary of Tripetty tallook was then reduced by the above mentioned Polligars.

Some time after, in the Sun 1196 fusly (1786 A.D.)/ the Nabob Ameer-ul-Umrah sent one of his chief officers Mahammed Moorad to enquire into with a strong party and guns, who arriving at Triupathy enquired into these affairs and took possession of a part of their country according to strict justice but some part of the country was not recovered because the possessors resisted or were ready to fight, but the revenues of the part that was taken were collected for the circar. The rest of the country being still unrecovered, in the Sun 1197 fusly (1787 A.D.), a chief officer Syed Mahomed Khan and an English officer named Close, (Sir Barry Close) were sent from the Huzzoor by the Nabob Ameer-ul-Umarh to determine the cause, who coming hither, made some enquiry and took possession of some villages, but others were not recovered within the one and half years that the enquiry lasted; owing to the death of Ameer-ul-umrah and the Polligars representing to the Great Nabob Wallajah, "You have possessed our countries, if you restore them to us again, we shall pay you the amount of the revenue" he consented and they presented Nuzzers to the amount of some lacs, each according to their ability and got back the countries, and the whole being then returned to them, has thus continued still, they, paying Peishkush (or tribute) for the same.

A manuscript entitled "Yadast Dahazada of Purgunna of Tripetty: Company's circar for Sun 1211 Fusly year, Doormooke, or A.D. 1801" (Vol. XVI-p. 469 ff) states that the temple owned 187 villages in 1801. The details of the names of villages, their classification and the persons in enjoyment of them are furnished in it.

The general abstract is as follows:—

1. Devastan Arjita

1

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

2.	Mounza or principal villages	..	156	} 159
	Majara or subordinate villages	..	3	
3.	Sayer and Cavally etc.			
1.	Pattada or different classes of keeping bazaars	..	1	} 27
2.	Sayer or Chokees where customs are collected	..	16	
3.	Pussa Banda (cattle farms?)	..	2	
4.	Muckan or establishments in the town	..	1	
5.	Mohalraj or taxes on houses etc.	..	1	
6.	Cavally or watching places	..	5	
7.	Cattubade-lands granted to servants, peons etc., in lieu of pay	..	1	
Total		..		187 villages

Distribution.

Villages belonging to Senior Jeyangar:	..	2
Jeepaliem (main) Nellapalli (Hamlet)		
do. Junior Jeyangar:		
Adusupaliem (main) Krishnapaliem (hamlet)	..	2
Villages to Nambees	..	16
Villages assigned to Acharya Purushas, Head gollar, Aghrahams and Shrotriam villages granted on favourable rent:—	..	13
Chiratanur and Malur		
To Byragees (1) Pareram Mahant	2 ..	4
(2) Dayaram Mahant	2	
Other Inamdars	..	3
		40

In the hands of Poligars:

(1) Karakambady Venkatappa Naidu, Poligar of Tirupati	..	5	} 124
(2) Krishnapur Veeraraghava Naidu, Poligar of Tirupati.	..	5	
(3) Mamandur Venkatapa Naidu	..	9	
(4) Damarla Timma Naidu, Zamindar of Kalahasti	..	16	
(5) Bomarausz, Zamindar of Karvetinagar	..	36	
(6) Pamala Sessa Naidu, (Nagapatla)	..	34	
(7) Mogaral Poligar	..	18	
(8) Matlivar	..	1	

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Remaining principal villages—			
Devasthanam or temple	..	18	} 23
Mackan or establishment	..	1	
Sayer or custom houses			
Motarfa or receipt from custom houses	..	4	}
Total ..		187 villages	

The above raises a quaint problem viz., that at the time all the villages and the landed property of the temple seems to have gone out of the possession of the temple to the temple functionaries.

Under the Nabobs, the villages seem to have been distributed among a number of petty Kavalgars, who administered them on behalf of the temple. They collected the transit duties called, Sayer, for which, custom houses had been established at various centres and they were also responsible for the police arrangements, for which they were assigned some villages on favourable rent called Kavali. Subsequent to the break up of the Vijayanagar Empire, they collected, in addition, Kavali fees from all villages within their ranges. In the unsettled conditions of the country during the Carnatic wars, they assumed independence and styled themselves poligars. The most powerful among them gradually swallowed up the possessions of the smaller poligars.

It is not known when the 187 villages of the Tirupati estate were distributed among the permanent servants of the temple and among the guarding agents. There is no reference to it in the inscriptions at all.

Possibly Tirumalaraya himself might have granted these gift-villages to the hereditary functionaries of Sri Venkatesvara's temple with a view to perpetuate worship and festivals to Him through their descendants, and to the palegars and zamindars to safeguard the temple, the Deity and His valuables, and also the dwindled Vijayanagara kingdom, and further to protect the pilgrims coming to the temple with their vowed offerings and donations on their way and escort them safely to the temple. Or, his sons and successors, Sriranga and Venkata, might have adopted this course.

But, by the conquest of this southern region by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda during which the Zamindars must have been powerless to fight them and expel them, the total number of villages must have gone into the possession of the two sultans. Later on, on the establishment of the Nawabship of Arcot, the villages must have passed, along with Sri Venkatesvara's temple into the hands of the Nawabs of Arcot.

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

During this period from the 17th Century to the 18th Century when the Muslim-regime prevailed, Sri Venkatesvara's numerous food-offerings were abolished, as indicated in the query of Ganapavarapu Venkata-kavi whether the Padusha who reduced His food-offerings and arrogated to himself His jewels was His co-partner also, as only a bare minimum was provided to Him each day and on other occasions.

Probably when the English East India Company came into the possession of the temple in 1801 along with the Carnatic kingdom and instituted investigation into the temple affairs, it might have come to know about the gift villages of God and their previous enjoyment by the religious and secular functionaries and watch and ward men and reconferred the villages on the descendants of the original assignee-s with the sole object of the perpetuating worship in the temple and guarding it and protecting and escorting pilgrims.

Thus the temple lost its landed property, while its servants benefited through the regrant of the villages.

The above details may be taken as a rough guide to the disposition of the temple villages prior to the assumption of management by the Company. From this account it is seen that the Poligars of Karakambadi and Krishnapuram were styled the Poligars of Tirupati. They seem to have been specially charged with the duty of protecting the town.

The Poligar of Mamandur being at the head of the pass had the duty of protecting the village of Tirumala and the temple. The ancient road to the south was along this route. In modern times, the Mahrattas seem to have been the first to use the road from the Mysore plateau to Venkatagirikota, Palmaner, Punganur, Kallur and Damalcheruvu on the one side and Venkatagirikota, Nayakaneri and Gudiyatham on the other. The road from Chittoor to Kolar along the Mogili-ghat and Palmaner seems to have been brought into use by the East India Company during the Mysore wars.

From a statement entitled "Account of the villages in the hands of the Inamdars," dated fusly 1217 or 1807 A.D., (Vol. XVI p. 474 a to p. 476 a), it is seen that within a very short period of their assuming direct control, the Government made thorough enquiries into the rights of parties and examined the documents in possession of the inamdars. This statement gives in detail the circumstances under which the grants were made, the names of the grantors and grantees and sometimes also the date of the grant and whether a Sasanum (copper plate) exists. Some of the grants are said to have been made by pouring holy water (Dhara-Datt). When there is no

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

writing, the keys of the temple are said to have been with the inamdars from generation to generation.

This statement also contains a general abstract of the temple villages, the number of which is now given as 174 as shown below:—

1. Jeyangar, Yekangees and other officers of the Devasthanam	36—	36
2. Under Poligars		
Karakambady	..	5
Krishnapur	..	5
Mamandur	..	7
Kalahasti	..	15
Karvetnagar	..	36
Nagapatla	..	34
Mogara	..	1
Matlivar	..	17
3. Under Circar		
Casba Tripetty	..	6
Chandragiri	..	5
Gazula Mandium	..	7
		120
		18
Total ..		<u>174</u>

The eighteen villages in the actual possession of the Company, on behalf of the temple, were distributed among three taluks, Tirupati, Chandragiri and Gazulamandium, as shown below:—

- Tirupati: (1) Casba Tirupati (2) Peroor (3) Chakapalli (4) Avilala (5) Coodeevam (6) Tundugum.
- Chandragiri: (1) Casba Chandragiri (2) Tondavada (3) Shanambatl (4) Agarala and (5) Mamandur.
- Gazulamandium: (1) Dornakambala (2) Gazulamandium (3) Deemeevam (4) Paadee (5) Motamangalam (6) Motoor and (7) Sunupillia (Sunnapu Palli)

Against Shrotriam 'Chiratanur (Tiruchanur), old and new together, Agrahara of 52 vritties' we find the following interesting details regarding its extension and regrant to brahmins, by Rayoji, the famous brahmin governor of the Subah of Arcot and revenue minister under Muhammad Ali.

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

“ In the year Bhava, Srinivasachari made a Shrotriam of 60 caveripak pagodas and made it into an Agraharam of 26 vritties, which he granted to the brahmins and gave them a written grant with Dhara-Datt (or pouring of holy water). Thereafter in the year Hevilambi, Raja Bhirbul Rayoji collected the amount of the cavallies of the above mentioned villages and built an Agrahara of 26 houses round the sacred pool, Padmasarovar, of 26 vritties, which he granted to the brahmins as Dhara-Datt.

In the Padma Purana of the Venkatachala Mahatmyam and in certain inscriptions, too, 108 Brahmana families, created by Sage Suka, are mentioned, and three heads of the families were represented on the committee of management, the Sthanattar of Sri Venkatesvara's temple. The reason and the occasion for the fresh formation of an agraharam of 26 Brahmanas and the grant to them of 26 shares of the land are not furnished. Perhaps it was to resuscitate the dwindled survivors of the 108 families after the Muhammadan ravages or to add 26 families to the old 108 families in the village.

The temple routine seems to have gone on peacefully inspite of the disturbed conditions of the country and pilgrims from all parts of India were allowed to pay their devotions at the temple. A report obtained and translated by Subba Rao in 1804, vividly describes the condition of the temple and the falling off in the standard of honesty among the managers who misappropriated the allowances allotted to the temple by the Government. The above document is given below:

Pur Jaatee.

Of the Different Foreign Nations, Tribes and People who annually resort to Tirpatty on pilgrimage from Motives of devotion. Meckenzie Manuscripts: Translations & Reports Vol. XVI, page 491 to 493.

1. Teruputti is revered as a Mahachattra or very holy place and many pilgrims from various dasums resort thither, viz.,

- | | | | |
|------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Cunnud | 3. Goojur | 5. Maharastra | 7. Conkan |
| 2. Cannada | 4. Mahurvaada | 6. Sourastra | 8. Malleyal |

Also Hindus come to visit the swamee from several other countries.

2. The following is a particular account of the stallums from whence the Parasha or Pilgrims visit this place, viz.,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

On the North from

- | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Casee | 4. Hurridwar | 7. Babayola(?) |
| 2. Gayah | 5. Cashmeer | 8. Ayodhaya |
| 3. Prayag | 6. Oojanee (Ujjain) | 9. Jaganaat |
- and from several other countries on that side.

3. On the South from

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| 1. Arcot | 3. Madura | 5. Malleyal |
| 2. Terunavelly | 4. Rameswar | 6. Anuntasaina |

The Bara or (12 Malleyals) as far as the samoodra or sea, from thence all kind of people come.

4. On the East from

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Chinnaputtana or Madras | 4. Bunder or Masulipatam |
| 2. Callasree | 5. Rajamahendra |
| 3. Nellore | 6. Sickakole etc. |

5. On the West from

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 1. Seringapatnam | 5. Goa | 9. Audavanae |
| 2. Bedanoor | 6. Gocurnum | 10. Hurryhur |
| 3. Oodipee | 7. Ickery | 11. Bellary & etc. |
| 4. Soobramanya | 8. Gooty | |

6. Thus from all sides, so far as the Hindoos dwell, Brahmins, Gosaees Byragees, Voodasees, etc., come and present Caneekees (or offerings) to the God and perform some of the ceremonies in person according to their abilities. Even Mlenchas (or Musulmans) and English people who have made Mauuss (or vows) send Caneekee to the amount of many thousands according to their vows. To all these, according to their abilities the managers of this place who have studied the (forms and manners of civility) as handed down from the ancient times, offer civilities, respect and presents according to their rank and thereby acquire much money. When no disturbances or troubles prevail and the country is in tranquillity and good order on all sides and people are allowed to travel in safety, by showing due respect and civility to all according to their rank, much money is collected here to the amount of (a lac) of pagodas; but in time of war and disturbance or if the managers neglect the votaries, and do not show due civility, in such cases though they bestow charity, yet, the managers suffer trouble by them and in conclusion the Revenue

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

suffers and only amount sometimes to perhaps about 60 or 70,000 pagodas, but if a few come to whom they show some respect, they will sometimes get 40,000 or 50,000 pagodas, less or more, beyond the former sum and thus an overplus of 20,000 or 30,000 pagodas accrues to the swamee.

7. At all times the Naivedium, Abhishekum and other ceremonies are performed, as usual, without any diminution; and to these who live at this place as servants and perform tapas and to the poor who come from different countries, to all these, are distributed Naivedium (or food offered to the God). Wages are also paid to the servants without diminishing the worship and ceremonies of the God; the officers of the stallum are paid the Hucka (or customs) without trouble to these people, or the Parasha who resort hither.

8. All this has been observed regularly since the beginning of the Calleyoogum until the end of the Carnatic Government and afterwards in the time of the Mogul Government. But the allowances that were originally granted under the Carnatic Government are now reduced to one-sixty fourth part of what they formerly were, whence the worship and ceremony of the Gods are less and the people suffer more trouble and the Inhabitants here do not thrive.

The account then mentions that although, the Sovereigns of latter times do still allow money for the celebration and support of the worship of the God, yet "the management of the stullms commit Deva Drohum (or sacrilege against the God) and embezzle the revenues of the worship and thus the swamee by degrees has lost the original revenue although thousands are offered at this place. But these Deva-Droha (Sacrilegious) people, it is observed, do not thrive and cannot remove from this place to another, with life, and their vamsa or genration is destroyed by degrees and shall not increase." "Of those that have deceived the God, once a year, one, two, three or four Adhikarasta (Managers) of this place have died.

Therefore people are deterred from coming here as Adhikaris, because whoever by beholding the money of the God, have their minds corrupted, shall surely die and the money that is thus embezzled shall not come to use; but those persons who do not deceive the God shall live and thrive. Therefore the necessity of fulfilling this duty with awe and care."

Then it refers to the inscriptions on the temple walls and gives detailed instructions regarding the method of copying them and the existence of several copper plates which on deciphering were found to be hymns addressed to the God (Telapakam songs?) 17-3

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The document also mentions, that in 1795 A.D. "Collo-sam-saty, the servant of an European gentleman, contracted for these taluks with the Nabob. He was a pious man and whatever money was allowed by the circar he expended in performing whatever appertained to the worship of the God without fraud."

The account concludes with the following remarks:

"The Stallum people who are in possession of these copper inscriptions and know their contents and the names and dates of ancient Kings who granted them, are unwilling to discover them for fear of losing Maras and Meerasees."

Another manuscript, dated Fusly 1209 (1799 A.D.) entitled "The account of Sri Venkatachallaswamy the God of Teerooputty: Historical memoir of the Purgunnah of Teerooputty belonging to the Chandraghery circar in the sun 1209 Fusly year and in the cycle year Siddartee according to Vedas, Sastras and Puranas," states that the Yadava kings founded the temple and that they granted 'full allowances' to the temple which are set forth in detail.

The details are as follows:

Statement of allowances for the Daily Naivedium and the Weekly Abhishekam on Friday.

(Mackenzie Vol. XXV pp. 67—81)

"VI. In the time of these (Yadava) Rajahs were specially allowed the full allowances to this God, viz.

Perfumes for washing the God every Friday.

1. Civet, Visses	..	32	3. Rose water—Tomballas	12
2. Musk, Sear	..	1	4. Cachoorum, a fragrant root sears	10

Daily victuals offered to the God.

1. Ghee for lamps	Moontas	50	16. Salt	Moontaloo	30
2. Ghee for other expenses	„	400	17. Engoova (Hing) —Viss		1
3. Oil do.	„	200	Assofoetida	—	
4. Rice for one Sola is 16 Pucka Sear—For 1000 Solus is 100 Moontas.	}	100	18. Benjamin (Benzoin?)	„	4
			19. Camphire	„	2
			20. Milk	Moontas	20

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

5. Pasaloo (Green gram)	Moontaloo	60	21. Karivepaku, Fragrant leaves	—Bun- dles	10
6. Meenomooloo (Black gram)	„	50	22. Sugarcane	„	20
7. Jaggery	Maunds	20	23. Limes		1000
8. Sugar	„	2	24. Tyre (Curds)	Moontas	60
9. Sugar Candy	„	1	25. Cocoanuts		200
10. Pepper	„	1	26. Sandal	Maunds	2
11. Yaulacooloo	„	1½	27. Singamaucocoo	—In	20
12. Jeelakara	„	½	Chakrauloo	—money	
13. Turmeric	„	1	28. Taluvumporooloo (Pieces of cloth to cover Victuals)	} 10	
14. Tamarind	„	20			
15. Mustar	Moontas	4			

“ Booragojee Puntuloo managed under Varadapa Sadty, renter of Tirupati, for one year. Particulars of allowances during his management.

Perfumes.

Civet	1¼ Viss	Jauphara	Sear	1/-10
Smelling (Fragrant) roots	2 sears	Musk-Pagoda weight		2

Daily allowance for Lamps & Victuals.

Rice Moontas	50¼	Sumbaroo	Sears	1/5th
(at 6½ Pucka Sears per each Moonta)		Kundaloo (pots)		4
Pasaloo	Moonta½	Bundles		
(at 18 Sear per Moonta)		Dried Ginger	„	½
Wheat	Moontas 1/8	Pepper	„	¾
Veedeoloo	„ ½	Turmeric	„	1/16
Salt	„ 1/5	In ready money	219 Fanams	
Ghee	Sears 38	Yaulakooloo	„	1/8
Tamarind	„ 1½	Engoova (Hing)	„	1/16
Oil	„ 15-1/6th	Benjamin	—	¼
Jaggery	„ 10½	(Benjoin)	—	
		Camphire	„	¼

During the next management, i.e., of that of “ Colausaume Saty ” the perfumes for the Friday bath were increased as below:

Civet	Visses	1½
Fragrant roots	Sears	3

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Jauphara	Sears	1
Musk Pagoda weight		3

“ In this manner were allowed generally but increased somewhat more for some days.”

Note:—The manuscript gives scales of the allowances under each dynasty but only the ‘ full allowances ’ and the scale in force at the time of the writing are alone extracted here.

The Vijayanagar Rayels reduced the allowances to three-fourths while under the last six kings ending with Srirangaraya, the allowance was further reduced to one half. Lastly, under Muhammadan rule, the allowances were still further reduced to one-sixth and one-seventh. The names of twenty-eight managers or Amuldars who managed the temple from A.D. 1700 to 1800 are furnished with details of improvements effected by some of them.

The details are given below:

List of Amuldars

Mackenzie Vol. XXV, page 76 ff.

The names of the Amuldars and the period of their charge are furnished in the manuscript in Saka and cycle years and the corresponding years according to the Christian era are furnished below:

	Yrs.	A.D.
1. Daud Cawn, Sadulla Cawn, Sabdar Ally. From SS. 1622, Vickrama to Roodroodgaary cycle year	.. 44	1700—1744
1. Auvasaralu Seetaramia managed Tirupati	.. 5	1700—1705
2. Canaroo Dausaree (Koneri Dasari?)	.. 7	1705—1712
3. Aukooloor Narasapa	.. 3	1712—1715
4. Munasauram	.. 2	1715—1717
5. Komara Venkana Puntooloo	.. 8	1717—1725
6. Tadacamala Maudhava Puntooloo managed in the Govt. of Tonda Mull	.. 7	1725—1732
7. Tadalaapu Condapa & Rauja Gopaula Puntooloo	3	1732—1735
8. Ragoonaud Acharyooloo	.. 9	1735—1744

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

		Yrs.	A.D.
2.	Under Anuwaruddin & Muhammad Ali.		
9.	Srinivasa Charloo	.. 18	1744—1762
10.	Hoogahully Venkajee	.. 1	1762—1763
11.	Srinivasa Charloo	.. 1	1763—1764
12.	Poorala Tirumalayogulu, belonging to Velugotiwari	.. 4	1764—1768
13.	Ramalinga Mudali	.. 1	1768—1769
14.	Srinivasacharloo	.. 12	1769—1781
15.	"During the disturbances of Hyder Aunika Narasia managed from Plava to Soobacrot under the Bahader "	.. 2	1781—1783
16.	Srinivasacharloo	.. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1783—1785 $\frac{3}{4}$
17.	Pataulbedi Somayajulu	.. $\frac{1}{4}$	1785 $\frac{3}{4}$ —1786
18.	Taraphau Teeruvengal Acharloo (Talapakam Turuvengalacharlu) (In his management 32 jewels of the God were stolen)	.. 1	1786—1787
19.	Raghunad Acharloo	.. 1	1787—1788
20.	Appalacharloo	.. 1	1788—1789
21.	Raghunad Acharloo	.. 1	1789—1790
22.	Appalacharloo—upto Hon'ble company	.. 1/3	1790 1/3
23.	Srinivasacharloo—under the Hon'ble company 8 months	.. 1/3	1790 1/3 1791
24.	Raghunad Acharloo	.. 1	1791—1792
25.	Kanaregoo Laulah	.. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	1792—1796 $\frac{3}{4}$
26.	Aulatoora Vedauntacharyooloo	.. $\frac{1}{4}$	1796 $\frac{3}{4}$ —1797
27.	Booragojee Puntuloo managed under Varadapa Saty renter of Tirupati	.. 1	1797—1798
28.	Colaumaee Saty	.. 2	1798—1800

Among the several items of improvements effected during the times of the several managers, the following entries will be found to be of interest:—

"In the presence of the God formerly Venkatrama Deechatooloo offered a Sankum (or shell) of 400 Pagodas weight; as it had become old, it was sent for, 100 Pagodas more of Gold was added by Sreeneevasa Deechatooloo, making altogether 500 Pagodas and presented it to the God in SS. 1722 (1800 A.D.)"

Ten bundles of Peacocks' feathers set in Gold gilt handles were presented.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

A new chariot by Atmaraum Puntooloo and Naraharry Puntooloo, on the hill, on which was expended 400 rupees. A procession performed to Venkatachalaputty with the Goddesses Stree and Boo "

**Note:*—This probably refers to the renewal of the Gold Emblem attached to one of the upper hands of the God in 1800 A.D. through the efforts of the Archaka, Srinivasa Dikshitulu.

Here again, it is complained " All Amuldars having gradually reduced the allowances in order to provide money for themselves, the particulars of these allowances are not entered in the public accounts which they send to the Presence."

From Part II of the manuscript quoted in Part-I Chapter II—Routes to the Hill Shrine, we learn that in A.D. 1800, only the four streets round the temple were thinly inhabited and that wild hogs, scorpions and snakes infested the place and that yanadies were the chief dwellers on the mountain. There is a curious warning deterring pilgrims from exploring the recesses of the mountain.

" In the woods of this mountain, a lakh of yenadies collect honey, beeswax, chendana (or Red-wood), fruits and roots by great exertions; these they dispose of by sale and also medicinal roots and other rare things by which they maintain themselves residing in these woods; on the mountain among the woods are several dens (caves) which no one ever enters. In one of these dens there is a road that is said to go as far as Ahobal and Srisaila; but the present people cannot ascertain it as the den goes a great way in."

Then follows the story of Nagapatla Naik's attempt to see all the Thirtams, with a party of brahmins and troops and their being prevented from completing their investigation by the appearance of a celestial army, when, all the members of the party perished. Several other reasons are given dissuading the pilgrims from the quest, such as the difficult nature of the locality and the danger of being lost in the woods.

" The streets which surround the Pagoda on the mountain are inhabited. Wild hogs, daily, at present, come into the place and remain undisturbed by the inhabitants passing and repassing through all the streets, never attempting to bite anyone, unless they are attacked and troubled and in that case the wild hog will tear the offender to pieces; otherwise they never disturb any person walking alone. Snakes also abound and frequently come in sight but never bite. If sometimes this happens, if the person bit goes into

THE MANAGEMENT OF EAST INDIA COMPANY

the pagoda before the God and drink a little of the Teertum and should rub a little over the place where he was bit, the poison of the snake never hurts them and thus scorpions and snakes are harmless here and give no trouble through the favour of the Bhugwunt. In this manner it is on this mountain and not as in other places. To write all that might be said of it would require much time and labour and therefore this account is succinctly wrote."

A note in Anandaranga Pillai's Diary, under date 3rd October 1749, is to the effect that one Srinivasachari who was an Amuldar of Tirupati did not pay the stipulated rent and fled from the place and another person by name Vasudevachar was appointed in his place. Srinivasachari was again appointed Amuldar on the death of Anwaruddin in 1749 by Dumalli Krishnaji Pandit. Mr. Dowell, the editor of the Dairy had commented on this as follows: "I suppose the run away Amuldar is the same as the man who managed the Tirupati revenues for the English later on." From this, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar infers that "the first Nabobs of Arcot settled the revenues of Tirupati by farming it out to persons specifically appointed, perhaps Vaishnavas." And that the English "continued the old arrangement of appointing an Amuldar from among the brahmins, perhaps even Vaishnava Brahmins as we hear of two appointments one following the other of a Srinivasachari and a Vasudevachari by the Dewan of the Arcot Nabobs." An exhaustive list of Amuldars who managed the temple from 1700 to 1800 A.D. *i.e.*, till the date of the assumption of direct management by the Company is given above. The Amuldars were not officers appointed by the Nabobs but were merely managers appointed by the renters who directly took the lease of the revenue of the temple for one or more years from the Nabobs and subsequently from the Company. These Amuldars were not always brahmins nor were they invariably Vaishnavas as can be seen from the list. The name Vasudevachar, the successor of Srinivasachari is not found in the list. Perhaps he did not actually take up the post. Granting that he was his successor, Vasudevachar sounds more like a Madhva name than a Vaishnava name, even after the attempt to convert the ending "Char" into "Chari."

It may incidentally be noted here that Srinivasachari of Anandaranga Pillai's diary was the Amuldar of the temple from 1744 to 1762 and his second term was from 1763 to 1764. Srinivasachari, Amuldar under the Company, was a different person who held charge between 1790 and 1791. He is the Twenty-third in the list.

The duties of the Amuldar were some what like those of the present Peishkar and the Excutive officer combined and he had no direct functions

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

in the temple like the Parapatyadar. Therefore, the caste of the Amuldar was not important, so long as he was a Hindu. The office of the Parapatyadar stands on a different footing. The term Parapatyadar itself means a functionary who regulates and supervises, the inner or the religious and the outer or secular affairs of the temple. He has to check whether the Archakas know and follow the prescribed rituals of the temple at the prescribed hours and whether the chanters of the vedas and Prabandams recite correctly the selections appropriate to each occasion, in the prescribed manner; serious disputes arise if the order of precedence in these matters is altered even inadvertently. This is the religious part. He has to control the crowds, regulate the darshanams, utsavams and processions, collect the prescribed fees without causing offence to the pilgrims, duties requiring great tact and resourcefulness. The highest in the land, Maharajahs, Rajas, religious heads of the leading mutts visit the temple. They have to be received with due courtesy and ceremony. Thus, he has not only to be a man of sound learning but of good breeding, of sweet manners, of good social position, and of thorough intergity. This is secular. This an office which is very difficult to discharge to the satisfaction of the public and has been invariably held by brahmins, as the nature of the duties can adequately be fulfilled only by a neen devotee. A reference to the extract given above will show that even so early as 1800 A.D. it was fully realised that the income of the temple depended very much on the civility and attention shown to the pilgrims by those in charge of its management.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

I. Tirumala temple as described by a British District Collector in the ' Asiatic Journal ' of May—August 1831 A.D.

DURING the troubled days of the Carnatic wars the finances of the Tirumala Temple were not as bright as before. The main interest of the East India Company was the income of the temple only. From the days of the Nawab of Arcot the net income of the temple was appropriated by the secular authorities for their own functioning. The following article by a British Dt. Collector, which bears out this point and the real motivations of the British, will be of great interest. The article is produced below in toto from the 'Asiatic Journal' of May—August 1831 A.D. The grammar and spelling are reproduced here and elsewhere in the chapter, as they are found in the original documents. This temple is distinguished by oblations which are offered to its God by Vishnu's Votaries from all parts of the Indian world. Princes send Vakeels or ambassadors to present their offerings to the shrine; whilst the poorer peasant, who may have little else to offer, wraps up some petty oblation in a piece of waxcloth, a handful of rice stained with manjall makes it into larger packet. The cause of these offerings is as follows: the idol smitten with love for the blooming Tudmanavutta (obviously referring to Padmavathi) daughter of Akasarajah of Narrainennum in the Bomrauze Zemindaree determined to espouse her, but wanting coin for the matrimonial expenses, he raised with wind by the aid of Cuver the Indian Plutus. This God, however, directed that the monies thus lent should be repaid annually to the sovereign of the countries lying between the Palaur and Soona mookai rivers, and the votaries at the shrine pour in great numbers durnig the Brahmotsavam or nine days celebration of the nuptials; and annually at this period two thirds of the usual collection are made.

The Brahmins maintain that the Hindu Princes allowed the revenues from this source to be entirely employed on the spot in religious ceremonies

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and that the musaulman first appropriated on the score of the above claim, the produce of these oblations. During the early wars we had with the French in this part of the world, this source of revenue was one of the first fruits of our conquests; though certainly its legitimacy is much to be doubted. These offerings or caunickee, are made generally from interested motives, and are of every diversity or articles conceivable; gold and silver lumps, coins of all sorts, bags of rupees, copper money, spices, asofotidea, the hair cut off the head, frequently vowed from infancy, and given up by some beautiful virgin in compliance with her parents' oath. A man who is lame presents a silver leg; if blind a silver or gold eye; in fact there would be no end when I enumerate the various ways in which Hindu superstition develops itself on this occasion. The jewels which a woman has worn with pride from infancy are voluntarily left before the idol; she appears with a shabby cloth before the stone God, and presents a splendid one which has never been worn, she tears the bangles from her infant's little legs and fondly hopes that the God whom she "sees in the clouds and hears in the wind" will shower down his blessings on her and hers. She has happily travelled hundreds of miles and accomplished her object: and perhaps before a journey which to her might have been one of terror, never left her village and bosom of her own family. The birth of a son, reconciliation with enemies, success against the foe, safe termination of a journey, the marriage of a son or daughter, prosperity in trade, enjoyment of health, and the reverse of these are among the reasons which lead together in the direction of Tripetty, the wise as well as the ignorant heathens.

The offerings are not always presented by the interested party. They may be sent by relations, friends, vakeels; but they are frequently forwarded by Goseynes. A goseyne is a servant of the temple; there are a considerable number of them. A few months of the Brahmotsavam, they set out in different directions, and reaching the country they intend to commence their operations inside, they unfurl the flag of the God, with which each is entrusted. Round the idolatrous banner the Hindus gather and either entrust their offerings to its bearer, or carry the caunickee themselves to the foot of the idol. A sufficient mass being congregated the blind leader of the blind strikes the standard and returns whither he came in time for a nuptial anniversary. The former of the customs generally permit all pilgrims to pass free to the temple. The Goseynes seldom are detected in stealing the caunickee entrusted to their care, but they no doubt derive some emolument from the pilgrims as their presence alone secure them from trouble; taxation and other annoyance. As they journey they chaunt out, every five or six minutes and attributes of the God—"Gov. Gov. Govinda All May —Mungoo....," "the whole party

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

men, women and children successively take up the word as rapidly as possible, and then simultaneously burst out with it. On my road to Tripetty we passed several groups of these besotted heathens and it made the road quite lively whilst, strange anomaly, a slight reflexion excited mournful feelings.

The offerings are, of course, of various extent; they seldom exceed 1000 rupees. The God compliments the worshippers at his altar with presents proportioned to the liberality of their oblation; if the victim gives 100 rupees, he receives a turband; from 100 to 500, a flowered silk vestment; from this to 1000, a shawl, etc., A second source of revenue is called Wurtena, presents given to the idol for its own use; whether jewels or horse's cloths, etc. The donor is made to pay the estimate value of the offering to government before he is allowed to make the idol its present; however the article is then retained for the use of the temple. A third source of revenue is designated Arjectum, or receipts and is of three classes, viz., Abhishekam or purifications; Naivaidoom or offerings; Wahanums or processions.

"1st Abbeesheykoom, every Friday throughout the year the idol is anointed with civet, musk, camphor etc., and washed clean again with milk. So important a spectacle cannot be seen for love, and the devotee, desirous of viewing the operation, pays what he chooses during the rest of the year, but at Bramhautsowum, pays through the nose, in a sum formerly more, but now reduced to fifty rupees. This ceremony of rubbing, scrubbing and causing the God to smell sweet, and vice versa, is styled poolkaub. And Porlungee Seeva, or enrobing his excellence the God in a flower garment, this ceremony takes place every Thursday. During the festival sixty rupees are paid for seeing the business. 3rd Suka alankara seva. Twelve rupees are paid under this head by all who delight in seeing the idol decorated with a necklace of flowers, and this pleasure may, for this daily payment, be enjoyed for 365 days of the year. 4th Sahasra-namarchana. This term signifies the diurnal worship of the god under his thousand names; five rupees is the price of this piece of devotion. 5th Munsoon Seva is an imposing ceremony, and the spectator yields forth twelve rupees for seeing the mighty object of his worship rocked to sleep;

"Proceed we to naivedoom, or offerings. 1st Annaidoom. Under this head are 1st Purmanum, 2nd Poolecayarrum, 3rd Mudgarrum and 4th Duddudavam."

The first is an offering of milk, sugar, rice; the second tamarinds, sweet and rice; the third doll ghee (clarified butter) and rice; 4th buttermilk and rice. These good offerings may be prepared severally by the offerer at option, in

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

which case he pays six rupees only, but if the circar prepared he pays sixteen; second Bugcha navaidoom, or offerings of sweetmeats; the devotee has the offering prepared by the circar, and twenty to twenty eight rupees are paid for the honour of presenting it. Third, Malamavaidoom (maha naivadyam) commonly called Teeroopowra (Tiruppaavadai) is a large offering are from 1000 to 2000 puccah seers of rice provided by the circar but paid for in one hundred or two hundred pagodas. Fourth 'Amunthanarumoocha' (Amantharana utsavam) are united offerings of all daily offers, but of course for a less extent. The price is sixty five rupees. Fifth Ookaipadchadee a presentation of the plant Ookai sitloo peculiar to the Tripetty hill. This is four rupees.

There remains now to describe Vahanum or processions of the idol. They are twelve in number and each has a reference to different parts of a Hindu mythology as connected with the adoration of Vishnu. (The idol exhibited on these occasions is a gilded representation made of metal, of the stone fellow in the temple who is too lazy to turn out himself).

Kalpa Varucha Vahanam is a procession of the idol placed under a gilt wooden tree. Andoleeka Vahanam is a procession attending his excellency in a palankeen; Sesha Vahanam is the God carried forth on a gilt serpent sesha. Saroah Bhoopala Vahanam signifies the carrying the idol on a gilt throne; Surja prabha Vahanam is a procession of the idol attended by a gilt sun. Addah arah is a trip of the gentleman to a room surrounded by looking glasses adjusted to reflect him several times; Andola Vahanam is another kind of palankeen procession. For all the above the votary who gives the idol the trouble of coming out is forty rupees less rich than he was before. Gudu Vahanam is a procession in which the idol is mounted on a silt parrot; Chandra prabah is a procession of the idol accompanied by a gilt moon; Hanumantha Vahanam is a procession of the idol mounted upon a gilt figure like an elephant; sometime in representation of Hanuman, the Indian pan. Simha Vahanam is a procession in which the idol rides a lion. Bala sesha Vahanam is the last procession of the idol sitting upon a gilt serpent".

The whole of the revenue of the temple, from whatever source derived, are under the management of and appropriated by the circar or government. A regular establishment is entertained paid by salaries; and a horde of bramins are maintained by lands, appropriated for that purpose, over the face of the surrounding country, called manniyums or estates enjoyed on very favourable terms under government, subject only to a slight jody or tax. The temple is kept up in all its dignity; and the average receipts on the account of government, for the last ten years, or fuslies, will show what a good thing we make of it. The head general officer there is called Tahsildar, whose business is

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

the general superintendence over the others; to see the pilgrims are well treated and lodged in proper places; supplies kept fairly in the bazaars, ceremonies duly performed as paid for, and that no bribery, tyranny or oppression of any sort takes place. He reports to the collector or his assistants, according to orders, on all cases of doubt or importance. Next is the Sheristadar or head native accountant, who acts under the tahsildar, assists him in all his responsible duties, and superintends the regularly kept accounts of all disbursements and receipts for the use of the temple. Under him are four gumastas or native writers. The rysagu is a police clerk and is assisted by a ghola and obeys the tahsildar in all magisterial matters. Common servants are allowed for taking care of dufters, or records, lighting, sweeping the cutchery and etc., and twenty peons attend the tahsildar's cutchery and are paid a pagoda, (8 shillings) a month; with the duffedars or head peons with larger salary. During the Bramhautsoem or nine days festival an additional sibbandi is allowed with twenty five peons, twenty putwars (and that kind of peon in lower salaries) and five hircurraks or scouts to bring intelligence of the arrival of any pilgrim of rank, and to keep the peace among the enormous crowd that annually fills this part of the country. They also assist the tahsildar with forty or fifty peons, a party of whom are constantly on the hills looking out for the thieves who congregate where the prey may be, whilst another party range the country, assisted by the village police, who apprehend suspicious characters. A company also of sepoy's under a native officer are stationed as the tahsildar may choose as permanent guards. The temple has attached to it a granary and store house under charge of Jeengar and Ekangi or his deputy. These have under them a goomastah, an Allowagar or grain measurer, three peons, a sandal-wood carrier, a flower carrier, a musk extractor, a pottu, a wood-man for the cook, a golla, a sweeper, a mossoli or man to light up the place. The tahsildar always sees that the store has a sufficient stock for any sum upon it. He keeps regular accounts of all that enters the granary. The Jeengar keeps account of all that is disbursed upon the orders of the Parapatyadar or manager of the temple. The parapatyadar or manager supplies daily ration of food to all the numerous servants of the temple; sees that they all do their several duties and is second only to the tahsildar in general superintendence. He takes care that the gifts presented are duly disposed of, searches the guards and others over the place for receiving the offerings and with the result of the day's oblations accompanies them to the tahsildar who with him seals up in gunny bags whatever is collected in money, jewels and copper plates, etc., Attached to this officer is a goomastah, allowaghar and four peons, and he keeps another account of all he receives from the stores. The offerings of foods, sweets, etc., presented by the pilgrims are prepared

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

for them by his orders and his accounts are counter examined by the tahsildar. The parapatyadar previous to drawing in any large quantity on the store sends the estimate to the tahsildar who signs it.

“Passing through the Bangaru Vakili or silver porch the pilgrims are admitted into a rather confined part and are introduced to the God in front of whom are two vessels, one called the gangalam or vase, the other Kopra or large cup and into these things votaries drop their respective offerings and making their obeisance pass out through another door. At the close of the day the guards both of peons and sepoys round these vessels are searched. Without examination of any sort offerings are thrown into bags and are sealed first with the seal of the pagoda, then by the tahsildar and jeengar; after which the bag is sent down to the cutchery below the hill Govindarauz pettai. At the end of the month these bags are transmitted to our cutchery here or huzur (meaning the presence); and they are there opened, sorted, valued and finally sold at auction. However during the Brahmotsavam either the collector or a sub-ordinate must be on the spot owing to the value of the offerings, there number the crowds of people, and to see that no cheating takes place from the want of power of immediate representation. And on the duty I was bound when I wrote from Chandragiri. I have little more to add except the average revenue of the last ten years. The annual nett proceeds from this source is about eighty seven thousands rupees. In 1822 collections were one lakh fortytwo thousand and odd but this is exclusive of expenses, wherewith twenty thousand may be deducted. In 1820 or fasli 1230 the collections were 1,02,000.

You may perhaps start at such organised system of religious, or rather you will say profane, plunder on the part of the government, but such, strange as it may appear, is far from the case. Those who without just reflection join the spiritless cry against our government are rejoiced in soul to start up such a topic as this, as an admirable specimen of what, with other things, should draw down vengeance of heaven on us. The fact is this: we find that the resources of the pagoda were legitimately enjoyed by the musalman government, for services earned with blood and presence, and that at the risk of losing our trade on the coramandel coast, one of the first rewards, or rather poor payment, was this revenue; and it has been paid unremittingly ever since. We found the allowing the temple to support itself upon its own funds lead to the grossest imposition upon settlement of Kists; moreover that the only cultivation in that part of the country was in the hands of Brahmins who cannot legally touch a plough; and therefore all other castes of riots were virtually their slaves; and it was absurd for them to dream of holding lands when it embraced

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

competition with Vishnu's Bramins under the very nose of the sacred Hill; the consequence was the priests had it all their own way: labour was drawn towards their district to the comparative impoverishment of the surrounding ones; and such was found to be the case all over the presidency. Every village pagoda was the petty oppressor of its range, and the influence only stopped when the effects of a neighbouring one interfered with it. It was a strange but determined piece of policy when throughout the country the pagoda lands were resumed by the company and tustik allowance granted in their place; the lands passed into other hands and the riches solely grasped by the Bramin are diffused amongst the real cultivators of the soil and the coffers of the state replenished by the new stimulus thus afforded to every branch of native manufacture. Our tenure of the country was then very precarious; and while as to the Hindu, he has fought, and will fight again perhaps sooner than we think of; and the experience of ages tells us what religious enthusiasm or fanaticism—or call it what you will—will do when wrought up to despair. What did we? Why, secured them in the exercise of their religion—tolerated it—we never encouraged it. We could not if we would. Now let us contemplate result of this plan. From one end of the country to the other pagodas are ruined, unmaintained. Bramins are in trade, serving in the army and generally learning that even to them begging is no livelihood. The oppressive hand of the bramin was removed from the neck of the people, and the influence they once had will never again be felt to a similar extent. The revenues of Tripetty are on a gradual decline and will die in the lapse of years a natural death. Some of the most celebrated temples in the country are worse off. But there are still, alas, many more strong holds of the devil.

For the correctness of all the above details I cannot answer as the temple or Devasthanam is not within the scope of my duties, although I have the revenue administration of the taluk in which Tripetty is. But to the best of my knowledge the information I have given is correct. It is derived from what I can collect in my office; but the natives in general are deplorably ignorant when you push them on such a subject or perhaps pretends to do so".

The writer of that article gave the gross income of the Tirumalai temple as Rs. 1,47,000 for 1822 and Rs. 1,02,000 for 1820 A.D. The expenditure for the temple he has shown to be about Rs. 20,000. He has not stated what the tustik amount was which the Government gave in place of the resumed lands whether it was in cash or in the shape of provisions shown in the 'moyne japtha paditharam' of fasli 1227 brought into force from 1819 A.D. There is available to us the Devasthanam Tustik Book for ten years from Fasli 1233—34 to 1242—43 which gives an abstract of the sources and amount of income from

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

each source, the total income and also the charges incurred under certain classified heads of account as in the table below.

The circular contribution in the table below is the tasdik allowance paid by government for resuming all temple lands.

Receipts and Disbursements Receipts.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Circular contri- bution.</i>	<i>Kanukas, etc.</i>	<i>Dharma- kast.</i>	<i>Total receipts.</i>	<i>Net income and circular</i>
1823—24 ..	31,763	95,557	17,999	1,77,024	95,548
1824—25 ..	34,972	1,46,356	14,933	2,27,976	1,46,357
1825—26 ..	31,427	1,07,785	13,007	1,83,933	1,07,785
1826—27 ..	24,511	1,24,138	11,907	1,92,258	1,24,114
1828—29 ..	25,184	1,25,827	11,089	1,93,888	1,25,828
1829—30 ..	25,403	1,18,246	11,124	1,87,504	1,18,247
1830—31 ..	25,360	1,17,447	13,029	1,90,567	1,17,448
1831—32 ..	28,262	1,18,361	13,050	1,91,371	1,18,361
1832—33 ..	27,140	72,614	10,330	1,41,863	72,515
1833—34 ..	31,210	59,468	14,672	1,37,021	55,468

Under expenditure, the expenditure incurred for the temple worship alone need be considered as compared to the total expenditure. It will be seen that the Circular contribution is less than the actual expenditure on temple worship.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Temple expenditure.</i>	<i>Total expenditure.</i>
1823—24 ..	37,848	81,476
1824—25 ..	39,872	81,619
1825—26 ..	34,358	76,148
1826—27 ..	25,749	68,144
1827—28 ..	25,781	68,060
1828—29 ..	26,884	69,257
1829—30 ..	30,178	73,119
1830—31 ..	30,199	73,010
1831—32 ..	27,027	69,249
1832—33 ..	34,662	71,553

The Mahants after they became Vicharanakarta in succession to the East India Company failed to claim the tasdik amounts from the Government, or

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

failed to credit these amounts to the account of each temple. Thus a valuable source of income of the temple has been permanently lost.

The East India Company took over for management eighteen minor temples in addition to nineteen major ones. None of these temples was maintained by the Tirumalai or the Tirupati temple; each had its independent finance. Even the East India Company did not pay mutt Sanjivarayaswami temple which received $6\frac{25}{64}$ pagodas (=Rs. 22—6—0) for its upkeep. It had no other income. Temples which derived income from shop rents, weaving taxes, and kanukas are Sri Varahaswami temple, Bhashinga Narasimhaswami, Alipiri Narasimhaswami, Lakshminarayanawswami in Alvar Tirtham, and Bedi Hanumantarayaswami. Varahaswami temple had also income from its Dharmakartas (the archakas); so also Nathamuni temple. The temple of Sri Lakshminarayana Swami in South Mada street, Tirupati, had inam lands which yielded about Rs. 402 including meras but excluding jodi. The following five temples shown in the list were not handed over to the Mahant in 1843 for maintenance. Sri Krishnaswami in Buggamutt; Sanjivarayaswami near Raghavendrachar's house; Agastyesvaraswami on the bank of Ramachandra Gunta, Tirukkachchinambi, Tatayya Gunta Gangamma.

<i>Minor Temples.</i>	<i>Income and expenditure.</i>
1. Tirumalai Sri Varahaswami.	.. 229 (Kanukas and dharmakarta).
2. Bhashinga Narasimhaswami	.. 105 (Kanukas)
3. Alipiri Narasimhaswami	.. 105 „
4. Lakshminarayanawswami near Alvar Tirtham	.. 2 „
5. Venugopalaswami, near Alvar Tirtham	.. 2 „
6. Sri Lakshminarayanawswami, G.S. Mada St., Tirupati	.. 402 (Inam lands)
7. Bedi Hanumantarayaswami	.. 52 (Kanukas)
8. Sanjivarayaswami, Alvar Tirtham	.. 2 „
9. Sanjivarayaswami, (Govindaraja temple)	.. — „
10. Sanjivaraya swami, (Ramaswami temple)	.. — „
11. Nathamuni	.. 74 Through dharmakartas
12. Nammalvar (Alvar Tirtham)	.. 7 From Kanukas
13. Uttaradimutt Sanjivarayaswami	.. 23 Circar tastik

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

14. Sri Krishnasvami in Seetaladas mutt (Bugga mutt).
15. Sanjivarayasvami near Raghavendrachar's house.
16. Agasthyesvarasvami on the bank of Ramachandra Gunta ..
17. Tirukkachchinambi in Beri Street ..
18. Tatayya Gunta, Tallapakkam Gunta Gangamma

None of the temples, whether classed as Major or minor, had a claim on the funds of the Tirumalai temple.

II. The five investigations by the East India Company.

When peace was established in the sub-continent, the East India Company investigated all matters relating to the temple, such as its management; its income and its source; the worship of the Deity; the particular kinds of worship and their traditions, the staff—hereditary, temporary and optional; their duties and emoluments; daily food-offerings and special offerings on certain days of the week, fortnight, month and other occasions; festivals on particular days; and the annual festival Brahmotsavam; the different temples and shrines and their apartments and the Deities and other idols enshrined in them; vehicles for processions and their occasions; pilgrims visiting the Deity, their donations and their receipt and accounting; and other relevant items; and got up five records—

- (1) the *Dittam*, containing the rations for food-offerings for all Deities and icons of the Vaishnava Alvars, Acharyas and others. The earliest one was produced and brought into use from Fasli 1200 Fasli to 1250;
- (2) the *Kainkarya-patti*, laying down the duties and emoluments of the different classes of functionaries and servants prepared twice, once in 1801 and again in 1820;
- (3) *Bruce's Code*, for an objective administration of the temple and all its affairs, and prepared by the then Collector on 25-7-1821.
- (4) the *Sawal-Jawab-patti* giving a list of questions and answers relating to the duties of functionaries and their income, religious services, endowments and other similar items, prepared in 1819; and
- (5) the *Paimayishi Account*, containing measurements of temples and other buildings, and an account of the Deities and images enshrined and preserved in them, produced in 1819.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

Broadly speaking the management of the temple under the E.I. Company was in accordance with the Madras Regulation VII of 1817. This was a regulation for the appropriation of rents and produce of lands granted for supporting mosques, temples, etc., and for the custody of escheats. This regulation empowered the Board of Revenue to superintend the endowments and ensure that the revenue from the original endowments were put to proper use. The District Collector working under the Board of Revenue became the authority for such superintendence. Under section 8 of the above regulation, the District Collector became the ex-officio agent of the State Government for the above purpose.

The administration of the Tirupati temple during the Company's time was according to a set of rules called the Bruce's Code.

III. DETAILS OF THE BRUCE'S CODE.

Primarily the temple of Tirumala was taken over by the East India Company to enable it to recoup its expenditure incurred as a loan to the Nawab of Arcot. The temple was first assigned for this purpose by the Nawab to the East India Company in 1748, and again in 1786. Later on, the Company made its own arrangements for the Collection of income by its own officers.

After the company acquired the temple as its own immediate responsibility, it organised the income and the management of the temple properly by what is known as Bruce's Code. Who Mr. Bruce was is not clearly known; perhaps he was the Secretary or a Commissioner to the old Government of Madras Presidency.

The Code embodied 42 provisions, according to which the administration of the temple was carried on by the Company till 1843, when the temple was entrusted for management to Sri Mahant Sevadasa, the head of Sri Hathiramji Matha of Tirupati-Tirumala.

The supervision and control of the entire staff of the temple, both hereditary and temporary, were vested in the Collector of North Arcot with his headquarters at Chittoor; and he was required to prepare a list of all servants of the temple with their designation and duties, and supply a copy of it to the Tahsildar of Tirupati and another copy to the parapatyadar of the temple.

Great attention was paid to the full collection of the money and the receipt of other articles brought by pilgrims as donation. Encouragement was given to the staff through the payment of commission to find out the exact amount held by pilgrims and arrange to collect it fully and bring it to account both

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

in the register of the Parupatyadar and that of the Jiyangar, and also to report any misappropriation or fraud committed by anyone.

The Tahsildar was required to hold his office in Tirumala from a month before the Brahmotsavam and carefully look to the collection of the fees for the different classes of the Brahmotsavam sevas to be paid by the pilgrims and also of other offerings, and issue to them passes enabling them to have Darsanam and to receive presents from the temple at the end of the festival.

It was the duty of the Tahsildar to visit the temple once a week or so, to supervise the work of the staff, and also to check the temple jewels atleast thrice a year; and the Collector also had to see them checked atleast once a year through a native officer under him.

The affluent pilgrims who paid kanukas (donations) and arjitam (fees for the various religious services, food-offerings and festivals and processions on different vehicles) were given preference and priority of Darsanam, while the poor pilgrims, who could pay nothing, had to wait for Darsanam, or till the former class of pilgrims were afforded Darsanam, or were admitted for Darsanam at intervals in batches of fifty persons.

In those days, along with the pulangi-seva (full decoration of Sri Venkatesvara with flower garlands on each Thursday evening) and Pulikapu-seva on each Friday noon (complete smearing of the Deity's frame with tamarind juice and washing it clean as is the household practice in South India; probably the same term adopted for the Deity's weekly bath, and hence the process was denominated puli kapu), there prevailed the addala-darsanam or seva, which was the spectacle of the reflection of the processional images in the mirrors fixed to the walls in the room called the addala-mahal with its unenclosed veranda situated to the north of the entrance into the temple, and adjoining the portico containing the statues of the Vijayanagara emperor Krishnadevaraya and his two queens, in which Sri Varahasvami was lodged with His ancillary Deities for nearly twelve years before the reconstruction of His shrine on the west bank of Sri Swami-pushkarini, and was transported to the new shrine before the completion of His twelve years' absence. This addala-seva is non-existent now.

Fees were fixed for these sevas:—During the Brahmotsavam Re. 1/- for Pulangi-seva and 50 p. for addala-seva, and Rs. 2 for Pulikapu-seva; and on ordinary days Re. 1 for each of the three sevas. The fee for the harati both within the temple to the main stationary Idol and in the processions in the streets to the processional images was one rupee. For the preservation and permanent use of jewels and other valuable articles presented to the temple,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

sums of money equal to their value had to be paid to the temple, denoted as *vartana*.

Any *kainkaryam* (service) desired by any person to be performed on his behalf for God for one year, for which he paid the prescribed fee, was authorised to be performed.

There was the practice of conducting the *chakrankitam* (impressing figures of *Sudarsana-chakra* and *Sankha*, the two weapons of *Vishnu*, on the upper arms of individuals who desired to be accounted as followers of *Vaishnavism*) by their paying the prescribed fee.

Several provisions were made to safeguard the income of the temple through the offerings of the pilgrims.

Rule 7 and its sub-rules prescribed the accounts of the daily 'receipts and disbursements' of the temple to be prepared by the *Parupatyadar* in duplicate and countersigned by the *Jiyangar's* clerk who also prepared an account, and sent to the *Tahsildar* at *Tirupati*, who was required to keep one copy in his office and transmit the second copy along with the six copies of the succeeding days received in a week by him to the *Collector* once a week. The same procedure was prescribed during the *Brahmotsavam* also.

Clause 23 required the *Parupatyadar* to remit the money collected in the temple each day to the *Tahsildar* the next day together with its account. The *Tahsildar* was obliged to issue a receipt for it to the *Parupatyadar* who had to forward them to the *Collector* on the 15th of the subsequent month.

Clause 24 laid down that the *Tahsildar*, who was incharge of the *Brahmotsavam*, should remit to the *Collector* the entire collection of each day on the next day with a full account of it, and that the *Collector* or his assistant should have it sorted into its components, such as various coins, gold, silver, jewels and other articles (this process is now-a-days called *parakamani*) and that the *Tahsildar's* assistant and clerks and the *Jiyangar's* clerks should be present at such sorting and that they should take copies of the accounts. At the present time the procedure is to bundle up the contents of the *hundi* (the receptacle for offerings by pilgrims) each day, preserve them in the temple itself and send the whole lot of the bundles (sealed bags) to the *Devasthanam* office in *Tirupati* after the completion of the festival, wherein each bag is untied and sorted.

Rule 26 required the *Collector* to transmit to the *Revenue Board* soon after the completion of the *Brahmotsavam*, all sorts of offerings then received, together with a list, and authorised the *Board* to sell them.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Article 32 imposed the duty of safeguarding the person and property of the pilgrims and of apprehending forbidden-caste people going to the Hill and also prevention of brawls and thefts, on the police, and their enquiry and disposal on the Magistrate.

The supervision of the proper preparation of the prasadams (food-offerings for God) was the duty of both the Tahsildar and the Parupatyadar, as per Rule 35, as also the distribution of tirtham to pilgrims as per rule 38.

From the several provisions of the above Code it would appear that four copies of the accounts of income and expenditure were being maintained, viz., one by the Parupatyadar, one by the Jiyangar concurrently prepared, one with the Tahsildar and one with the Collector.

The Company evinced particular care in the collection of kanuka (donation of money, jewels and other valuable articles brought by pilgrims) and arjitam (fees for performing festivals with vehicles, processions, such as the Brahmotsavam of different classes for food-offerings and other services to God) and hence the Parupatyadar was requested to canvass each pilgrim at the Bangaru-vakili (the entrance gate before the central shrine, the doors of which are covered with gilded copper-plate), enquiring of him about his intended kanuka and arjitam, and asking him to exhibit them. He then counted the money, entered it in the temple record, tied it in small bundle and sealed it, weighed and estimated the value of the other valuable articles and entered them also in the record, while the Jiyangar's clerk also simultaneously entered them in his account book. They were thereafter handed over to the pilgrim, who was led into the sanctum, by a servant to afford Darsanam to him and to see that the sealed bundles and other items were safely deposited in the receptacle provided for them there. This was the daily routine in the temple.

Even during the Brahmotsavam this procedure was adopted during darshana, as detailed in the Dittam book under Item 1—first dittam—nityakatta, and also under Item 3—dittam relating to the Brahmotsavam.

Since it was only during the Brahmotsavam that pilgrims from Maharashtra, Gujarat and Northern India visited Sri Venkatesvara in large numbers under the guidance of some Gosayis, it was incumbent on the Parupatyadar and the Tahsildar to see carefully to the collection of the different large offerings made by them.

To ensure the safety of all pilgrims from all parts of the Country throughout the year, pategars (guards) endowed with a few villages and Zamindars (rulers of large tracts assigned to them) were enjoined to protect the pilgrims on their way to the temple from robbers and maranders and guide them properly.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER BRITISH

IV. Lord Munro's visit to the Temple.

Sir Thomas Munro came to Madras in 1780, and entered the Madras army as a soldier, took part in the Mysore wars against Hyder Ali, and after working in the Salem district and in Canara, was the Collector of the Ceded Districts from 1800 to 1807. In the Third Maratha War in 1817—18, he commanded a division of the English army. He was Governor of Madras as General Sir Thomas Munro from 1820-27. He was very sympathetic towards the Indian people.

It was during his governorship that he entertained a desire to visit Sri Venkatesvara and arrived at Tirupati one day on the night of which God appeared to him in human form and dissuaded him from ascending the Hill, he being a non-Hindu. He returned to Madras, but his strong attachment to the God reflected itself in his provision for a food-offering to Him each day permanently from the produce of a piece of land, assigned, as it appears, to the Sarkar Archaka who was enjoined to carry on the service. This food-offering was made to the Deity each day during the time of the first bell (*i.e.*, first naivedyam at which time bells are rung), unlike other offerings through charities and arjitam which are served only during the second bell to the Deity.

He died of cholera in 1827. His sympathy and goodwill towards the Indian people inspired the citizens of Madras to erect his equestrian statue on the Mount Road in 1839.

V. Investigation of the Temple administration by Mr. Stratton and others.

In July 1801 A.D., the districts to the north of the Palar, to the boundary of Nellore, were constituted into a charge and Mr. Stratton was appointed the first Collector of "Western Palayams." The first concern of the Collector was Tirupati's annual festival which was then approaching. Tenders were called for from renters, as usual, by the Collector but the Board preferred keeping it under "Aumane," (*i.e.*,) direct management and an establishment at a cost of star pagodas 183-3-6/8 was sanctioned with the approval of the Government. As an inducement to the Amuldar to be honest, in addition to his monthly allowance of Rs. 100/- he was allowed to draw a commission of one percent on the collections of the pagoda, which at that period amounted to star pagodas 45,000, while the entire revenue of the districts including the Tiruapti temple worked out to an average of star pagodas 62,881. Thus the importance of the temple to the Company may be guessed. The Board's

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

previous preference to farming out, as against "Aumanee" management, was explained to be due to "a persuasion that the exertions of a renter in pursuit of his private interests would secure to himself due compensation for his trouble and risks and to the Government a larger revenue than would otherwise have been obtained and sometimes for the sake of avoiding perplexity of accounts. Such was the activity of individuals, when the advantage was all their own and such is the combination under an extensive Aumanee management to plunder the Circar of its dues." However, they reverted to the Aumanee system: "We remarked that it was a maxim - with us that all revenue, liable from whatever cause to great fluctuation in amount, should be kept under Aumanee; and applying this principle to the rent of the Tirupati District of which mostly the whole of the revenue arises from oblations to the Pagodas and varies between wide extremes, it derived additional strength from the consideration that it is not collected progressively but within a very short period of time. The security offered also we thought, bore no proportion to the expected receipts, and, if these materially failed, the renter would probably not be able to fulfil his engagements."

In view of this decision to take the temple under direct management, Mr. Stratton set about examining the origin, resources and revenues of the temples in Tirumalai and Tirupati and sent out a series of questions to be answered by the Stanikas of the temples, and organised their affairs on the basis of the answers. These questions and answers constitute what is locally known as Sawal-e-Jawab account of the temple. The answers are accepted by courts as evidence of ancient practice and tradition. This had resulted in the previous Government withholding the records from public inspection.

This account is valuable, as it was not written to subserve any sectarian interest but to record faithfully and explain to the foreign rulers the time honoured traditions of the temple, with which the Government were connected for over half a century, before they actually assumed its direct management. The report of Mr. Stratton, based on these accounts, shows that the replies furnished were closely checked and verified. It is perhaps on this account, that courts rely upon the authority of the Sawal-e-Jawab as an impartial record of the traditions of the temple. The account, therefore, naturally conveys the liberal spirit which has always pervaded this unique shrine and should prove a safer guide to its ideals and traditions.

Mr. Stratton's report dated 31st January 1803, which is brought out as a selection from the district records of North Arcot and is also included in the parliamentary papers, gives an account of the Puranic origin of the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

temple, and the hill and a detailed account of the then prevailing daily routine, the festivals and the various fees levied for the darshanams and the utsavams with explanations of them. His first claim to popularity was his plea for the abolition of certain fees and the Pilgrim tax which were felt by the pilgrims as obnoxious. As all the utsavams and a good many of the fees continue to be levied even now, the report is of absorbing interest.

It reveals the shrewd intelligence, the liberal tolerance, the genuine reverence for established institutions and the humane outlook which characterised the early civil servants of the Company, in marked contrast to the later generations of civilians under the Crown, to whom everything Indian was anathema. In describing the temple, Mr. Stratton observes: "The town of Tripatty is situated to the East of a range of hills running nearly in a north and southerly direction on the summit of which is built the famous Tripatty pagoda situated about seven miles from the village below. Three principal gopurams or portals are erected on the slant of the hill on the road leading to the Pagoda which Hindus only are allowed to visit, all other castes being restricted from passing the portal which is erected near the foot of the hill and about half a mile distant from the village of Tripatty. In such veneration is even the hill held that pilgrims resorting to the Pagoda prostrate themselves to the ground on first getting a sight of the range of Hills connected with it." He then refers to the story of the God's marriage debt to Kubera.

Then he describes the system of collection of the offerings "Kanukalu" through "Ghoseyns."

Taking up the question of the other sources of revenue, he continues: "The second source of income is derived from "Wurtana" or presents made to the idol for its own use, on which, whether they be jewels, horses, etc., etc., the donor is obliged first to pay the value of the article in question to the Circar as an indemnification for the loss."

After giving the details of fees, licences and farms, Mr. Stratton observes: "From the best of information I have been able to obtain there seems no doubt that the farms and licences derive their origin from the commencement of Muhammadan Government, during which, it being usual to farm the revenue of the Pagoda annually to the highest bidder and the renters being under no check, were allowed to exercise their ingenuity to make good their engagements with the Sirkar by every means and what was introduced by one renter was continued by his successors who devised fresh means to enhance the collections by further taxation on the pilgrims.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The capitation tax of 3 fanams levied on pilgrims ascending the hill owes its origin to the same source and as being most liable to abuse and vexation I was induced to recommend that it should be abolished. After further experience of how extremely obnoxious the tax is considered by the pilgrims I am again induced to submit my former recommendation to your favourable notice."

He also recommended the abolition of farms and licences noted in the Report as items 5 to 9. The net annual revenue proposed to be foregone was calculated at 3674+341 4/16 pagodas.

Of the other temples, only the collections in Govindarajasvami temple were treated as the right of the circar, the annual average income of the temple at the end of F 1211 being star pagodas 877—13/7/8. One other point which is of special interest to us in this report is the statement of annual income of the temple from A.D. 1790—91 to 1801—02.

Mr. Stratton left the district a few days after sending his report and no action on his proposals to remit certain of the fees and licences appears to have been taken. Mr. Cockburn succeeded him but his administration was not approved by the Government and he was soon transferred to the judicial department. The next Collector Mr. Graeme was in charge of the District from 25—12—1804 to 14—4—1818. He appears to have been a popular Collector and an able administrator. He was the originator of the Ryotwar system of land revenue though it had not been approved by the Board of Directors during his tenure of office. A suburb of Chittoor where the District Offices are now located is called Graemespet after him. We find him again putting up a powerful plea to the Government in March 1818 to abolish not only the fees and licences mentioned by Mr. Stratton but many others which were discussed in detail by him. His remarks against licensing Mungulkutta (item 8 in Stratton's list) now furnish amusing reading: "Every pilgrim not having a husband or a father living (with the exception of those who take special vows) must undergo a shaving at the Kapilatheertham. The fee having been only 1½ fanam is now three fanams for each person owing to competition for this farm. The exclusive privilege is rented by a society of barbers. The Government rent gives a preference to a proportionate exaction on the part of the barbers and therefore should be immediately abolished; it is just that the pilgrims should be left to be shaved in the most expeditious and cheapest manner possible." We also learn from his report that, upto that date, only the hill shrine was under direct management of the Government and that the Govindarajasvami temple was rented to farmers

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

as before. In connection with this temple he observes: "Pilgrims are prevented from paying their devotions till the demands of the renter are satisfied. They should be left to make voluntary offerings the same as at the large Tirupati shrine." "From the immense number of people who are drawn from their proper occupations from distant countries, even the voluntary contributions at Tirupati cannot be considered an advantageous source of revenue; but it is more objectionable that these contributions should be at all compulsory." In his general remarks about the abolition of the licences and farms referred to already he observes: "But long custom, though the taxes are not of any revered antiquity, had prompted all descriptions of pilgrims to submit to them. I have ascertained however that these taxes and privileges are considered to have derived their origin in a despotic period of Government and to possess no advantages and to favour no prejudices or superstition which could make them less vexatious and more acceptable in the eyes of the Hindus." Mr. Graeme was also responsible for encouraging, for the first time, the construction of topes, wells and chatrams on the edges of high roads for the convenience of Indian travellers by obtaining the sanction of the Board to assign 2 cawnies of wet or 5 cawnies of punja land as Inam. Before quitting the district he was making out a case for increasing the grant to at least 5 cawnies of wet or 12 cawnies of punja land to further encourage such constructions. His humane outlook is further brought out in his remarks "The sacrifice of revenue can hardly be considered very great or deserving of hesitation, when the comforts of the people are to be secured by it." The reports of these first two collectors reveal not only the thoroughness and the liberal spirit which they brought to bear on their work but the extent to which the institutions of the temple had suffered under the renters to whom the Nabobs of the Carnatic had left the entire management and the meek submission of the people to the exactions of the rapacious renters, so long as they were allowed, at least, freedom to worship the God in their own. No great stretch of imagination is necessary to see that the fiction, of the God having agreed to repay his marriage debt to Kubera, through the Governments ruling the locality, was invented by the Stanikas of the temple as a device to excite the cupidity of the Muhammadan rulers, so as to preserve the shrine from interference.

VI. Mr. Stratton's Report reproduced in full.

Stratton's report as already referred to is a completely objective and unbiased report about the temple at the beginning of the 19th Century *i.e.*, in 1803. It is still of absorbing interest and is reproduced here below in full. Here also the quaint spelling is left as it is in the original.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

1. It being no less my duty than a subject of interesting investigation to define the sources of revenue from the Tripatty pagoda, I have in consequence the honour to submit for your information the result of my enquiries on that head.

2. The town of Tripatty is situated to the eastward of a range of hills running nearly in a north and southernly direction on the summit of which is built the famous Tripatty pagoda situated about 7 miles from the village below. Three principal Gopurams or portals are erected on the slant of the hill on the road leading to the pagoda which Hindoos only are allowed to visit, all other castes being restricted from passing the portal which is erected near the foot of the hill and is about half a mile distant from the village of Tripatty. In such veneration is even the Hill held that pilgrims resorting to the pagoda prostrate themselves to the ground on first getting a sight of the range of Hills connected with it.

3. The idol of the pagoda is worshipped under 1000 different names but the three principal names are:—

1st—Venkatramanaswamy implying the repeller of evil and ensurer of good.

2nd—Srinivasaswamy implying the Habitation of Sri or the Indian Ceres.

3rd—Seshachalawausah implying the habitation of Sesha, the name of the Tripatty hill being Seshachalla and its etymology being, from Sesha or the King of serpents and Achella a mountain, in allusion to one of Vishnoo's incarnations in the form of the serpent, Sesha, which as is supposed was metamorphosed in the Tripatty Hill.

4. The idol there worshipped is an erect stone figure about 7 feet in height—with four arms and being a personification of Vishnoo, has its attributes in 2 of its hands—one of the right hands containing the Chuckram or Mace of war and one of the left hands containing the Shunkum or Holy shell. The other right hand points to the earth in allusion to the sacred origin of the Hill on which the idol stands and the other left hand holds the lotus.

5. The pagoda in which this famous idol is placed must no doubt be of great antiquity, but not being allowed to visit it, the only information I have derived on this subject appears in some degree fabulous—the Brahmins of the pagoda asserting that its erection took place at the commencement of the Caliyug or the age of Contention and Baseness, of which 4903 years have elapsed. It being generally understood as written in the Bhavee Sheotarum Poorana that the worship of Vishnoo will cease at the completion

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

of 5000 years from the commencement of the Caliyug, should that prophecy be fulfilled, we may in about a century more expect a material decrease in the Revenue of the Tripatty pagoda.

6. The founder of the pagoda is said to be Tondiman Chukrawartee the latter term answering to Rajah, Tondiman being the then sovereign of Tondamanad, now a district of the Calastry Zamindari, a village of the same name is situated about 12 miles to the westward of Tripatty, but while encamped there, I saw no traces of ancient grandeur, to warrant the supposition that it could ever have been the residence of any sovereign of consequence.

7. On enquiring into the cause of the oblations at the pagoda, I learnt from the Brahmins that the idol became enamoured with a princess named Pudmavatee, the daughter of the Akasha, the then Rajah of Narrainevanum in the Bomrauze Zamindari; being desirous to espouse her, the idol borrowed the necessary amount for the marriage expenses of Cuvera or the Indian Plutus, who desired the sum might be repaid to whoever might be the Sovereign of the countries lying between the Palar and Sornamookee rivers. This it is understood the idol is now repaying from the oblations of its votaries, the 9 days of Annual festival being considered and celebrated as the anniversary of its nuptials during which time about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the annual collections are made.

8. From this account, however fabulous, we are to infer that the revenues of the pagoda have ever been considered the right of the sirkar though Brahmins, at the same time, assert that during the Hindoo Government the whole of the collections from the pagoda were disbursed in religious ceremonies and that only since the commencement of the Mahommadan Government in the Carnatic have those charges had a limit and the surplus net revenue been conveyed into the coffers of the state.

9. The first and principal source of Revenue at the Tripatty pagoda is from "Canukulu" or oblations which are generally made from interested motives in performance of vows which may lead to the accomplishment of any desired object, such as the birth of a son, restoration to health from sickness, safe termination of a journey, gain of a victory etc., etc. These oblations are frequently sent by the inhabitants residing north of the Tombudra, by means of Ghoseyns, but the people from the rest of the peninsula either attend with their oblations in person or send them by means of relations or friends. The names of 21 Ghoseyns are registered at the pagoda who obtain flags from the idol which they carry to their different countries and which they expose for 2 or 3 months before the annual festival, when those who are desirous

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of accompanying them in the pilgrimage assemble in crowds round the banners of each leader and those who cannot attend in person, trust them with their oblations, which being considered the property of the idol is generally faithfully presented, though no doubt instances occur of the Ghoseyns being guilty of a breach of trust, but which it is scarcely possible to discover.

10. These ghoseyns, as leaders of their respective caravans, settle each march and the amount of customs which the pilgrims may be subject to through the countries they pass, having generally cowed from the different farmers of the customs who make favourable openings to them to pass through their range by which they ensure so much more collections. The ghoseyns by relieving the pilgrims from this trouble, desire from them some advantage in presents as suits their pleasure and at the close of the festival, the ghoseyns further receive from the sirkar as complementary presents from the idol, the articles subjoined to the name of each as is registered at the pagoda and shown in statement No. 1.

11. The pilgrims are complemented also with presents from the idol on the following principle, any one presenting an oblation of 100 rupees receives a turban, from 100 to 500 a flowered silk cloth, from 500 to 1,000 a shawl, the value of articles depending on the amount of the presents so made, from 100 to 1000 rupees and upwards. The statements from No. 2 to No. 4 inclusive contain particulars of the usual annual presents made to different zamindars' brahmins of the pagoda etc.

12. The 2nd source of revenue is derived from "Wurtuna" or "presents" made to the idol for its own use, on which whether they be jewels, horses, etc., the donor is obliged first to pay the value of the article in question to the sirkar as an indemnification for the loss the sirkar would otherwise incur, the articles so bestowed being then considered the property of the idol and being reserved among its paraphernalia for its own use.

13. The 3rd source of revenue, comes under the class termed "Arjeetum" or "Receipts" which is divided into first Abheeshakum or purifications, secondly Naivaadium or offerings and thirdly wahanams or processions, the collection on which I now proceed to explain in their different variations.

I. Abheeshakum or purification consists of

1st—Poolkant or Laving and anointing the idol which is performed every Friday with milk, civet, musk, saffron, camphor etc., provided by the sirkar and any devotee desirous of being present at the ceremony used formerly

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

to pay from 100 to 120 rupees but of late years the sum has been restricted to 50 rupees during the nine days of the Annual festival, the votaries paying anything they please at any other time of the year.

2nd—Poolunjee sevak or enrobing the idol with a flower garment is a ceremony performed every thursday, and to be present at which the pilgrims used formerly to pay 60 rupees but of late years they pay what they please;

3rd—Thomaulah sevak or the daily ceremony of placing of Necklace of flowers on the idol, to be present at which it is necessary to pay 12 rupees;

4th—Sahasranamarchana or the worship of the idol under its thousand names is a daily ceremony, to be present at which, it is necessary to pay 4 rupees;

5th—Munsum sevak or the daily ceremony of putting the idol to rest, to be present at which it is necessary to pay 12 rupees.

II. Naivaidium or offerings consist of

1st—Anna naivaidium or offerings of milk, sugar and rice called Purma-neeru, of Tamarinds, sweet oil and rice called Pooleevagarrum, of dhol, ghee and rice called Moodyanum, of butter-milk and rice called Daddeodanum. If any one be desirous to present any of these offerings to the idol he pays 6 rupees for the privilege if he provide the articles, but if they be provided by the sirkar, he pays 10 rupees additional;

2nd—Buschana naivaidium or offerings of sweet meats, to present which to the idol, it is necessary to pay from 20 to 28 rupees, the sirkar providing and preparing the necessary ingredients;

3rd—Maha naivaidium commonly called Teeropovadah is a large offering of from 1000 to 2000 pukka seers of rice which any one wishing to present to the idol pays from 100 to 120 pagodas the sirkar providing the rice;

4th:—Amuntrana vohavum commonly called Neetyapadeetrurram implies an offerings of the several daily offerings which if any one be desirous to present at once to the idol, he pays 60 rupees as follows:

As present to the sirkar	.. 15
For the Tomalah sevak ceremony	.. 12
For Sahasranamarchana ceremony	.. 5
For Munsam Sevak	.. 12
For Annanaivaidium	.. 16
	<hr/>
	60
	<hr/>

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

5th:—Ookaipitchadi means a plant named ookai prepared in a particular manner and the growth of which is said to be peculiar to the Tripatty hill, any one wishing to present an offering of which is subject to pay 4 rupees.

III. Wahanam or processions of the idol are 12 in number of different denominations, each having a reference to different parts of the Hindu mythology; the idol exhibited on these occasions, being a small gilt representation, formed of metal, of the stone idol within the pagoda which from its bulk is not moveable. For the undermentioned processions from 1 to 3 inclusive, the votary at whose solicitation the idol is brought out, pays 40 rupees and for each of the rest 20 rupees.

1st:—Kalpavroocha wahanam or procession of the idol placed under the representation of a gilt tree formed of wood.

2nd:—Andoluka wahanam or procession of the idol in a palanquin.

3rd:—Sesha wahanam or procession of the idol placed on a gilt representation of the serpent-Adi Sesha.

4th:—Sarva Boopaulah wahanam or procession of the idol under a gilt throne.

5th:—Sooriah Prabah wahanam or procession of the idol attended by a gilt representation of the sun.

6th:—Addala arrah or procession of the idol to a room surrounded with looking glasses and so placed as to reflect its image several times.

7th:—Andullum wahanam or procession of the idol in a kind of dooly palanquin.

8th:—Garuda wahanam or procession of the idol mounted on a gilt parrot.

9th:—Chandra prabah or procession of the idol attended by a gilt representation of the moon.

10th:—Hanumantha wahanam or procession of the idol mounted on a gilt figure in representation of Hanumant, the Indian Pan.

11th:—Simha wahanam or procession of the idol mounted on a gilt lion.

12th:—Bala Sesha wahanam or procession of the idol placed on a small gilt snake.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

Having explained the sources of Revenue at the Tripatty pagoda as derived from 'caunkee' or oblations, wurtana or presents to the idol, Arjeethum or receipts from purifications, offerings and processions, it remains to bring under your notice the particulars of Farms and Licences below the hill which also form another material branch of Revenue and which are to be considered.

1st:—Under the name of Tavatora Puddee mera, etc., which is the farm of ~~that~~ part of the daily offering of victuals to the idol which fall to the sircar share and which the Renter disposes of to the pilgrims who set a high value on them as coming from the idol, the remainder of the daily offerings being distributed as Russoms among the several attendants of the pagoda if the materials have been provided by the sircar but if wholly by pilgrims, the Tavatora renter then only receives the sircar share and the Votary is allowed to dispose of the remainder as he pleases.

2nd:—Waga buddee is the farm of selling sweet-meats which have been prepared by the Renter and previously presented as an offering to the idol.

3rd:—Moontur buguddee* includes the rent of the tobacco and ganja farm on the hill and in the town of Tripatty as also the privilege of selling images made of a particular wood which grows on the Tripatty hill called red sandal.

4th:—Swamy Pushkaranee is a tank near the pagoda so named where it is usual for the pilgrims after bathing to perform some particular religious rites in which the brahmins who farm this privilege are only allowed to officiate.

5th:—Tunk buddee is the licence of collecting on all shop keepers on the hill 6 annas tax on every pagoda worth of articles they sell which of course enhances the prices of every necessary of life and is severely felt by the pilgrims at all times of the year, but more particularly during the annual festival, when the crowd is immense.

6th:—Namaloo angadee is the exclusive privilege of selling a particular white chalk required for marking the forehead found on the Tripatty hill and of which pilgrims carry some home with them in consequence of the particular sanctity of the place, notwithstanding it is found elsewhere.

7th:—Hajam Goota is the farm of a tax on barbers and which is generally rented by barbers, who in virtue of this privilege levy on all pilgrims they shave about the Hills, 1½ fanams, the price being limited to that sum by the sircar.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

8th:— Caluanguhuttum is also a tax on barbers for shaving pilgrims below the hill, the renter being restricted as before mentioned.

9th:— Kuplateertam is a tank so named to bath in which all the pilgrims resort to after which they perform some religious ceremonies by means of some brahmins who farm the privilege of officiating.

From the best information I have been able to obtain, there seems no doubt that these farms and licences derive their origin from the commencement of Mohammadan Government during which it being usual to farm the revenue of the pagoda annually to the highest bidder the renters being under no check, were allowed to exercise their ingenuity to make good their engagements with the sirkar by any means and what was introduced by one renter was continued by his successors who devised fresh means to enhance the collections by further taxations on the pilgrims.

16:— The capitations tax of 3 fanams levied on pilgrims ascending the Tripatty hill which I had the honour to bring under your notice on the 8th August last, owes its origin to the same source, and, as being most liable to abuse and vexation in the collection, I was induced to recommend should be abolished; after further experience how extremely obnoxious the tax in question is considered by the pilgrims, I am again induced to submit my former recommendation on this to your favourable notice, since the distinction of exemption as before explained comprising all classes of Hindoos residing within 4 coss of Tirupathy, the loss of that distinction will scarcely be felt by any now exempt. The brahmins as being generally exempt are the only class of people who might feel any objection to the measure, but after conversing with several on this point both brahmins attached to the pagoda and strangers they all seem to be of one mind that the distinction of exemption from the tax in question is no way prized from not being of very ancient date.

Under these circumstances, I not only venture to recommend the abolition of the capitation tax as an indulgence to the religious prejudices of the natives but also the abolition of the undermentioned farms and licences at Tripatty from the commencement of fasli 1213 about which after the explanation already afforded on each, no further comment seems necessary to point out how vexatious they must prove, and although the abolition may involve a temporary sacrifices of revenue, I am yet satisfied that the future collections from processions, offerings etc., will increase to compensate for any loss which may at first arise from so popular a measure.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE UNDER THE BRITISH

Farms and licence	Average of 10 years Collections (Star Pagodas)		
Swamy Pooshkaranee	82	8	
Tunk Buddee	1261	8	6/16
Namaloo Angadee	364	0	
Hajam goota	395	2	
Galeeanghuttum	104	12	13/16
Kuplateertum	108	11	5/16
Capitation tax	1257	9	6/16
	3674	3	14/16

There are several other pagodas at Tripatty both below and on the Hill which are held in different degrees of estimation where trifling donations are made by pilgrims which are enjoyed by the brahmins attached to them, but the collections at the Govinda Ruaze pagoda below the Hill amounting on an average of 10 years collections to star pagodas 877 13 7/8 are considered the right of the sirkar.

I have herewith the honour to forward for your information a statement number 4 of the Enams enjoyed by brahmins and others attached to the Tirupaty pagodas as also a statement No. 6 of the whole collections from the Tirupatty purgunnah for a period of 10 years wherein each item of collection is distinguished and the Pagoda and District Sybbandy charges being deducted from the gross collections exhibits in the last column the net revenue of each fusli.

31st January 1803.
Chittoor.

Sd. G^{EO}. STRATTON,
Collector.

Condition of Tirumala Temple in the beginning of the 19th Century

I. Sawal Jawab Patti, Kainkarya Patti, Paimayishi and Dittam Book

As soon as the East India company took over the management of Tirumala temple and all other temples attached to it, their main concern was to organise the income of the temple in such a manner that they could be assured of a fixed revenue per year. In order to arrange this on a proper basis, the Company undertook an extensive enquiry into the various aspects of the temple administration like assets and liabilities; income and expenditure; the quantity and different types of prasadams offered on ordinary days and on festival days; the various festivals, arjita sevas, and other religious services in the temple and the basis thereof; a complete exhaustive list of the hereditary and other service holders, their nature responsibilities, and types of emoluments and other allied matters. In addition to this, since an exhaustive roving enquiry was in any case being made by the Company, they also went into the origin, the history, the religious denomination, the various religious customs and festivals, the different types of deities worshipped etc. and a general survey of all major and subsidiary temples and other institutions in Tirumala, Tirupati and Tiruchanur. In order to establish correct and objective data based on which such a basic document can be prepared, the company issued what is now called in modern parlance a questionnaire and invited answers to it from various knowledgeable persons, acharya purushas, and other important persons connected with the temple. The replies received for the same question from various sources were then cross-checked and indexed and a standard reply to the question was prepared. This is known as "Sawal Jawab Patti". This Sawal Jawab Patti is of the greatest importance to us, in as much as it gives a completely objective analysis of the temple, its income, expenditure, assets and liabilities, finances, hereditary rites etc.etc. as it was known to the British in the beginning of the 19th century.

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

This questionnaire was issued in Fasli 1227, that is some time in 1818 A.D. and the answers to the main questions along with answers to another fourteen other supplementary questions which were issued later, relating to 19 religious institutions that were dealt with by the company, were codified in Fasli 1228 on 14th August, 1819 A.D. by the Serishtedar of the Taluk office by name Alabdu Govind Rao. From the details contained in it we infer that even by that time Tirupati was the headquarters of a taluk and Chittoor that of the district.

Along with the Sawal Jawab Patti, another document called "Kainkarya Patti" which contains a list of all the hereditary permanent servants of the temple and of a few temporary hands, on what we would now call a nominal muster roll, along with the names of the holders of offices, the services rendered by them, the emoluments due to them in cash and kind etc. were all got prepared. Such a patti was prepared in July 1801 A.D. as soon as the company took over the management of the temples, so that they may have a basic document on which they could base the administration of the temple. In Fasli 1230 i.e. 1820 A.D. this Kainkarya Patti was totally revised and up-dated and a new one prepared by A. Ranga Rao, Serishtedar, R.Subba Rao, Tahsildar and another person whose signature is illegible, on 2nd October, 1820 A.D. This Kainkarya Patti is also of great interest to us in as much as it contains basic information regarding the hereditary and non-hereditary service holders, the nature of their service and the nature of their emoluments etc.

More important to the above two documents, the Company also prepared on 14th August, 1819 A.D. another document called "Paimayishi" which contains an account of the images of Gods enshrined in the several temples of Tirumala, Tirupati and Tiruchanur and all the various temple buildings, mantapams, prakarams etc. with their detailed measurements etc., signed by the local Karnam. This has also been signed by the then Serishtedar Alabdu Govind Rao on 14th August, 1819 A.D.

Besides these three, another "Dittam Book" was also prepared by the company which prescribed the quantities of provisions like rice, ghee etc. for preparing prasadam of the Lord and the Alvares each day. The Dittam Book gave details of the prasadams to be prepared during different hours of the day and on special occasions of festivals in a week, a fortnight, month, year etc. The dittam book also prescribed the manner and method in which the prasadam was to be distributed among the hereditary holders, mirasdars, temple servants and the temple administration etc. etc. This dittam book prepared by the East India Company in the beginning of the 19th century,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

formed the standard basic book for the preparation and distribution of prasadam in the temple which has been the subject matter of serious litigation throughout the years.

Thus, the Sawal Jawab Patti, Kainkarya Patti, the Paimayishi and the Dittam Book were the four main basic documents prepared by the East India Company after extensive enquiries and after consolidating all the answers received for questions issued by them. These four documents are of interest now, since they give absolutely accurate and objective data about the temple, its finances, its assets and liabilities, its religious and secular services, the nature and type of hereditary servants, their emoluments, their obligations, responsibilities etc. etc. In other words, these four books give us complete documented data on the temple at the beginning of the 19th century.

II. The questions in Sawal Jawab Patti.

In addition to the mythological origin and account of the temple, the Sawal Jawab Patti listed 14 basic questions on the actual administrative state of affairs of the temple. These were issued as supplementary questions and are of great interest even now. These questions are given below:—

- (a) Whether the dharmam (charities, services) carried on in each of the temples was in pursuance of any grant by the Sarkar (the English Company Government); or
- (b) through endowments or payments by private donars, temple servants, Zamindars or Palegars;
- (c) how this income or contribution was being collected;
- (d) Whether any staff was entertained for the collection and what expenses were incurred therefor;
- (e) Whether there was possibility of improving the particular institution;
- (f) whether the temple or shrine was built of stone or of mortar or of both and of the extent of each in the case of the prakara walls, the garbha-griham (sanctum sanctorum), antaram (flooring), mukha-mantapam (front portico), kalyana-mantapam (marriage apartment), mahamantapam (bigger outer portico) and other mantapams;
- (g) the different categories of the temple staff, their respective duties or services in the worship of the Deity in that temple, how many times a day the puja was being performed and for what length of time;
- (h) what punishment was meted for default in their duties;
- (i) its income and expenditure in detail;

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

- (j) As there were some government servants on the staff of the temple, if they were amenable to the discipline of the manager to whom the questions were addressed for replies; and if so, whether the men of the dharmakarta (executor of the charities) pilfered the articles supplied to the temple by him and whether any deficiency occurred in them for offerings;
- (k) whether the income derived by the dharmakarta was being paid to any members of the staff, and under what authority or document; for a charity required to be protected and perpetuated, and not to be diverted and despoiled; accordingly the income of each one should be applied to its specific purpose;
- (l) under whose management the temple then was, who built it, in what capacity the then dharmakarta functioned, under whose authority its income and expenses were regulated, what the actual income and expenditure were and whether the charities were being conducted in accordance with the original terms;
- (m) whether the dharmam is in the hands of others than the progeny of the originator, or inaugurated by men in service; if either the outsiders or the descendants enjoy the share of the paditaram (articles for offerings) and padi (vada, laddu, cake, and such baked or boiled in ghee edibles), to ascertain how they happened to enjoy them and under what authority; and
- (n) if any temples and satrams (free food-serving houses or merely rest-houses) existed in the Tirupati Taluk not being managed by anybody at all, a list of them should be furnished.

III The details of Sawal Jawab Patti.

(1) *Sri Venkatesvara Temple.*

The Sawal Jawab Patti was prepared on the basis of answers to the 14 points listed above with reference to each of the temple dealt with in it. The first temple dealt with is Sri Venkatesvara temple of Tirumala. The status of the temple revealed in Sawal Jawab Patti in the beginning of the 19th century and its income and expenditure are as follows. In this connection, it must be noted that the currency used is Pulivarahas, Mailis and Kasu in descending order. From the totals arrived at in the Sawal Jawab Patti, it is seen that 80 kasus made one Maili and 45 Mailis one Pulivaraha. It is also known

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

to us from other evidence that are pulivaraha is equal to Rs. 4/- of the 19th century. The income of Sri Venkatesvaraswamy temple was as follows:—

Nature.	Pulivaraha.	Mailis.	Kasus.
General income ..	7,997	3	6
Income of service holders from land ..	6,074	9	49
Dharmam by private donors, Temple Servants, Chettis, Zamindars and outsiders ..	2,935	41	12
Total ..	17,007	8	67

or Rs. 68,000 (roughly)

There is an interesting statement here that the kanukas *i.e.*, the donations and the arjitas *i.e.*, the prescribed fees for performing festivals, utsavams, vahanams etc., were all collected by the sircar, which in modern parlance would be equivalent to the Devasthanam, not directly, but through agents or a renter. Such incomes were as follows:—

Nature.	Pulivarahas	Mailis.	Kasus.
Kanukas and arjita sevas	34,458	16	77
Income from Inam lands leased to temple servants ..	6,074	9	49
Total ..	40,532	26	46
Income from agents or the Dharmams ..	2,935	45	12
Grand Total ..	43,468	22	58
or Rs. 1,74,000 (roughly)			

The earlier dharmam by the Mahratta General Raghoji Bhonsle was continued during this period. It is stated here that from the amount of this Dharmam equivalent to 14,000 Narayanapeta rupee, (equivalent to 3,500

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

pulivarahas,) an amount of 1146 pulivarahas, 11 Mailis and 20 Kasus, had to be spent towards ornaments of Srivaru and 511 pulivarahas, 11 Mailis and 20 Kasus towards salaries of gardeners and of two men who were whisking the chamara of the Lord, free food to pilgrims, prasadam to subsidiary deities, purchase of camphor, sahasranama - archana, and presents to the chief personage of the grahastas. The net balance from this endowment was said to be 1,507 pulivarahas and 10 kasus.

It is seen from the Sawal Jawab Patti, that charities and dharmas were not all centralised by the sircar, but that private dharmams were also performed there. It is also seen that no separate staff was maintained by the temple for this purpose. The agents of one 'Mataboru Sheik Sahib', for instance, were authorised to collect donations paid directly by the pilgrims and grahastas, and they paid them the money with particulars of the purposes for which they were earmarked to the temple. After deducting their expenses for collection, the net amount was credited to the chitta or the account book ledger of the temple. The modern system of the Devasthanam completely collecting the entire income and meeting the expenditure was then unknown.

In the reply to question 5 it was stated that the whole taluk of Velagarala was an inam area to the temple, that the income from it was not being derived, that no information was available regarding inams existing in other taluks and, as they had to be brought to account, it was suggested that the Tahsildars of the Taluks might be ordered to collect the amounts and to remit them to the Parupatyadar with their specific purpose so as to enable the Parupatyadar to carry on the charity.

Another suggestion also was made therein that, as the Parupatyadar was the single executive officer on Tirumala and that if he fell sick, there should be an assistant to him to discharge his duties, and that, therefore, an assistant might be sanctioned.

A third suggestion was offered, too, that while the temple authorities petitioned Purnayya Saheb, the Mahisurkarta, for the assignment of a flower-garden for supply of flowers for the worship of Srivaru (Sri Venkatesvara), during his visit in Fasli 1227, he ordered the allotment of a garden and that two gardeners were engaged; and sanction was sought for their salary, whereby another garden also could be laid for adequate supply of flowers for worship. (This probably indicates that the numerous old flower gardens vanished at this time).

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The answer to the 6th question noted that the temple was built of stone and that the measurements of the sanctum, floor and the mantapams and the prakara (surrounding wall) were recorded in the Paimayishi account.

The answer under item 7 furnished the designation and names of the personnel attached to the temple and their pertinent duties. The entire staff comprised of 92 servants, both major, minor and temporary incumbents.

The keys of the Bangaru-vakili, the golden (gilded) front door of the sanctum between the two Dvarapalakas, and of the jewellery boxes were in the custody of the Jiyangar, as one set is even today, while the keys of the lattice door inside and of the boxes of jewels of daily wear for the Deities in charge of the Archaka were with the Archaka. The doors of the temple were opened at 8 0' clock in the morning. A little time before that hour a temple peon would go to fetch the Jiyangar from his matha to the temple together with the keys, and another peon to the Archaka to fetch him. The Parupatyadar and other functionaries of the temple were present at the door at the time. When the Bangaru-vakili was unlocked, the Archaka, the Ekangi and the Golla (servant of the cowherd class) would go in shutting the door behind them, set right the akhanda light (of the lamp pan filled with ghee), open the lattice door and then open the front door, when the Jiyangar would enter, hand over the small plate with lighted camphor to the Archaka who waved it before Lord Venkatesvara. Meanwhile the Suprabhatam (prayer waking the God in the morning) was stated to be sung by the member of the Tallapaka Annamacharya's descendants. By 9 a.m. the Tomala-seva and other pujas were over, and the first Naivedyam with the ringing of the big bell for the first time was offered, followed by further puja and the second Naivedyam with the food-offerings of the dharmams and the final harati (waving lighted camphor). Then at the close of the day's worship and offerings, the pilgrims were let in for the Darsanam (view, sight) of God.

But after the enumeration of the personnel of the temple and the sketching of their duties under question No. 7, it is again stated, at the end of it, as the account of the puja of Sri Varu, that the first puja, i.e., of the morning, should commence at 9 0' clock and within that hour the Tomala-seva should be finished; that the Naivedyam of matra, dadhyodanam, bakalabhat, chappidi prasadam i.e., suddha-annam (cooked rice alone) should be offered by 10 A.M.-and thereupon the pilgrims should be let in for Darsanam upto 12 noon. Then the second puja for the noon should be done by 1 0' clock followed by the offerings for the second time, (denoted as the "second bell"), (while the first morning offerings were called the "first bell") with

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

alamkaramannam (mere cooked rice), **supam** and **rasam** (red gram and soup) and **payasam** (cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar). Again in the night by 8-30 p.m. the **Tomala-seva** should be over and at 9-00 p.m. the offering of rice-cakes, **molagu-ogiram** (cooked rice sprinkled with pepper, and salt added to taste and mixed with ghee), **paramannam** (cooked rice mixed with jaggery of sugar-cane) known as **Tiruvisam**, and **suddha-annam** should be provided to the Deity; then the pilgrims should be afforded **Darsanam**; and by 10 p.m. the **manchapu-seva** (service of putting the image to bed on the cot) should be over. For all the services and functions in the temple the respective functionaries should be present and render their services. This, shows that **Darsanam** time was after the first **Naivedyam** only once in the day between 10 a.m. and 12 noon, and again in the night.

Then a big cup would be placed at the entrance to the sanctum and the **Parupatyadar** would stand at the **Bangaru-vakili**, accost the pilgrims who brought larger sums of **kanuka** (presents), seat them, receive the money, count it, tie it up in a small cloth bundle, seal it, and send the pilgrims with the sealed bundles into the sanctum for **Darsanam** with the help of a peon to see that the sealed bundle of money was put into the cup placed near the sanctum. After **Darsanam**, those pilgrims who offered the **kanuka** would be given God's **prasadam**, such as **vada** (cake of black gram). At the end of the **Darsanam** time, all the sealed bundles of money and jewels and separate coins put into the cup by pilgrims would be brought into **Rangamantapam** outside the **Bangaru vakili** and entered in the registers of the **Parupatyadar** and of the **Jiyangar**, and tied into bundles, and seals of the temple, **Jiyangar** and the **Parupatyadar** would be affixed to them, and the **arjitam** (income) statement would be prepared, and signed by the **Parupatyadar** and the accounts clerk of the **Jiyangar**. Then the **Kopperagi** or **hundi** (receptacle for offerings) would be tied up, the guards at it instructed to look after it carefully; and thereafter the **Parupatyadar** would go home, when the lattice door would be locked by the **Archaka** and he would also go home.

At 8.00 p.m. the **Archaka** and the **Jiyangar** would go to the temple along with the temple peons and perform the night puja within 9 0' clock together with **Naivedyam**. Then pilgrims would be let in for **Darsanam**. At the close of the **Darsanam** would take place the **Manchapu-seva** (service of putting the Deity to bed on a cot) by 10.00 p.m. Thereafter the inner lattice door would be locked by the **Archaka** and he would go home; and the **Bangaru-vakili** would also be closed and locked, and over the lock the different seals would be affixed.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

In the temple the Jiyangar, or his assistant the Ekangi was required to light the camphor and hand over the harati plate to the Archaka for waving it before the Deity, as also flowers, garlands, cloths and other articles for decoration of God.

The Parupatyadar would receive the kanukas from pilgrims in the night Darsanam time also and secure them by adopting the same procedure as in the noon.

Of the 7 Acharya-purushas, the member of the Tolappachari's family conducted Veda-parayanam during the puja in the temple daily and during processions of the Deities and brought 3 vessels of water from the Akasa-ganga-tirtha through his agent and received the tirtham first among the seven, carried on the recitation of the Mantra-pushpam and the Sahasra-nama during Archana; and the other six Acharya-purushas recited the Prabandham.

The Sama-Veda reciter not only recited the Sama-Veda daily but also supplied the Yajnopavita (sacred thread) triad on each Friday for the wear of Sri Venkatesvara, as stipulated by certain pilgrims. (This presentation of the Yajnopavita and its wearing was inaugurated by Tallapaka Pedda-Tirumalacharya in March 1532 A.D. (No. 588—T.T.).

The peon of the palle community with the Parupatyadar would go on errand at the bidding of the Parupatyadar. Another peon, working in the Ugramam (provision stores) collected the coconuts and betel leaves offered by pilgrims, sold them at the market rate and credited the sale proceeds to the Sarkar (Government account). He was on guard with weapons during the processions of the Deities.

The Golla-Charvakaru attended on the Tahsildar together with 20 men along with the officer's peons, untied the sealed sacks containing kanukas and other articles received from Tirumala at the time of their parakhamani (sorting and verification), and kept ready merchants for the purpose; and after the parakhamani, he retied the articles in the sacks, sealed the sacks and placed them in the boxes. Further, during the processions of Govindaraja and Ramasvami (Sri Rama) and on their proceeding for Parveta (hunting) and tirthavari (ablutions in the tanks), he mounted guard, perhaps along with his men, bearing arms.

The elephant stall contained 14 men, with one daroga (supervisor), 4 gadekars (lance-bearers), and 5 fodder-suppliers; the horse stable had only 3 horse keepers; and the fodder-suppliers to the cattle were only 3 men. The

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

number of animals is not mentioned, but from the number of men employed. it would appear that 4 elephants and 3 horses were maintained and they were kept in Tirupati, and taken out in the processions of the Deities for ostentation, In times of festivals in Tirumala, they were led there for processional splendour.

In answer to question No. 8, regarding default, it was stated that no action was taken against persons who absented themselves on account of illness, that a slight punishment, such as a fine, was inflicted on persons for minor faults, and that cases of serious offences were reported to the Huzur and were dealt with according to their orders.

Under item 12 of the questionnaire, the answer was made that the Sri Venkatesvara Devasthanam was a very ancient institution, anadi; that originally He appeared to Brahma and Brahma performed His puja; then He manifested Himself before Tondaman Chakravarthi (emperor) who accordingly built His temple; and that, therefore, the income and expenditure of those times could not be known. Later on, in the Salivahana-Saka year 939, cyclic year Pingala, was born the great personage Bhashyakara (Sri Ramanuja), and he, in his day, regularised the Katla (service of worship and offerings of food) in all the divya-desas (divine centres of Vishnu worship). He arrived at this place also, assumed the position of its dharma-karta, constructed the gopuram (tower) prakaram (high surrounding wall) and other structures, and used to conduct the dharmam, so was it said. It was also stated that the present Jiyangar was in the succession of his disciples, and his income was being separately noted. It was further mentioned that the expenditure incurred under different heads from the days of the Nawab was scrutinised and the tasadik (routine expenditure) was prescribed and that it was being carried on accordingly.

(ii) Sri Govindaraja Temple

The financial position of this temple as found in Sawal Jawab Patti is as follows:—

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	kasus
General income	563	28	40
Income from land-lease and Kanuka.	26	2	66
	589	31	26

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	kasus
Income from temple servants merchants and Dharmam agents.	131	35	14
Kanukas and arjitam	900	—	—
	1031	35	14
	or Rs. 4120/- (roughly)		

Here also as in Sri Venkatesvara temple, the income from Kanuka and Arjitam was being farmed out every year by the East India Company, and collected promptly and punctually from the lessees, and the lessees made their own arrangements for collecting the money from the pilgrims. The income shown above from dharmam was apparently paid in kind to the temple for preparing annaprasadam and other prasadams.

The temple account does not show any payment to the Melam and Golla, but they were apparently being paid by the lessees of the Company who took the lease of the Kanuka income. It is seen from the Sawal Jawab Patti that only two families out of four Archakas functioning in the Sri Venkatesvara Temple at Tirumala had the right to do service in Govindaraja temple by turns. Further, both the senior and junior Jiyangars, the Ekangis, and the seven Acharya purushas had duties in this temple also. In addition, the archaka was entitled to do the sahasranama puja, and the adhyapaka to recite the Tamil prabhanda. The Purohit, the golla Charvakar, Kaikali (weaver), Kamati (Carpenter), Darji (Tailor), Geenigiri (Painter), Bokkasam (general servant incharge of waiting, clothing etc.) and cooks totally 27 persons in all, did honorary service to the temple. There were only eight salaried persons namely Mudra Manishi or Supervisor, umbrella holder etc. etc. Most of these did service in the Tirumala temple and also did service here also. At the beginning of the 19th century, the maintenance of the temple elephants and horses needed for procession, the salary of their Mahouts etc., were being borne by the Tirumala temple only.

The puja routine in Govindaraja's temple was the same as in Venkatesvara's temple, but the timings were in advance. When the temple servants called at their residence, the Archaka and the Jiyangar with one Ekangi, followed them with the keys to the temple at 7 a.m. and, in the presence of the Mudra-manishi and others, the outer door of the sanctum was unlocked with the key brought by the Jiyangar, and the inner door was unlocked by the Archaka,

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

and the Ekangi and the Kaikala peon entered along with the Archaka, set right the lamp and examined all articles inside to see if they were safe. Then the Jiyangar entered. The puja, comprising Tomalaseva and Archana followed by Naivedyam, was completed before 9 a.m. Then the pilgrims were let in for Darsanam, when the lessee would collect the Kanuka from them and deposit it in a small box. This Darsanam time extended upto 12 noon when the midday puja would be performed; and the food offerings arranged for by the pilgrims through the lessee would be made to the Deity, and handed over to him for delivery to the concerned pilgrims. Then the Archaka would lock the inner door and go home and the Jiyangar and others also would go to their places. At 7 0' clock in the night, the entire staff would be present and the night puja, Naivedyam, Darsanam for pilgrims and bedding to the Deity were finished by 10 p.m. The Jiyangar had the front door locked with the key in his hold and took the key to his Matha.

In this temple, the shrine of "Yadava-Perumallu", otherwise called Parthasarathi (Charioteer of Arjuna's car in the Mahabharata war, Sri Krishna), was constructed in the days of the Rayalu (an emperor of Vijayanagara). Later on, Bhashyakara (the Vaishnava religious teacher Ramanuja) got the Idol of Govindarajaswami from Chitrakuta alias Chidambaram, built the shrine and its adjuncts and installed it. As greater spiritual faith was exhibited towards Govindarajaswami, puja continued to Him. The reason for non-performance of puja to Parthasarathi was that, being made of plaster, It was slightly deformed.

(iii) Sala-nachchiyar Temple

The financial position of this temple was as follows:—

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	Kasus
General income	18	2	54
Cash payment by Company (perhaps for some land taken over).	6	-	—
	24	2	54
Dharmam and donations	8	26	41
	or Rs. 120/- (roughly)		

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

This temple was apparently not very affluent. There is an interesting remark in the Sawal Jawab Patti that any Kunuka or payment by pilgrim above rupee one should be appropriated by the Sri Govindaraja swamy temple and any sum below one rupee was to be retained by the paricharaka, namely one of the temple servant. In the process this Goddess was left high and dry !

The clerk of the Archaka of Govindarajaswami's temple performed puja to this Deity between 7 a.m. and 10 a. m. Half a seer of cooked rice was offered as Naivedyam at the two times. During the festival in it for 7 days, the entire staff of Govindaraja's temple cooperated for its performance. This idol of Sri Mahalakshmi with four arms, originally installed in a shrine to the north of the Yadava-Perumallu temple and facing South during the days of the Rayalu, was removed from that place and re-installed in the sala (a portion of a building ,at the South west end of the mukha-mantapam) after Bhashyakara consecrated Govindarajaswami; hence she came to be known as sala-nancharamma (sala-nachchiyar).

iv) Sudikkodutta-Nachchiyar's shrine

The financial position of this temple was as follows:—

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	Kasus
General income	39	16	19
Kanuka	32	0	0
Ubhayam for dharmam	18	5	62
	50	5	62
	or Rs. 200/- (roughly)		

In this temple also any Kanuka or offering above one rupee paid by pilgrims was paid to the lessees of the Sri Govindaraja swamy temple and any amount less than one rupee was appropriated by the archaka. The clerk of the Archaka attended to both Puja and paricharakam. Puja was conducted between 10 a.m. and 12 noon in the day and from 7 p.m. to 10. p.m. in the night. Both day and night half a measure of cooked rice was offered in this shrine from the offerings prescribed for Govindarajaswami's temple. This shrine was said to have been constructed in the time of the Bhashyakara.

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

(v) Sri Kodanda-Rama's Temple

The financial position of this temple was as follows:—

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	Kasus
General income	145	38	0
Land lease and Kanuka income.	80	4	2
Ubhayams and dharmam	71	8	42
	151	12	44
	or Rs. 600/- (roughly)		

Out of the kanuka realised in this temple, the temple udigam-varu (service renderers) appropriated a part and the balance was utilised for fuel. The phaski (pasika, a morsel of the offered food) to be issued by the temple cooks, being in vogue in the temples in Tirumala and Tirupati and Govindarajasvami's temple, was farmed by the cooks (Tevakulavaru) and they paid the lease amount to Gundappa and Venkatarao, the Dharmakartas of this temple. Further, in accordance with the arrangement made by the local men and outsiders, by men bringing provisions and by merchants in Fasli 1199 (1790-91 A.D.) and approved and ordered by the Nawab Saheb and given effect to by Mustajaru (executive officer, administrator) Reghunathachari, the phaski was being continued. This lease amount having been collected on behalf of the Dharmakartas Gundappa and Venkatarao, was being partly paid as salary to the temple staff and the balance was being expended for the temple. A separate account was maintained for it; and it did not come into the account of income and expenditure of the Sarkar.

This was an ancient temple. It was built of stone and the Vimanam and the Gopuram were built of mortar. Pipers were a desideratum.

Its staff comprised of an Archaka, a clerk of the Bokkasam people, and a cook, two Golla men and a gardener. The Archaka performed puja from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. and offered the Naivedyam of matra and dadhyodanam, and then performed the midday puja from 10 a.m. to 12 noon followed by Naivedyam; then the night puja from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. offering Naivedyam of alamkaram and puliogiramu and then arranged the manchapu-seva (service of putting the Deity to bed on a cot), thus bringing the day's service to an end, tirumanam. The Bokkasam clerk supplied water for Abhishekam (ablutions), prepared the chandanam (sandal paste) and cleaned the vessels for the puja. The cook

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

prepared the food-offerings. The Golla brought all provisions to the temple, and also guarded the temple. The gardener supplied flowers for the puja.

Janamejayaraja of the lunar race established the temple and the Deity. Ayodhya-Ramanujayangar constructed the prakaram and the gopuram in the time of the Rayalu. In Fasli 1226 (1817-18 A.D.), a new Vimanam (dome over the sanctum) was constructed and Kumbhabhishekam (ablutions with vesselfuls of water) was performed for its consecration.

vi) Sri Krishnaswami's temple of Tiruchanur.

The financial position of the temple was as follows:—

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	Kasus
General Income	32	25	57
Ubhayams	3	15	55
	or Rs. 140/-(roughly)		

This was an adjunct to the Sri Padmavati shrine. The archakas, cook and the servants of the latter shrine functioned here also. The Archaka performed the morning, noon and night puja first in this shrine, and then to Padmavati. The cooks prepared the Naivedyam for Sri Krishna along with that for Sri Padmavati and His Naivedyam was first offered and then Padmavati's Naivedyam was offered next.

vii) Sri Padmavati's Temple, Tiruchanur

The financial position of this temple was as follows:—

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	Kasus
General income	80	17	19
Amount realised from land lease.	66	23	26
Kanuka lease amount	57	8	60
	204	4	25
Income from dharmam	368	35	9
	or Rs. 2280/-(roughly)		

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

In this temple there was a peculiar dispensation namely that the Kanuka offering was being spent for deeparadhana, Puja and other items on successive Fridays only. In this temple we find that the Melam was neither given an inam nor a salary but were given a little prasadam which being meagre prevented them from rendering service, during all the three pujas.

There were two Dharmakartas in this temple and they received the provisions and issued them to the cooks for preparing the food-offerings. There were an Archaka and a Bokkasam man and a cook. Besides these persons, there were also the employee of the Krishnapuram Palegar, who brought the samans (provisions) from Tirupati, cleaned them and issued them to the cooks; and the pipers and the village accountant.

The Archaka performed the morning puja from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m., the noon puja from 11 a.m. to 12 noon, and the night puja from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. inclusive of the bedding of the Deity. There were special worship on Fridays (apparently abhishekam, ablutions) and a procession of the Deity.

viii) Sri Suryanarayana swamy temple, Tiruchanur.

This was a comparatively poor temple with general income of only 6 pulivarahas, 33 mailis and 10 kasus and lease amount of 3 Pulivarahas, 28 Mailis and 10 Kasus totally only 10 Pulivarahas, 16 mailis and 70 Kasus, or tota of Rs. 80/-roughly. The inam land was enjoyed by Archaka Pattu Tatachari of Kodanda-Ramaswami's temple in Tirupati and his clerk performed Puja to this Deity for one time only.

ix) Sri Kapilesvaraswamy temple

This temple had only a general income of 50 Pulivarahas 11 Mailis and 20 Kasus or Rs. 200/-roughly and no contribution from dharmam etc., and hence there was no dharmakarta for it.

An Archaka and his clerk functioned in the temple. The guarding of the temple was the responsibility of the Karakanambadi Palegar. One puja was being performed.

x) Sri Hanumantaraya Swamy Temple, Tirupati

The information contained about this temple is interesting and is as follows:—

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Mustajaru Srinivasachari had the Idol sculptured for installation at Vedantapuram-Agraharam. There was no puja to It at that place, and further the village suffered from a fire accident; hence the villagers brought It from their village and stationed It on the way to the Kapila-Tirtham. At first a Bairagi (Viragi, a vagrant recluse of North India) was performing Its puja. A Gujarati of Madras came for the Darsanam of Lord Venkatesvara forty years ago (*i.e.*, about 1780 A.D.); he built the shrine with wooden pillars; and in Fasli 1209 (1801 A.D.) Sami Setti, the clerk of the Mustajaru at that time, sanctioned the ration, and the English Company, on its assumption of management, approved it, and it was in force, viz. puli 20-4-13.

xi) Sri Sanjivaraya swamy temple, Tirupati.

The next temple noticed was that of Sanjivarayasvami (Anjaneya as having brought the Sanjiva hill with the life-giving herb) standing in the north row opposite to Sri Hathiramji Matha in the High Road or Gandhi Road in Tirupati. The Idol was originally kept in the same vacant mantapam without puja. In Fasli 1204 (1795 A.D.) Amir Kesari Singh consecrated It and procured sanction for Its ration which was approved and continued by the English Company.

xii) Sri Manavala Mahamuni's temple, Tirupati.

This was a small temple but with definite items of income as follows:—

Nature	Pulivarahas	Mailis	Kasus
General income	2	22	8
Lease amount	3	3	41
Other income	34	1	29
	39	26	78

or Rs. 120/-(roughly)

Its Dharmakarta was Acharya-Purusha Viravalli Appalacharlu who was succeeded by Viravalli Arangan Varadayya. About 400 years ago he built a shrine in his inam land, beside the shrine of Sindhura (red powder-smeared)-Hanumantarayasvami on the way to Kapila-tirtham, and consecrated him. As the suburb at that place became destroyed, his descendant Konappachari brought it 200 years back and installed it in a shrine constructed in a mantapam

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

outside the second prakara of Govindarajasvami's temple in the Sannidhi (central) street.

xiii) Sri Nammalvar's shrine, Tirupati.

The income of this temple was 13 Pulivarahas and 2 Mailis, or Rs. 50/- roughly. There was no Dharmakarta and there was only one puja to it every day and a lamp at night. This temple is said to have been consecrated by Koneri Maharaya.

xiv) Sri Vedanta-Desika's shrine, Tirupati.

The general income of this temple was 9 Pulivarahas, 28 Mailis and 8 Kasus and land lease amount was 8 Pulivarahas, 33 Mailis, 16 Kasus. It had ubhayam income of 4 Pulivarahas 13 Mailis and 8 Kasus Making a total of Rs.85/- (roughly). The Dharmakarta was one Tatchari who performed puja once in the day.

About 60 years ago Mustajaru Srinivasacharlu constructed the sanctum and its walls and paved the floor and sanctioned the allowance to it from the Sarkar. The pujari at the time of this record, Seshadri Ayyangar on behalf of Madabusi Tamarapu Tatcharlu, laid the circuit round the sanctum with pillars. This shrine had inam land for ubhayams.

xv) Ul-Alvar's shrine

The income of this temple, barely sufficient for the oil of the lamp was Opulivarahas, 40 Mailis and 24 Kasus! The clerk of the Archaka of Govindarajasvami temple performed puja in it once in the day and again in the night. The paricharakas were Kandala Appalachari and Govindachari and served by turns. Four round tablets of cooked rice were offered in the day and night from Govindarajasvami's temple. The processional image of this Alvar was kept in the south side of the circuit around Govindarajasvami's sanctum (Pradakshinam).

xvi) The Three Mudal Alvar temple

The shrine of Peri-Alvar, Tondarapadi-Alvar and Tirupppani-Alvar was considered as a subsidiary one. The service to these three Alvars pertained to Kandala Appalachari and others, together with the service in the shrine at Alipiri (Alipadi, the lowest step in the flight of steps leading to Tirumala)

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

of Peri-Alvar. These were ancient shrines. About 300 years ago Ramaswami Maharayalu built the shrine and the gopuram (tower) and the prakaram (surrounding wall). About 150 years back, when a Lala came here, the great-grand-father by name Appalachari of this Paricharaka Appalachari brought the images of the two Alvars. Peri-Alvar and Tondarapadi-Alvar to Govindaraja pattana (Tirupati). The image of Tiruppani-Alvar was seized by the Panchamas (Harijans), while the main idol remained in the old shrine. Slight disfigurement happened to Tiruppani-Alvar and Tondarapadi-Alvar, and there was no puja for a long time to the main idols. Govindachari, with the permission of the Sarkar, installed them in the south mantapam in Govindarajaswami temple, provided wooden doorway and arranged for their offerings and lamp lighting.

xvii) Tirumangaiyalvar's shrine

The next ancillary shrine dealt with was that of Tirumangai-Alvar situated to the east of the road to Kapilatirtham. It was in ruins. Its management was that of the Chinna-Jiyangar. It was said to have been constructed by Krishnarayalu. There were no residential quarters near it, and, therefore, about 50 years ago the processional image was brought and kept with Peri-Alvar and others; and, in combination with them, it received puja, naivedyam and diparadhana. The main idol was disfigured.

xviii) Kulasekharalvar's Shrine

Then the shrine of Kulasekhara-Alvar was noticed also as an ancillary shrine. It was said to have stood to the west of the road to Kapila-tirtham, having been built by Ayodhya-Ramanuja Jiyangaru. It was managed by the elders. This shrine, too, having been far from the town and having been ruined, its processional image was brought and placed in the shrine of Peri-Alvar. Boyis (forest-dwellers) were rendering service in the shrine. Puja was conducted to it along with the other images.

ix) Tirumalanambi's Shrine

The shrine of Tirumalanambi in Govindarajaswami's temple had a general income of puli 1-38-67 and ubhayam income on behalf of Tolappachari of puli 25-12-49, or Rs.110/-(roughly). The service in it related to Tolappachari, and the puja was done by the clerk of the Archaka of Govindarajaswami temple once in the day and again at night. Round tablets of cooked rice were provided for him from Govindarajaswami's temple.

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

xx) Kurattalvar's Shrine

Then Kurattalvar's shrine was the next temple. Its general income was puli 3—39—0, and from lease puli 23—12—53, total puli 27-6-53, or a total of Rs. 120/- (roughly). The Archaka's clerk performed puja in it once in the day and again in the night, and Kurattalvar Anantachari rendered other service in it; and during both times of worship, four tablets of cooked food were offered. During the reign of Venkatapatirayalu, his guru (religious teacher) Doddacharya Bhattaru, a descendent of Kurattalvar, constructed a shrine and installed an idol of the Alvar in his own Agraharam with the assistance of his relations and also installed the idol of Tirumalisey-Alvar in the Agraharam known as Bhakti-sara-puram which later on became ruined. Then in the time of Mustajaru Raghunathacharlu, when Sayidu Mahammadu Khan visited this place, Krishnamachari of the Bhattar's family handed the sasanam (writ, probably an order for transference) to his son-in-law Madabusi Govindachari, who in the cyclic year Kilaka, transported the two idols to a mantapam in Govindarajaswami's temple and consecrated them.

xxi) Bhashyakar's Shrine

Bhashyakara's (Ramanuja's) shrine was the next temple. Its general income was puli 38-4-32, or Rs. 160/- (roughly). The puja in it was conducted by the Archaka in the noon and in the night with the offering of four tablets of cooked rice, and other service in it was rendered by Vengapuram Raghavachari on behalf of its honorary dharmakarta Pedda-Jiyyangaru; and the paricharaka was the recipient of the offered rice tablets. The shrine was constructed by Kadiya-Yadavarayalu, and Bhashyakara's relation and disciple Embaru installed Bhashyakara in it.

xxii) Tirumangaiyalvar's Shrine

The next temple was that of Tirumangai-Alvaru. Its general income was puli 4-14-61 and through abhayams puli 5-33-32, total being puli 10-3-13, or a total of Rs. 40/- roughly. The Archaka's gumasta (clerk) performed the puja in the noon and in the night and offered four tablets of cooked rice. The Kandala family man did other service in the shrine on behalf of its dharmakarta, Chinna-Jiyyangar, and received the rice tablets after offering, as his share. This shrine stood to the east of the road to the Kapila-tirtham and was in ruins. It was said that it was constructed by Krishnarayalu. Being ruined and solitary without human habitat nearby, the processional image was brought

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and lodged in the Peri-Alvar shrine, wherein, along with the other Alvars' images, puja was performed to it. The main idol was disfigured.

It was noted at the end of the document that the total number of Devasthanams dealt with was nineteen, since those of Peri-Alvar and the two others, of Tirumangai-Alvar and of Kulasekhara-Alvar, were grouped under the fifteenth shrine of Ul-Alvar, probably for the reason that these shrines were ruined and their main idols were maimed and their processional images were lodged in Peri-Alvar's shrine, which is situated at the entrance to Govindaraja's temple on the north side, adjoining its second prakara wall on the east.

IV. Kainkarya Patti

Two Kainkarya-Pattis were prepared, one in Fasli 1211 (1801 A.D.) and another in Fasli 1230 (1820 A.D.). The earlier one of Fasli 1211 incorporated the statements (kaifiyat) furnished by each service-holder, as to the kind of service he did, the emoluments in cash and kind he received, the lands and villages he held possession of and other relevant particulars. It enumerated the particular villages enjoyed by the four families of the Archakas, the two Jiyangars and the four Ekangis, the Sarkar-Archaka the Archaka of Sri Rama's temple, the seven families of Acharyapurushas, the Bokkasam-Sabha persons, the Tallapakam family, the Golla-charvakar, the Palle-charvakar, Mahant Janakidas, Dayaram Mahant of the Balakiram-Matham, the Karnams of Tirupati and Mangapuram, Karakambadi-Palegar, Krishnapuram-Palegar and Mamanduru Palegars. In addition to the income from villages and lands, the individuals of hereditary tenure of temple service from the Archakas to the Tallapakam family received honorarium and prasadam. The Jiyangars and Acharyapurushas were required to feed Vaishnava guests during festivals and also perform ubhayams in the temples and Alvars' shrines on special occasions, and the latter also to teach students; and these obligations were to be discharged besides their routine daily duty of reciting the Prabandham in the temples of Venkatesvara and Govindaraja. The Bokkasam Sabha men are not mentioned to have held any villages or lands.

The paid servants of the temple comprised the Uttara-Parupatyadar and 17 others. But there is no mention of the Parupatyadar in both the Pattis.

The Kainkarya-patti of Fasli 1230 only recounts the kaimkaryams (services) of the several persons, without referring to their lands and villages and emoluments.

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

The duties of the three palegars were to go on rounds in Tirupati upto Kapileśvara's temple, establish guard-posts on the different routes to Tirupati, look after the safety of the pilgrims to the temple and of the kanukas they brought.

V. Paimayishi account

The Paimayishi account prepared by the East India Company in Fasli 1227 is also an interesting document which gives the details of the several buildings and enclosures in the various temples. This was prepared by the Karnam of the respective places in Modi script and was signed by them and the then Serishtedar of the taluk office Alabdu Govinda Rao on 14th August, 1819A.D. This gives the denominations, measurements and the utility of the various apartments and structures in different temples. Broad details are as follows:—

1) Sri Venkatesvara temple

The following are noted:—

1. Garbha-griham (sanctum sanctorum)
2. Vimanam (dome)
3. Antaralam (walls, floor or roof)
4. Mukha-mantapam (front portico)
5. Manchapu-seva-griham (the apartment in which the cot is suspended from the ceiling for the bed of the Deity.)
6. Sri Ramachandrasvami-sannidhi.
7. Mukha-antarala-mantapam (front terraced or walled portico)
8. Ranga-mantapam (a pavilion for public show of functions and services to the Deity).
9. Mahamani-mantapam
10. Dolu-mantapam
11. Senai-Mudaliyar

This formed the central shrine. To the south-east of this group stood the following:—

1. Svayam-Pakasala or mel-potu (kitchen)
2. Kalyana-mantapam (pavilion for the performance of the marriage of the Deity).
3. A passage with a line of 10 stone pillars in front and three rooms behind, one for the lamp-lighter.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

4. Yagasala (sacrificial room for oblations to the Fire-God).

The Kalyana Mantapa is said to have consisted of a sculptured double-pillared Simhasana mandapa and a small shrine for lodging Lord Maliappan during Brahmotsavam and a small garbhagriha behind it. All these were supposed to be on a high platform to the south of the Vimana Pradakshinam.

The platform on the western side of the corridor contained the following:—

1. Raghoji Bhonsle's pallaki (palanquin)
2. Vahanalu (vehicles)
3. Vahanalu of the Nadigaddam family
4. Surapuram State's vahanams
5. Venkatagiri Raja's prasadam distribution
6. Padagala family's charge
7. Room for extraction of civet oil.

On the platform to the north of the Vimana Pradakshinam were rooms occupied by the following:—

1. Cooks,
2. The Mysore State for provisions,
3. The Matla Chief's people,
4. The Kaikala servant.
5. Vagapadi (offered panyarams),
6. Tallapakam musicians inscribed copper plates.
7. Sabha-ara (for keeping the Deities cloths)
8. Manchapu-ara (room for keeping the Deity's cot).
9. Kanuka-ara (room for keeping donations from pilgrims)
10. Bokkasam
11. Sandal-grinding room
12. Temple prasadam keeping room.

It is interesting to note from No. 6 above, that the copper plates of the Tallapaka family, which were said to have been discovered in 1922, were very well known to the East India Company. It is not known as to how the Devasthanam since lost sight of it.

In the Sampangi pradakshinam commencing from the Guard Gate at the entrance under the big front tower, the following are referred to.

1. Statues of Achyutarayalu and Krishnarayalu beside the east prakara wall;

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

2. Room for torches;
3. Room for keeping Mysore State's vehicles
4. Ranganayaka's kitchen
5. Shrine with a vimanam
6. Simhasana-mantapam
7. Pindisala (rice flouring room)
8. An unenclosed mantapam
9. A store-room with a small shallow well of oozing water called Viraja-nadi at its entrance
10. Panyaram preparing kitchen
11. Yamunottara where flower-garlands are tried
12. Suvarna-(golden)-mantapam with four storeys.

To the north of it was the Rajita mantapam.

The entrance gate is noted as 33 feet from east to west, 21 feet from north to south and 15 feet high with the gopuram of 3 tiers of plaster surmounted by Kalasam measuring 33 feet in length east to west, 21 feet breadth north to south and 51 feet in height.

The account next mentions the Tirumalaraya-mantapam as containing 54 pillars and built in three stages, comprising the upper-most simhasana-mantapam (for seating the processional Images) of black stone of 6 x 6 square feet with a Vimanam of plaster supported by four small pillars; the lower second mantapam with 30 pillars and measuring 33 Feet from east to west in width and 39 feet in length from north to south; and the third lowest one with 16 pillars and in extent 24 feet high, 33 feet long from north to south and 30 feet broad from east to west; and its pillars are beautifully sculptured.

It then refers to the Dhvaja-stambham-mantapam in front of the Tirumalaraya-mantapam with the gilded flag-staff and the Bali-pitham.

To the north of it is mentioned a brick mantapam of four pillars with cast image of Tondaramallu and others installed in it (Todaramalla).

Between this Tondramallulu's (the family) mantapam and the pula-bavi (the well into which the flowers and garlands on removal after decoration of the Deities are deposited so as not to be worn by any body) it specifies, on the east side, adjoining the Suvarna-mantapam, the Rajita-mantapam; and behind the Todaramallu-mantapam, the four pillared mantapam of 9 x 9 square feet containing the image of Venkatapatiraju.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

2. Sri Govindarajaswamy Temple.

In the Paimayishi account this temple is noted as a stone structure facing east and that the sanctum measures 15 feet east to west, 21 feet north to south and 12 feet in height. The icon is described as in a lying posture resting on the seshatalpa with the seven hoods covered with gilded copper plate. The account gives the interesting information that the image was formed by embedding the stone Image brought from Chitrakutam (Chidambaram) and also a Salagrama and by plaster from head to foot, and overlaid with silver plate from the pit of the stomach to the feet; and that above His pit was sculptured a figure of Chaturmukha brahma and that there was a stone Image of Sri Devi facing east, at His feet on the north side; a stone Image of Bhudevi on the north side facing south; and two stone images of the Rakshasa, Madhu and Kaitabha in a standing position at the north-east corner of His feet. In its pradakshina at the north-east corner Sena-Mudaliayar's shrine was said to have been situated, and the kanuka room at the south-east corner.

Adjoining the main shrine on the south was the temple of Tiruvandi-Yadavaperumal which did not have any puja. Two idols of Krishna and his Consort were said to have been enclosed in it.

The processional images of Sanjivarayaswamy were said to have been enshrined in a street opposite the temple of Pattabhiramaswamy. This idol along with that of Sri Lakshmana was said to have been brought from Patagudi i.e., the old shrine of Tirumangai-Alvar on the road to the Kapilathirtham. The account gives the measurement of pradakshinam as 66 feet long east to west, 34½ feet north to south and 12 feet wide with 30 pillars.

To the south-east of the Ranga mandapam, the kitchen was noted to be situated; to the west of it the flouring room; on its west side the shrine of Menjan-Venkateswara of a stone Image; to the west of this shrine the room containing the Images of the four Alvars, viz., Pedda-(Peri)-Alvar, Tirumangai-Alvar, Kulasekhara-Alvar and Tondarapadi-Alvar, together with the Images of Kodanda-Ramasvami (Sri Rama holding the bow) His Consort Sitadevi and His Brother Lakshmana; next to the Yagasala, and by its side the Kalyana-mandapam with a Vimanam for the presiding Deity underneath, with a shrine of Venkatesvarasvami in front in the east, and a shrine on the south of Nammalvar together with Gajendra-Varadaraja (Vishnu who graciously released the elephant-lord from the clutches of the crocodile) along with Lakshmi both mounted on the Garuda-vehicle.

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

On the east abutting the prakara wall was a long mandapam of one ankanam, about 5 or 6 feet wide space, containing the room of the bokkasam people at the north east corner, and next to it the kanuka room of the lessee of the kanuka, then the room of the pallo people keeping their articles and to its south and opposite to the Bali-pitham the shrine of Sanjivarayasvami. Over its mukha-mandapam in a chamber of $6 \times 6 \times 8$ cubic feet was enshrined the statue like the figure of Akkanna made of bricks and mortar.

The first prakara which enclosed all the structures was said to be 234 feet in the east, 183 feet in the north, the height of the granite stone being 22 feet with a coping of brick of 2 feet, the total height being 24 feet. The inner gateway in the east wall opposite to Tiruvandi-Yadavaperumal shrine was 24 feet towards east, 27 feet towards north, $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet height and with a surmounted gopuram of 24 feet in height.

To the north of the outer entrance was the Parupatyadar mandapam measuring 18 feet eastward and $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet northward. Adjoining the second prakara wall on the east was situated the Lakshmidēvi mandapam facing east with a pial of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length with steps leading to the top and which measured $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet towards east and 33 feet towards north enclosing a space with 8 ankanams with 8 pillars.

The account then gives details of a four-pillared mandapam on the south, and two four-pillared mandapams of the east to the second prakara of the temple. The dharmam of the matla chiefs was said to be in the central street further to the east.

The account then gives the shrines of other Deities of the following:

1. Tirumalanambi;
2. Bhashyakara (Ramanuja);
3. Kurattalvar; and
4. Tirumushi Alvar.

In the north row were said to be the following:

1. Flour room;
2. Shrine of Madhurakavi Alvar;
3. Mandapams on the three sides of a flower-garden;
4. Mandapam adjoining the outer gopuram; and
5. Upper first floor mandapam of 12 ankanams.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The adjoining outer gpouram in the east prakara wall of the second enclosure measured 33 feet northwards, 27 feet eastwards and 17 feet high with doorway on the floor and the tower above of brick and mortar of 33 feet in height. The second prakara walls were 215 feet eastwards, 181 feet northwards and 24 feet high.

3. Kodandarama Temple.

This temple was in the northern part of Tirupati. This was said to face west and built of stone. Its archaka at that time was one Pattu Tatachari. The garbha-griham was made of stone on a raised platform of two feet height and measured 24 feet square and 10 feet height with a vimanam above it of 20 feet in height. There were three icons of Kodandaramaswami, Sitadevi and Lakshmana and eight utsavamurtis. On the floor to the west of it were said to be kept copper icons of Vishvaksena, Anjaneya, Nammalvar and Bhashyakar i.e., Ramanuja.

In the snapana mandapam on the south side facing north was the shrine of Bhashyakara with two images of stone, one bigger and one smaller, in which were preserved the three Processional Images of Sri Venkatesvara and the Ubhaya-Nachcharlu, His two Divine Consorts and the Chakram belonging to the temple in Mangapuram situated in the region of the Pakalapalayam; and opposite to it on the other side was the shrine of Senadhipati (Vishvaksena) facing south.

Adjoining the snapana mandapam on the west was the asthana mandapam.

The account gives the measurements of prakara wall of granite which was said to be 345 feet eastwards, 174 feet northwards and 13½ feet height with a coping of 1½ feet of brick and mortar. The mahadwaram in the western prakara wall is also mentioned.

4. Nammalvar's Shrine.

This shrine was situated in the north row facing south and was built of stone. Its sanctum contained the stationary idol of Nammalvar, his processional image and the Image of Srinivasamurti (Venkatesvara) and Tiruppanalvar and the Images of Krishna, Rukmini and Satyabhama. To the south of the sanctum was the asthana-mandapam with the ranga-mandapam in its midst, of 48 feet eastwards, 63 feet northwards and 10 feet high. It is stated that the Taluk office was held in this mandapam then. The building was enclosed by a prakara wall of stone of 114 feet east-ward, 285 feet northward, 17 feet high and 3 feet thick.

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

5. Gangai-Kondan Mandapam.

It is mentioned that the Gangundra mandapam in the Ramachandrapuram Street in Tirupati was being used for Sri Govindarajasvami. The name of the pavilion was a corruption of the biruda Gangai-kondan of Rajendra Chola I. It was the halting place for a short while of Govindarajasvami during His procession in the festivals. In some inscriptions the northern part of the town around Kodanda-Ramasvami's temple was designated Ramachandrapuram. In this account it is seen that the limits of this suburb extended upto this mandapam after which the street is called Gangundra-mandapam street.

6. Some stray Temples.

The account also mentions the shrine of an Alvâr located to the west of the Malavada and a shrine of Chenna Krishnaswami to the south of Madigavada, the two Harijan colonies. These two do not appear to be in existence now.

7. Kapileswaraswamy Temple.

The account gives the measurement of garbha-griham of this temple as $6\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ cubic feet with a Swyambhu Linga.

To the south of the sanctum was a secret room $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ cubic feet, containing the processional Image of the Goddess, and the way to it was from the Goddess' sanctum adjoining it on the south, but it was shut up with a heavy granite slab and similar slabs over it and with bricks and mortar above them. Adjacent to the secret chamber on the west in the space of one ankanam was the self-revealed Kapilesvara. Underneath it was an anthill of 3 feet in height and over it were wooden Kamadhenu (divine wish-giving cow), its calf and Kapila-Mahamuni facing north as their protector. To its south was the shrine of the Goddess Kamakshi-amma. In front of them was the mukha-mandapam with the Nandi (bull) facing Kapilesvara, the Uma-Mahesvara Image on the north and Surya-Narayana Image and a small Vinayaka Image on the south, all the three facing west. In the north passage for circumambulation was located Chandikesvara. The Dvarapalakas stood in the outside ankanam; in its north chamber was Visvesvara facing south and in an almyra (shelf) in the south room were three stone Images of Shanmukhasvami and His two consorts Valli and Devayana. In the mandapam was a Lingam with a Panavattam and a small Nandi. To its west was the pial of mortar with the dhvaja-stambham standing in it.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

To the south of the mukha-mandapam was the ranga-mandapam, containing the Idol of Dakshinamurti and an image of Naga adjacent to its north wall.

On the east the kitchen was located. To its south in the open space a big Nandi of stone reclined facing north. In it were also shrines of Kalabhairava facing west together with His bhakta Guruvada, of Sahasra Lingeswarasvami with a Nandi in front, and of Kasi-Visvesvarasvami, Vighnesvara and Kalabhairava with a Nandi in front.

8. Sri Venugopalaswamy Temple.

This temple was said to be situated in the mandapam to the South of the Kapileswaraswamy temple. The nose of the Deity was said to have been mutilated. He was described as having Rukmini and Satyabhama on either side and two Dwarapalakas outside.

9. Rangamandapam.

To the north was said to be the Rangamandapam of the Kapila-tirtham measuring 6/6 ankanams square and 50 X 50 X 16 cubic feet with 49 stone pillars.

10. Lakshminarasimhaswamy Temple.

To the west of the west bank of the Kapila-tirtham situated in a cave was the image of the Lord Lakshmi Narasimhaswamy with a frame slightly damaged. Steps were supposed to descend into the cave.

11. Nammalvar's Shrine.

The shrine of Nammalvar, at the entrance to the Kapila-tirtham, with his stationary stone idol, was noted to contain the images of Nammalvar, Kurattalvar, Bhashyakara and Nadhamuni-Alvar and a small stone Image of Srinivasamurti (Venkatesvara); and the processional image of Nammalvar said to have been transported to Govindarajaswami's temple. For want of a door, its entrance was closed with a stone slab.

12. Alipiri Pedala-Mandapam and Puruveta Mandapam.

The account also refers to the stone mandapam at Alipiri (Adipadi, the lowest step in the flight of steps uphill) at the foot of the Hill and to the south

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

of the big gopuram (which was ruined later on) in which the feet of Venkatesvara are engraved in relief on a granite slab on the floor, hence known as the Srivari-Padala-mandapam; and to the parveta-mandapam to the east of Tirupati beside the road to Renigunta about a mile off.

13. Sri Padmavati Temple at Tiruchanur.

This famous shrine was said to be situated in Chiratanur, which was perhaps the same as Tiruchanur. It was said to face east and built of stone. The garbha-griham of the temple measured 10 feet east to west, 7 feet north to south and 8 feet height and with a vimanam over it of 8 feet in height. The icon of the Goddess was said to be a marvel in beauty. The Utsavamurti was said to be an equally attractive idol. There were also said to be images of the Goddess for the Uyyalaseva, another image of Sri Srinivasamurty, an image of Alaga-Tiruvengadasvami with the divine consorts Sridevi and Bhudevi on a pedestal under a prabha; an image of Tirumangai-Alvar; and three images of Sri Krishnaswami, Rukmini and Satyabhama.

In the pradakshinam around the sanctum are lodged in a chamber on the north side a main stone idol of Emperumanar (Ramanuja) and his processional image, both facing south; and in the room on the south side a main stone idol of Senadhipati, and images on Namalvar and Garudalvar (Garuda vehicle). Adjoining the pradakshina mandapam on the east was the asthana mandapam of 25 feet eastward, 36 feet northward and 11 feet high, stationing a decayed horse vehicle covered with gilded copper plate. To its east was planted the dhvajastambham of wood of 54 feet in height with the Balipitham to its east, and a wooden shed put up over them. To the east of this stood the ranga mandapam with 16 stone pillars on a pial 4 feet high of an extent of $24 \times 24 \times 8$ cubic feet.

14. Sri Krishnaswami's shrine.

To the south of the padmavati shrine with an entrance space of one yard stood the temple of Sri Krishnaswami built in stone.

Its garbha-griham measured $6 \times 6 \times 9$ cubic feet. Above its asthana mandapam hung a big bell. The sanctum enshrined the stationary stone Idols of Krishnasvami with two arms in Padmasanam facing east, Balabhadrasvami (Krishna's elder brother Balarama) with two arms in padmasanam of stone facing north, three standing processional images of Venugopalasvami, Rukmini and a Chakram.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

15. Alagu-Tiruvenkatanatha's shrine.

To the further south beside Krishnasvami's shrine stood the shrine of Alagu-Tiruvengadanathasvami of stone without puja. The shrine was in good condition. Its sanctum was 7×7×9 cubic feet. It enshrined the main Idol of Alaga-Tiruvengalanathasvami and was provided a pradakshinam, with an asthana mandapam to the east and a ranga mandapam further east containing a shrine of Garuda at the east end.

16. Nirali mandapam.

In the middle of the Padma-sarasu was the Nirali mandapam and the Zamindar of Karvetinagar was said to be performing the Teppotsavam every year which fell in the month of magha. Mention is also made of a tirthavari mandapam in which the Goddess was seated on the 9th day of kartika for tirtham.

17. Sri Suryanarayanawamy and Sri Venkatesvara.

To the east of the pond are said to be the shrines of Suryanarayanawamy with four arms and Sri Venkatesvara both facing west.

The account mentions a legend that this was said to have been built at the spot where Srivaru (Lord Venkatesvara) performed tapas to get back Lakshmi who had left the Lord.

18. Sri Varadarajaswami temple.

To the east of the village was said to have stood big temple of Varadarajaswami made of masonry and facing west, and without puja, and enclosing a shrine of Goddess Perundevamma facing east. The account gives information that the stones of the kitchen were used for building the temple of Goddess Padmavati. The measurements of the prakara wall which was of stone were 327 feet eastward and 177 feet northward, with a mahadvara gopuram of 36 feet eastward, 48 feet northward and 22½ feet height with a lower mortar of 5 storeys.

VI. THE DITTAM.

The dittam was the last document prepared by the East India Company laying down in minute detail the quantity etc., of the ingredients that went

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

into all the religious sevas to the Lord and also the nature, type and quality of remuneration to be paid to those partaking in it. With periodical changes now and then to suit the needs of changing times, this dittam is, by and large, still being followed in the Devasthanam and is still a basic document in the temple administration.

VII. Description of the daily routine of the temple in 1803 A.D.

The English translation of a report in Maratta language obtained by "Narain Rao," one of the assistants of Col. Mackenzie, in 1803 A.D. will be of interest as showing the temple routine, the manner of collecting fees from the pilgrims, "Parasha" as they are called by the temple people, and the role played by the Jiyangar and the Yekangies in the affairs of the temple, both religious and secular, at the commencement of the direct management by the company in 1801 A.D. The quaint grammar, spelling, and syntax of the original have been kept as it is in the following extracts. What they mean could easily be made out without any explanations.

The following concluding passage will be of interest, (since, unlike at present!) the temple never lost sight of the needs of the poor pilgrims.

"Those who are inhabitants of the place never pay for these ceremonials; but this money is reaped from the Perasha-Loke, Devotees or Pilgrims who arrive from different places to visit the God; however of such as are in distressed circumstances and have not wherewith to pay, nothing is required; and they are permitted to appear before the God etc., also all poor people; but from the rich and affluent they demand fixed sums and after paying it they permit them to go within.

The poor are not hindered from going up the Hill of Terumulla or from coming down; but the rich must get permission to go up the hill and if sometimes they continue to go up without order, they are stopt on coming down by the circar peons who watch the road and who will not permit them to go away without order.

Formerly 24 Doagannies (also termed as duggani and equal to two pies, and hence 24 dugganies would be equal to a quarter rupee of 192 pies), were collected in the custom house from each pilgrim excepting Bramins, Jogeas, Jungums, Byraggies and Dassries; but under the management of the honourable company this custom is abolished and 24 Doagannies are collected from each person indiscriminately."

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Extract No. 1

From the Maratta Memoir obtained there by Narrain Rao (1803).

(Mackenzie Collections: General: Dravida sthala Mahatyams Manuscript Translations & Reports Vol. XVI-50 P. 500 (a) to (d).

Daily early in the morning the Palleshwar comes to the mutt of the Great Jeeyengar (Senior Jeeyangar) and taking the key from the Mutt, he goes to the Pagoda and opens the door of the Voogranum by the order of the great Jeeyangar and delivers out the rice, grain, ghee, oil and other articles of daily expenditure to the Swayampakee (or cooks) ordering them to perform (prepare) the Tullaghee (Taligai) (that is to dress victuals) for the offering to the God: then leaving the Numbee (the performer of worship) and circar peons in the Pagoda the Pullavar goes to the Mutt, where the chief Jeeyangar is waiting after having bathed and performed the ceremony of supplication; the Gollavar then acquaints him that all are come to the Pagoda and that he is expected there; whereupon the Jeeyengar takes the key and accompanied by the Gollavar he goes round the Pagoda and prostrating himself, after receiving the Totee-Tirtham, he makes prostration to Bhushagar, thence going into the presence of God and first prostrating himself, he opens the door, attended by the Numbee, the Jeeyengar (Junior) and circar people who had locked it up on the former day. Then the Jeeyengar, the numbee and Gollavar go into the Garba-Graham bearing lights, shut the door named Bhungar Vakalee and afterwards enter into the Garbha-Goody. Examining the lamp of Brumma Deva and other lamps they put Ghee and lamp thread into the said lamps and taking off the flowers that are placed upon the cot, carry the brass images named Sreenivasamoortee within; they then examine the jewels, vessels etc., and perform the Aratee to the God; they then give the Teerta-Gundha-Abhayastum to the chief Jeeyengar: and when he goes within, they give the Teertum and sandal to the Gollar who accompanied him and holding a Deevettee or torch. On this, ordering the door of the Bhungar-Vakalee to be opened, the Gollar opens the said door; after which the wardrobe keeper comes and removes the cloths and pillows of the cot to the usual place. The Acharya-Purusha or learned men and the chanters of prayers, then come within with circar people and perform the Mungal aratee to God according to custom, after which they offer milk to the God.

The Great Jeeyengar then prepares the Mungalartee and gives it into the hands of the Numbee or Keepers of the temple; but if the Jeeyengar is not on the hill of Teeroomulla, then the Yakangee people who have no families

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

or his assistant prepares it and gives it to the Numbee, who receives it in his hand and holds a light before the God. Thereupon they give the Teertum to Jeeyengar and thereafter they give the Teertum to the rest of the persons present and desire them all to go out; after this they bring the Teertum and clean out the Gurbhagraha or sacred apartment and place the water of the Akasa Ganga and the water of Bungar-Bavee in their places within; then the Jeeyangar also places the perfumes within and brings flowers etc., from the flower garden.

They then begin the celebration of Teeravaradana or worship and after it is over they place the Tomala or string of flowers around the neck of the God and with sandal and other perfumes perform the Aratee (or ceremony of waving camphor) before the God. This shevah or service to the God, they call Tomala-Shevah.

Thereafter they bring the Idol Sreenivas Moorthi without to the Rungamuntup for the Calavoo (Koluvu) or celebration of the daily service and place him upon a chair and after placing lamps etc., before him they perform the act of Teeravaradana or Adoration to him of chanting a portion of the Vedam. They then perform the Yatra-Dhan or Donation to the Brahmins when the procession takes place and repeat before him the calendar of the day. The Goomastah of the Great Jeeyengar then enters the account of expenses and the remainder of the canikée or Nuzer and the offerings for Vahan or carriage to the God and clothes, jewels and whatever is offered to the God by the people since the morning of the last day until the doors of the Pagodas are locked up at night; he also takes down in writing an account of the behaviour of the people noticing whether they were more or less devout. All the accounts are read in the presence of Sreenivass Moorthi, as well as accounts of the expenditure of rice and other articles of food which is deposited in the storehouse.

The Taalapwak-walleh (or singers) then chant the hymns and while they perform the Mungal-Aratee (or waving of lighted camphor before the God,) they play music of various kinds; at that time they also hold up the chatree or umbrella, the chamaram and the looking glass to the God in like manner as these acts of respect are shown to the Rajah; and after distributing the prasadam to all present they carry Sreenivasa Moorthi within; they then perform the Sahastranama-Archana or ceremony of reciting in honour of Venkatachalapatty one thousand different names scattering flowers in the meantime and then offer food to the God, the Numbee should be near the God at this time; they then ring the first bell; they next call Jeeyengar within,

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and begin to pray the Prabandam Anasoondaun and distribute the Teertam and Shadagopa to the people; they give the Allavattam or Fan of the God to the people according to the custom.

After this they call in the Parasha (or Pilgrims) who come from different countries; when the Parasha offer the Canikee, a large silver cup is brought from the Gurba Graham and Yakangee taking the silver cup in his hand, receives the Canikee (or offerings) in the presence of God, in presence of Circar peons, the Jeeyangar's peons and company's sepoy's, peons and Gollahs. Meantime the Parputtagar, serishtadar and a Goomasta of the Jeeyangar remain without the door of the Bungar-Vakilee and after seeing the amount of the Canikee of the Parasha they send them into the Pagoda. A copara is also built at the Rangamundapam in which the Parasha deposit the offerings and there the circar peons attend. After the pilgrims have paid their adorations to the God, they send them all out and then go into the presence of the God and having adorned the Deity, the Yakangee takes the canikee in a silver cup and going to the Bungar Vakilee door with the circar peons, the Seristadar and the Goomastha of the Jeeyengar and the Stulla Gurnum take account of the Canikee and tie up the money in a bag and seal it with the Hanoomunt Moodra of the Jeeyengar's and also affixing the Sreenivasa Moodra of the circar, the Yakangee then delivers it into the hands of the Pullavar and after sealing the canikee received in the former night, they deposit it within with what they received now; both canikees being tied up in two bags they write a note upon them and send the bags of money with a letter advising whatever had passed in the last day to the Amuldar of Teruputty.

Thereafter the circar peons and Yakangee search without, all who were near the cup during the collection of the money; and also search the Numbers, the Swayampakee etc. in the door of the Bungar-Vakilee and whoever went within. Afterwards at 2'0 clock they close the Gurbha Graha and perform Teeravaradana or worship and at the second hour they shut the door and offer food to the God; and after offering the Teerta-Prasadam they return to their houses but the circar peons remain in the Pagoda watching with great care.

All who are desirous to pay their adoration to the God must stay in the Ranga Mundapam till they are permitted to go within; pilgrims that bring considerable offerings are brought by the circar peons and Yakangee of the Jeeyangars in the aforesaid manner to perform their adoration to the God and to offer whatever Canikee they design for the God; if any of the Pilgrims are desirous of seeing the God on ascending his vahanam, they pay according to the number of Vahanams exhibited at their desire excepting that of the Chariot and never less than two Pagodas for seating the God upon the Garooda.

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY.

Considerably distinguished or wealthy persons usually pay for having the God exhibited upon these Vahanams, as much as for the Annual Ceremony, and they exhibit all the ceremonies except the Dwajarahun, and Chariot Procession, and as often as they choose, so often the God is carried in Procession in the evening surrounded with numerous lights and lamps on all sides.

Night.

It is the duty of the Gollar to go to the Mutt of the Great Jeeyengar and announce to him the arrival of the Pilgrim at the Pagoda then the Jeeyengar and Numbee having bathed, both go to the Pagoda attended by the Circar Peons and sepoy and open the Gates. They examine and search on all sides and clean the place near the presence of the God and bring Tirumunjanum of water to bathe the God; thereafter the Great Jeeyengar goes to the place where the garlands of flowers are made up; he ties a piece of cloth to his nose and carries the flowers in a Basket upon his head; he then delivers the perfumes etc. into the hand of the Numbee, who offers them to the God. If any habiliments or Decorations are required for the God, it is the office of the Great Jeeyengar, to put it on with his own hand, and no other must lay hands on it. If the Great Jeeyengar is absent or out of the way the Junior Jeeyengar ought to officiate in like manner in his absence. The four or five yakangees who preside there, can alone perform the duties assigned to them and no other; when the God is daily bathed one of them takes the perfumes and offers them with his own hand to the God in the Gurbha-Goody; whatever comes from without should be taken by the Jeeyengar with his own hand, who gives it into the hand of the Numbee near the God; when any Pilgrim offers Canikee the Yakangee should receive the offering in his own hand and deposit it in the silver cup; it is his office also to take out the Teeravabharanum, or precious jewels of the God and deliver them into the hands of the Numbee.

These are the regulations at this place:

After the God is decorated with flowers and garlands which is called Tomala-Sevah and after smoking camphor is offered to the God, the Jeeyengar and Adhepeka, who recite the Vedum, all come without and begin to read the Prabundum, when they offer food to the God, Bells should be rung; also the place should be cleaned a second time and food offered to the God, the bells ringing meantime; thereafter they offer food to the Gods of the several Pagodas that are around the Great Temple.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

they continue to go up without order, they are stopt on coming down by the circar peons who watch the road and who will not permit them to go away without order.

Formerly 24 Doagannies were collected in the custom house from each pilgrim excepting bramins, Jogees, Jungums, Byraggies and Dassries; but under management of the honourable company this custom is abolished and 24 Doagannies are collected from each person indiscriminately.

Extract No. 2

A Particular Account of the Puncta Moortee or Five Images which are in the Stulum of Sree Venkatachellaputty.

1. Sree Venkatachella ~~Putty~~, the first Image of Bhugwant or God.
2. The Image of Malaypa, which comes out for the annual ceremonies also named voochava-bare.
3. The Image of Sreeneevas Moortee which is bathed daily and reclines upon a couch, he has also two other names shyana-bare and Stapana-bare.
4. The Image of Colavoo(Kaluvu) Sreeneevas Moortee which is daily bathed and sits in the Runga Mantapum to enquire into affairs he is named Colavoo bare.
5. The Image of Vengada Toravar which is brought out at day break once yearly on the day of counseeka Dwadesee and is carried again into the Pagoda before sunrise.
6. These five Images are representations of Bhugwant or God and no difference exists between them.

(Meckenzie Collections Manuscripts Translations and Reports Vol. XVI-51 page 501).

Extract No. 3

Yadast or Memoir of the Veeshasha Oochavum or Extraordinary Ceremonies performed yearly at the Devastan of Teroomallee in the Tirupetty Tallook.

Vol. XVI Mackenzie collection General-Dravida Stalla Mahatyams 1-page 501).

CONDITIONS OF TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN 19TH CENTURY

1. **Aunavaree Oochavum (Anivarastanam).**
2. **Vara-Letchmee Vratum.**
3. **Sravana Pournemah**
4. **Gocoolastamee Oochava** or Ceremonies performed on the Birthday of Kistanaswamy.
5. **Vootala Teeroonala.** Ceremonies representing Kistnaswamy breaking down the Butter and Tyre Pots of the Gopis suspended by cords from the roof of the house.
6. **Ganesha Chatoorty.** Ceremonies on the birthday of Genesha.
7. **Ananta Chatoordasee.** Ceremonies performed in honour of Vistnoo in the month of Alpissee on the 14th of Skookla Putchem.
8. **Deepavelli Oochava.** Ceremonies performed on the Festival of Deepavelly.
9. **Causika Dwadasee.**
10. **Swamy Pooshkurnee Bharalatanva.** Ceremonies of filling up the sacred Pool of Swamy Pooshkurnee on a stated day.
11. **Carteeka Pournemah.** Lamp ceremonies performed in the month of Carteeka at the full moon.
12. **Chacra Teerta Oochava.** When the Swamy is carried in procession to the sacred Pool of Chacra-Teerta once a year on the day of Mookootee.
13. **Danoor Masa Pooja.** When the God is worshipped at day break for the whole month of 30 days.
14. **Teroovadana Oochava** Ceremonies performed for 25 days in the month of Margali.
15. **Premacalaha Oochava (Pranayakalaha).** Ceremonies representing a pleasant quarrel between the God and the Goddess.
16. **Tunni Ramdda Oochava.** Ceremonies performed in the sacred Pool of Teravadan-Teerta on the last day of the Teroovadana (No. 14).
17. **Mookotee Oochava.** Ceremonies performed on the day of Mookotee.
18. **Sancarantee Oochava.**
19. **Rama Kistan Teerta Mookotee.**

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

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| 20. Rutha Sapatamee
Oochava (Ratha
Saptami). | Ceremonies performed on the day of Rutha
Saptamee. |
| 21. Sivaratri Chatra
Paalaka. | Ceremonies performed to the Chatra Paalaka
or Guardians of the Holy Place. |
| 22. Covil Allawar
Teeromunjana. | In the month of Pungoonnee when sandal
powder is rubbed over the Davool or Temples
in the sunnadee or presence of the God. |
| 23. Sumvacharadee
Oochava. | Ceremony on the commencement of the
New year. |
| 24. Sree Ram-Nowmee
Oochava. | Ceremonies on the birthday of Sree Ram. |
| 25. Bhashagar Oochava. | Ceremonies for nine days in honour of
Bhashagar. |
| 26. Chaitra massa
Neet Oochavum | Daily ceremonies for the whole month of
Chaitra. |
| 27. Vassunt Oochavum. | Ceremonies performed in the month of
Vyshaka. |
| 28. Narasimha Jayentee
Oochavum | Ceremonies on the birthday of Narasimha. |

Relinquision of Government Control over the Tirumala Temple and administration by Mahant etc. upto date

Introduction.

The Court of Directors in England of the English East India Company strongly resented the participation of the Company's Officers and men in the idolatry conducted in Hindu temples by reason of its management of these religious institutions and apparently to placate the religious sentiments of the people through seeming non-interference in them, ordered its relinquishment of their administration. This order came into effect in 1842-43 A.D., in the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria.

Much valuable work was done by the British civilian officers, in systematising the accounts, in regulating the establishment, in ascertaining and registering the innumerable inams granted to the temple and in taking inventories of its wealth in the shape of money, jewels and other property and in organising the administration in all its branches. An instance of embezzlement of the temple collections occurred in 1818 A.D. and consequently rigorous measures were adopted to check frauds. Mr. Bruce, the Commissioner who investigated into these cases, framed a set of rules which were adopted and issued as "Rules for management of affairs connected with the Devasthanam on Tirumalai and conduct of servants attached to the establishment of the said Devasthanam". The Parapatyagar now figures as a Joint Treasury Officer with the Tahsildar. The Jiyangar, who was hitherto concerned with assisting the Archaka in the ritual of the temple, is for the first time associated with the secular control. While the original purpose of the rules, for preventing embezzlement of the funds, does not appear to have been achieved, these rules laid the foundations for the later strife in the affairs of the temple.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

II. LORD AUCKLAND'S RELINQUISHMENT OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION.

The Government of Lord Auckland decided that "the Government Officers should be relieved from the management of the lands and control of funds and affairs of all religious endowments whatsoever". Accordingly Collectors were asked in 1841 to submit proposals to hand over the temples to selected persons. This sudden change in the attitude of the rulers appears to have been due to the pressure from Christian Missionaries. Their feeling of bitterness is brought out by Marshman, who was a missionary himself, in the following passages from his *History of India* (Vol. III).

"It (Lord Auckland's administration) was (however) rendered memorable in the history of India by the termination of the connection which the Government had maintained with the establishment of idolatry which was a scandal to the pious Christian and offensive to the religious Hindu. The views of the Court of Directors on the subject of religious observances after their functions had been limited to the Imperial duty of governing India in 1833 were communicated to the local authorities in an able despatch drawn up by Mr. Charles Grant, the President of Board of Control. The natives of India were assured that the Government would never fail to protect them in the exercise of their privileges in all cases in which their religious rites and offices were not flagrantly opposed to rules of common humanity and decency. But interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and in the arrangement of their ceremonies was to cease. The Pilgrim tax was every-where to be abolished. Fines and offerings were no longer considered public revenue and no servant of the Company was to be engaged in the collection, management or custody of them. In all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices and their ceremonial observances, the natives were to be left entirely to themselves. The orders were tardily obeyed in Bengal.

At Madras which from the obtuse feelings of its public functionaries in a long and unbroken succession had come to be designated 'The benighted Province', a morbid homage had been paid for half a century to native superstitions and it required an obnoxious missive from the Court of Directors, of which Mr. Butterworth Bayley was the Chairman, to suppress the attendance of troops and military bands at idolatrous festivals, the firing of salutes on the birthdays of the Gods and the decoration of the images and the presentation of offerings on the part of the East India Company".

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The Government were not only managing the Tirupati temple but all temples in the Presidency. The total number of temples in North Arcot under the management of the Government were 188 including Tirupati Hill Pagoda. The average revenue for ten years proceeding 1841 A.D., from all temples, except Tirupati, was Rs. 32647 and the Tasdik disbursement for them Rs. 27277. The average receipts from Tirupati temple in the same period were Rs. 109873 and the disbursements Rs. 32528. Proposals were sent up in respect of all temples, except Tirupati, by the middle of 1842 A.D. selecting most of the trustees from Manigars and karnams and mirasdars of the villages concerned and given effect to by the end of the same year. The transfer of the Tirupati temple presented many complications and was consequently delayed. "It was opposed in the most decided manner by every member of its institution. They termed the proceedings as unjust and expressed their resolution to withstand it to the last".

III. Collector's Scheme for the Temple Administration.

The Collector (Mr. G.M. Ogilvie) complained "no persuasion, I found, or reasoning, could effect a change in the resolution, they had taken. The management of the pagoda, they said, had been in the hands of the ruling power from ages back, the innovation contemplated was contrary to laws, established customs and if persisted in, religious worship in the temple would cease." His annoyance at the people not realising the change in the policy of the Government, of transferring power over institutions to them and not helping him to set up a proper agency to take charge of the temple is expressed thus: "In stating this to be the feeling of the body politic of Tirupati my intention is to show that we can expect no co-operation from those immediately connected with this pagoda and in view of the difficulty of obtaining this, I can only propose a system of management which if entered upon even by compulsion, should uphold the pure administration of its affairs." "If the measure is to be carried through, nothing short of at once withdrawing Government interference, will tend to rouse into action the thinking properties of these sluggish and bigoted priests who keep themselves immured around this temple, hid from all sight and scarce to be traced out by enquiry. There they reside and spend their existence in inert carelessness, enjoying the produce of their lands and villages, secure in the administration of their worship, kept pure by a Government zealously recognising all their rights and careful of their religious feelings and prejudices. To such, the change must be anything but pleasing and to keep things as they are, consonant of course, to their natural notions of ease and security."

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

His solution was "a managing committee composed of the jeeyangar, poojaries and priests who were seven in number, a general committee of a sufficient number of men of unexceptionable character from the town, and the two Zamindars of Kalahasti and Karvetnagar to be elected patrons or honorary members of the managing committee."

The Board of Revenue, however, could not agree to this scheme, among others, on the main ground "that persons in the position of hereditary servants of the temple were obviously unfitted to be raised from the situation of its subordinate members to that of its absolute and almost uncontrolled masters."

They accordingly called for fresh proposals from the next Collector who had taken charge meanwhile. From his report, dated 17th December, 1842 A.D., it is found that the original objections against the relinquishment of Government control had disappeared and that the Mahant and the Head Jiyangar of the temple had applied to be appointed as Dharmakartas, the Jiyangar soliciting the office either alone or in conjunction with the Mahant and the Mahant desiring to be appointed alone, expressing aversion to be associated with the Jiyangar.

The Rajah of Karvetnagar was willing to exercise supervision. The Collector invited the Maharajas of Mysore and Venkatagiri to take up the management but they were unwilling to accept the responsibility. The Head Jiyangar claimed the office of Dharmakarta on the ground that he was pontifical successor of Ramanuja who had effected certain reformations in the pagoda and that when the Commissioner, Mr. Bruce, drew up his rules for the management of the temple after his enquiry into the empezzlements of temple funds, which occurred in 1818, the Jiyangar was recognised as vested with large authority. The Collector carefully examined these claims and dismissed them stating that.

"It was not mentioned anywhere that the Jiyangar is to have any authority beyond that of dismissing his own gumasta. His attendance is required on certain occasions specified, in common with others, for purposes of efficiency, but beyond this there is nothing on which this claim can rest.

The question of fact being thus clear, a consideration of the first ground set forth is not called for, which whether traditional or otherwise, false or true, cannot affect the fact that the Head Jiyangar has not been Dharmakarta. The Jiyangar is however a person of considerable importance and though the specific grounds on which he rests his claims are to be rejected, there ought not to be any bar to his claims to be appointed Dharmakarta, if other considera-

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

tions favour. On the present occasion however his nomination to the office of Dharmakarta is out of question. The Board had decided on sufficient grounds that it is not expedient on the first change to raise a ministerial officer of the Pagoda to an office like the present (Dharmakarta) with large powers. The Acharya Purushas or reciters of the Veda have urged their objections against the nomination of the Jiyangar. The wish of the Jiyangar to be associated with the Mahant is equally difficult as the Mahant will not agree to this arrangement".

His choice of the Mahant for the office of the Dharmakarta was freely attacked by the Jiyangar before the Board and the Government and we find the next Collector Mr. I. Goldingham, in letter No. 22, dated 13-2-1843, justifying the choice of the Mahant made by his predecessor.

"The Head Jiyangar considers the Mahant to be disqualified from his not being connected with the Pagoda, from the separation from the world enforced by his order and from being a stranger and opposed to the worship of the temple. He can urge nothing against the respectability of the Mahant. The Zamindar of Karvetnagar is objected to on account of his insolvency. It is manifest that the main object of the Jiyangar is to obtain the appointment for himself. On the former discussion of the claims and views of the respective parties, the Jiyangar expressed a wish to be associated with the Mahant in management; contrary to the sentiments then entertained, he now sets forth want of qualification in the Mahant. It is urged by the Jiyangar that the Mahant is a stranger and opposed to the worship of the temple. The Mahant has been at Tirupati for about 30 years. He is a gowda Brahmin from Bengal, is a follower of Vishnu and is in no way concerned in the distinctions of Tengala and Vadagala. The temple at Tirupati is common to all followers of Vishnu and Siva and does not recognise the Tengala and Vadagala distinctions. The temple and its worship is held in peculiar veneration by the Mahant.

From his being in no way mixed up with the Tengala and Vadagala distinctions, a more fit selection on these grounds could not perhaps have been made than that of the Mahant; celibacy being the rule of his order, is no ground of disqualification. He mixes freely with others and, in person made known to me his views in regard to the management; not so the Jiyangar; he does not personally appear before me. He cannot enter the kutchery, most places beyond the limits of the Pagoda are to him places of pollution".

In answer to the Board's query whether it was expedient that "so important a charge could be safely committed to one individual however respectable,"

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the Collector further stated "If a competent individual is found to whom the management can be entrusted, the temple and the public will have the protection of the Courts to look to, in addition to the fitness and respectability of the Manager. Thus, ample provision will be made against innovation or malversation. The Zamindars including Rajah of Mysore have declined to have any connection with the management of the temple and there are no persons at present, whose position in society would entitle them to a favourable consideration of their wishes, who have come forward to take a part in the management. The Mahant has positively declined to act with the Jiyangar. I have endeavoured to bring about an arrangement whereby the Mahant and the Jiyangar might jointly assume charge but without success". "Among other reasons it is urged by the Mahant that the Jiyangar does not hold his office on a hereditary tenure, that he is a servant of the pagoda like other officials, enjoying the monthly allowance of Rs. 47-4-0 and is removable at pleasure".

Summing up his arguments he states "First, the argument from general experience in favour of a sole manager, the impracticability of a joint management on the present occasion and the confusion that is likely to follow if such is attempted, point out the expedience of placing the management of the temple, on its being given up by the Government, in the hands of one individual. The future will provide for itself according to the circumstances of the time; secondly, any better selection than the Mahant could not be made. In no way mixed up with the services of the temple, at the same time deeply interested in its worship and prosperity, not identified with the tenets of the temple on the Tengala and Vadagala question, looked up to and respected by the community in general and enjoying much personal consideration, there is every guarantee that the rights of individuals will not be infringed and the interests of the temple will be fully promoted."

The Board and the Government were only too ready to approve this arrangement as their main object was to find somebody to whom they could transfer the charge of the temple and escape the suspicion of the Central Government, that they were unwilling to forego the rich income of the temple from the general revenues. Mahant Seva Doss took charge as Vicharana-karta of the Tirupati-Tirumalai Devasthanams in September 1843 A.D., and the temple were under the control of the Mahants of the Hattiramji Mutt till the enactment of the Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Act IX of 1933 (amended by Act XII of 1939.)

Accordingly Sri Venkatesvara's temple, together with the auxiliary temples of Sri Govindaraja, Sri Kodanda Rama and Sri Kapileswara in Tirupati

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and of Sri Padmavati in Tiruchanur, was handed over in September, 1843 A.D. to the charge of the then Mahant Sri Sevasada of Sri Hathiramji Matha in Tirupati, designated the Vicharanakarta (administrator) of the temples, after the execution of Muchchilika (agreement) dated 21-4-1843 A.D., to carry on the management through successor-disciples—but without any capital to run the administration—and to carry on the routine worship and offerings in the several temples. After strong representations a sum of Rs. 5,000 was placed in his hands for the purposes.

It was believed that, out of the annual revenue collected from the temple by the Company through farming its income upto 1843, there remained a balance of 40 lakhs of rupees with it in 1843 A.D. The late Sri A.S.Krishna Rao, an Advocate of Nellore, who was a member of the Madras Legislature, raised this point a number of times in the Legislative Council in the twenties of this century and pleaded for the restitution of the amount to the Tirupati Devasthanam. The Government of Madras, after giving some vague replies for a time, ultimately denied, as is usual with all Governments, having any account at all relating to it.

IV. TIRUMALA TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM UNDER THE MAHANTS

Generally speaking the administration of the Tirumala Temple by the Mahants was satisfactory and there was all round noticable improvement in the repairs and renovation work of the temple and in the facilities offered to the pilgrims.

However, as it is unavoidable in such an organisation, the entry of the Mahants into the administration started an era of continuous strife, between them and the vested interests in the temple, resulting in an unending chain of civil and criminal cases. The narrowness of outlook of both the parties resulted in not only dragging the name of this ancient shrine before courts, but in colossal waste of temple funds, as the final courts of appeal had invariably ordered the payment of costs of both parties from the temple funds. Charges of misappropriation and mis-application of the funds and breach of trust were the chief subjects of these litigations. The period of the first Mahant Seva Doss from 1843 to 26th Feb. 1864 (when he died) was the only spell during which the temple affairs were not taken before courts.

While, the rules framed in 1822 by the Commissioner Mr. Bruce which first gave status to many to be associated with the secular administration of

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the temple and the suggestion in Mr. Goldingham's letter dated 13-2-1843 that the temple and the public will have the courts to look to, laid the foundations for future strife, the badly framed Religious Endowment Act XX of 1863 gave zest to litigations against the temple the first series commencing from 1864 A.D. The extent of the waste of temple funds in these contests can be judged from a sample entry in the temple accounts for F. 1283.

"As per orders on the above said petitions suits in Nos. 14 and 18 of 1867 were filed in the Chittoor Zillah Court against the Devasthanam Vicharanakarta by (1) Appan Alagia Manavala Ramanuja Chinna Jeeyangarvaru and (2) Adiyapakam Chakravarthi Rangacharlu and Suit No. 17 of 1867 by Parakala Ramanuja Ekangi.

Expenditure for filing written statement and defending the suits in the said court—Rs. 52,258/6/2".

V. LITIGATION DURING THE TIME OF THE MAHANTS.

Dharma Doss succeeded Seva Doss in 1864 A.D. A decree was passed against him directing him to make good to the temple a sum of Rs. 2,25,457/14/0 from his personal property. His successor Bhagavan Doss came to the office in 1880 A.D. and continued in it till 1890 A.D. He was prosecuted for removing gold coins and precious stones buried during the consecration, by former kings, under the Dvajastambam (Flagstaff). on the pretext of refixing it. He was found guilty of having misappropriated temple funds to the extent of 15 lakhs and was convicted and sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 3 years which was reduced on appeal to 18 months. His successor Ramkishore Doss was also prosecuted for misappropriation of fifty thousand rupees, and before the suit for his dismissal from the office could be disposed of, he was murdered. The loans granted by Bhagvan Doss on the mortgages of the Zamindaries of Karvetnagar and Kalahasti were good investments, though these two ancient zamindaries themselves have been wiped off the district map as a consequence of these borrowings.

An illuminating commentary on the selection of Mahants for this office and the character of their management is furnished in the judgment in O.S.No.14 of 1867 (pronounced in 1869). "The defendant (Mahant) Dharma Doss in this case, I consider to be in a false position altogether in his secular capacity of Manager of the Tirupati Pagodas, which was not of his own selection but forced upon him as it were, by the election of his predecessor who again was appointed under an act of legislature. In this same false position it is evident,

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

his successor by election, as ascetic like himself, must also find himself on his succession. This I consider must continue to be the case until a radical reform is effected by some other act of legislature, either by reverting to the system of Government management, which while it lasted proved apparently most successful and efficient as well as economical, or of putting the management of Pagodas on some better footing than under the control of and superintendence of ascetics, who are essentially men not versed in business or in the ways of the world, for it cannot be expected that one ascetic can be a better secular manager than another".

In the appeal preferred by Chinna Jiyangar to direct the removal of this Mahant, the Madras High Court declined to order his removal for the following interesting reasons: "That he committed fraud, there is no doubt; that in the matter of the loan to the Zamindars that fraud is very gross; there can be little doubt that his predecessors defrauded before him and his successors would commit fraud also, there is little doubt. It is not a question of replacing a dishonest man of substantial means by one certainly as dishonest, but more hungry". How true this intuition was, will be seen from the reckless character of the successor, Bhagvan Doss. Again Suits No. 31 of 1898 and 10 of 1899 were filed before the District Judge, North Arcot, against Ramakishore Doss that he received bribes to the extent of fifty thousand rupees for granting leases of the landed properties of the temple or showing favour to the contractors. Suit No. 10 of 1899 was for his removal from trusteeship and Suit No. 31 of 1898 was for the settlement of a Scheme for the management of the temple. During the pendency of the suit, Ramakishore Doss was murdered; so the suit for his removal became infructuous but the other suit for the settlement of a Scheme was decided and the Decree passed by the Judge was the subject of Appeals No. 236 of 1901 and 38 of 1902 before the High Court, Madras. This was disposed of in *Prayag Dossji Varu, Mahant versus, Tirumala Srirangacharlu* (28 Madras pp. 319 to 328) sanctioning a revised Scheme but this was again contested before the Privy Council which framed a new Scheme.

VI. NATURE OF THE TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION FROM COURT AND THE SCHEME FORMULATED BY THE COURTS

The following extract from the judgment furnishes not only the scheme but a summary of the character of the administration of the Mahants upto 1907

"1907, February 3rd—Lord Macaghten—

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

"The state of things which made a scheme necessary and the earlier history of the Institution are summed up in the following passage taken from the judgment of the High Court:—

'The temple of Sri Venkatesvara in Tirumalai or Tirupati in the North Arcot District is a very ancient Hindu temple to which worshippers resort from all parts of India and is in receipt of an annual income of between two and three lakhs of rupees. Prior to the establishment of the British Government, the management of the institution was directly under the ruler of the country for the time being. After the advent of the British, the management passed into the hands of the East India Company, and subsequent to the enactment of Regulation VII of 1817 of Madras Code, it was carried on under the control of the Board of Revenue through the Collector of the District. With reference to a despatch of the year 1841 from the Court of Directors ordering the immediate withdrawal from all interference on the part of the officers of Government with native temples and places of religious resort, the management of the temple was in 1843 made over to Seva Doss, the head of a Mutt called Hathiramji Mutt situated in the town of Tirupati at the base of the hill on which the important shrine stands. In the 'Sannad' by which this transfer of management was effected, it was provided that 'Seva Doss' successors in the Mutt should be his successors as Vicharanakartha or Manager of the temple. Seva Doss having died in 1864, Darma Doss succeeded him and on 'Darma Doss' death in 1880, Bagvan Doss became Manager and continued so till 1890. From 1890 to 1894 Mahbir Doss was Manager. And from 1895 to 1900 Ramakishore Doss, the defendant in the two suits Nos. 31 of 1898 and 10 of 1899 on the file of the North Arcot District Court held the management; and on his death, pending the litigation, the present Mahant, as the head of the Mutt is styled, succeeded to the office of the Manager and was brought on the record as legal representative of Ramkishore.

'Now when in 1843 the management was transferred to 'Seva Doss,' it was no doubt expected that the management by the Mahant would prove satisfactory but the history of what took place subsequent to 'Seva Doss' death, is, to put it shortly, a record of waste and embezzlement'.

In these circumstances the District Court settled a Scheme. The Scheme was amended by the High Court on appeal. As amended it was still not satisfactory to the parties most concerned and the Mahant appealed to his Majesty in Council. The principal objections urged on the appeal were (1) that the effect of the Scheme would be to lower the position of the Mahant, and weaken his authority, and (2) that, although there was no surplus in hand

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

nor any immediate prospect of a surplus, the Scheme provided for the application of surplus revenue, devoting it to objects admirable, perhaps in themselves but somewhat foreign to the purposes of the Institution. It was pointed out that these provisions were unnecessary at present and likely to prove embarrassing in the future.

The appeal to this Board was heard *ex parte*. But their Lordships had the benefit of Sir Robert Finlay's official experience in similar matters in this country. After a full discussion in Court their Lordships, with the assistance of the learned Counsel engaged, have settled the following Scheme which will, they think, meet the exigencies of the case without impairing the authority of the Mahant as the duly constituted Manager of the Institution.

Scheme.

1. A Treasurer to be appointed by the District Court at a salary.
2. All funds to be in the custody of the Treasurer. Rules to be framed by the District Court to ensure the proper receipt and custody of all offerings, income and funds and investment of any surplus and to prevent misappropriation and to ensure the proper management of any estates or other properties or investments.
3. The Vicharanakartha, two months prior to the commencement of every year, to prepare and file in the District Court a budget of the expenses to be incurred in the ensuing year.
4. The Treasurer to put the Vicharanakartha in funds for all disbursements according to the budget and for any further expenditure deemed necessary by the Vicharanakartha but unless by leave of the District Court such further expenditure not to exceed Rs. 5,000 during any one year.
5. The Vicharanakartha within three months after the end of each year, to cause to be prepared and filed in the District Court a detailed account of receipts and disbursements of the year. The accounts to be audited by an auditor to be appointed by the District Court. The remuneration of the auditor to be fixed by the District Court and paid from the Devasthanam funds. An abstract of the said accounts prepared and certified by the auditor to be published in such manner as the District Court shall direct.
6. All surplus income to be invested for the benefit of the temple.
7. No immoveable property of the temple including lands held on mortgage lease or any other right to be given on lease for more than five years mortgaged or sold by Vicharanakartha, except with the sanction of the District Court.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

8. No jewels or other property of value to be sold without the sanction of the District Court.

9. Subject to this scheme the Vicharanakartha's position to remain as before.

10. Liberty for the Vicharanakartha and any person interested to apply to the District Court with reference to the carrying out of the directions of this Scheme.

11. Liberty for the Vicharanakartha and any person interested from time to time to apply to the High Court for any modification of this Scheme that may appear to be necessary or convenient.

The costs of all parties of this suit, including the charges and expenses of the Vicharanakartha properly incurred, the costs of the appeal to the High Court and the costs of the appeal to His Majesty in Council to be submitted to the District Court and as approved by the Court to be paid and retained out of the funds of the Devasthanam.

VII. THE PRIVY COUNCIL JUDGEMENT ON THE DIVERSION OF TEMPLE FUNDS FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

The importance of the Privy Council decision is that it did not approve even the very modest scheme of the High Court which permitted the diversion of the surplus funds to the objects specified below.

"Proceeding on the Cypress principle the following are the objects on which both sides are agreed that the surplus funds may be appropriately spent:—

1. The establishment of a college in Lower Tirupati for the promotion among Hindus of a knowledge of the Hindu religion and shastras such college to be styled "The Sri Venkatesvara Vidyasala" with a library attached and with suitable buildings inclusive of residential quarters for the teaching staff as well as hostel accommodation for students who may be permitted to remain in the premises of the college, the annual expenditure in the up-keep of the college not exceeding, until further orders, the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees.

2. The distribution of prizes annually to persons possessing proficiency in the one or other or the various Hindu shastras to an extent, until further orders, not exceeding rupees twelve thousand. Rules for the management of the college and the award of prizes shall be made by the trustees from time to time subject to the approval of the District Court.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

3. The foundation and maintenance of a hospital on the hill for the relief of the numerous pilgrims and worshippers visiting the place.

4. The construction and maintenance of a choultry or rest-house in the same place for the use and accommodation of all classes of pilgrims visiting the shrine.

5. The introduction of good water supply on the hill.

6. The improvement of the road communications to the shrine.

The last Mahant Sri Prayag Dossji varu was the most enlightened of them. He carried out several useful measures of permanent benefit to the temple. He improved the Sopanamargas (flight of steps) to the temple, repaired Gopuras, constructed choultries and tanks for the use of pilgrims and improved the sanitation, water supply, lighting and the roadways leading to the temple. He also gilded the Vimanam of the central shrine. We owe the valuable volumes of the Devasthanam inscriptions to his liberal spirit.

The main ground on which the Mahants were chosen to the office was their freedom from sectarian bias. It must be stated to their credit that, in spite of all their shortcomings, they strictly upheld the traditions of the temple as an institution common to all denominations of the Hindus. The judgments in all cases, at all levels, show that the costs were invariably debited to the temple funds and this factor alone will serve as illuminating commentaries on the benefits conferred on the temple, by litigation and the local vested interests. The costs to the temple were always several times more than the sums misappropriated and these litigations have only further impoverished the temple.

VIII. THE SIX MAHANTS AS VICHARANAKARTAS.

From 1843 to 1933 A.D. six generations of Mahants by discipleship exercised authority as the Vicharanakartas of the Devasthanams. The temple inscriptions relate a few services rendered by three of them. The first Mahant-Vicharanakarta Sevasada renovated the Svami-Pushkarini enclosing the two major pools, Sri Varaha-tirtha and Srinivasa-tirtha, and comprising the Markandeya, Agni, Yama and Agastya-Rishi, Vasistha (Rishi), Varuna (God of rain), Vayu (God of wind), Kubera (God of wealth), Galava (Rishi) and Sarasvati (Goddess of learning), tirthas, (sacred pools), in all 9 tirthas, in the cyclic year Saumya, Saka year 1771, on Thursday, 31 st August 1849 A.D. (No. 350-T.T.). Then he also renewed the float festival for Srinivasa (Venkatesvara) and Sri Alamelunga (Padmavati Lakshmi) together.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The inscription composed in Sanskrit prose is written in Telugu characters, and a copy of it, (No. 351-G.T.) is inscribed in Devanāgarī characters also.

The next Vicharanakarta, Sri Mahant Dharmadasa, the disciple of Mahant Sevasada, renovated the steps of Kapila-tirtham and the mantapams on its east and west banks in Saka 1787, Raktakshi, on 10—2—1865 A.D. (No. 209—G.T.T.). He is recorded in a Telugu-Sisamalika verse in No. 382—T.T. to have constructed the outer entrance gopuram of Sri Venkatesvara's temple, known as padikavili- (guardsmen on duty)-gopuram, together with some mantapams near it, in the cyclic year Bahudhanya on 11—9—1878 A.D.

In the regime of the sixth and the last Vicharanakarta, Sri Mahant Prayagadasa, his brother disciple Ramalakshmanadasa fixed the golden vase over the Vimana of Sri Venkatesvara's sanctum in the Kaliyuga year 5010, cyclic year Kilaka, on 30—9—1908—A.D. (No. 242—T.T.).

IX SRI GOPALACHARYULU'S ACCOUNT OF THE SERVICES OF THE DIFFERENT MAHANT VICHARANAKARTAS.

(i) First Vicharanakarta Mahant Sevadosh.

Sri Gopalacharyulu noted as the kaimkaryams (services) of the first Vicharanakarta Sri Mahant Sevasada of having provided a gold pitambaram (covering) down to the feet, a gold yajnopavitam (sacred thread), golden padmapitham (the pedestal of the shape of the lotus flower), gemset ear ornaments, nagabharanam (ornament of the shape of the hooded serpent for the upper arms) and a plate of diamonds tied below the crown, for the use of the main Stationary Idol of Sri Venkatesvara a vairamudi (round head-ornament) of pearls for Sri Venkatesvara's Processional Image, as also a pearl-set crown and gilded silver coverings for the hands and legs, and a rajamudi (head-ornament covering the tied hair) of pearls for each of His two Consorts; a lattice door overlaid with silver plate at the inmost door-sill called the Kulasekhara-padi at the sanctum, providing four silver chains for the bedding cot and silver seats with lions' heads on either side for the Processional Images, renovated the inner or Mukkoti-pradakshinam and arranged for the procession of the Processional Images decorated with vajra-kavacham (diamond-set gold covering) on the Mukkoti-Ekadasi day through that circuit, but later on stopped it, fearing risk of stampede of visitors in the narrow passage. He repaired the Svami-Pushkarini and through an under-ground channel arranged for the supply of water to it from the pata-koneru (Achyutaraya's pool on the west). He prepared a silver-plated tirichi with makara-

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

toranam, the bigger serpent vehicle and gilded it, constructed a new Brahma's car and a new big car in Tirumala, and repaired the fallen southern part of the big gopuram to the east of Govindaraja's temple in Tirupati. In Tiruchanur he built the Mukhamantapam of the Goddess and gilded the silver coverings of Her hands.

(ii) Second Vicharanakarta Mahant Dharmadasa.

The disciple of Sri Mahant Sevasada, Sri Mahant Dharmadasa, assumed charge as Vicharanakarta in 1864. He provided gold kiritam and coverings for the hands, golden foot-coverings, two necklaces of gold coins (Sanara-kasulu), prepared the big makara-kanthi of gold imbedded with gems preserved in the temple treasury, valued at 2 lakhs of rupees, a round tablet set with diamonds and rubies around a big emerald of the size of the palm fixed in the Kiritam(crown), and covered the door-jambs and the wooden doors with the Dasa-avatara (ten incarnations) figures with gilded copper plate, hence known as the Bangaruvakili (golden doorway).

For the processional image Malayappa, he re-made the Kalikiturayi (attached to the coronet) belonging to the jewels presented by Raghoji Bhonsle, contrived strings of pearls from stock in the treasury pieced together with gold wire, with the pendant of emeralds and diamonds presented by Muppanarurani, made a new gold-plated makara-toranam with Gandharvas on either side, a sarva-bhupala-vahanam covered with gold plate, a surya-prabha vehicle with silver plate, the bigger and the smaller Garuda-vahanams, Hanumanta-vahanam, horse vehicle, and kalpa-vriksha-vahanam, all covered with silver plate.

He repaired the thousand-pillared mantapam and converted it into rooms for lodging pilgrims, and the two gopurams and parts of the prakara walls, and some mantapams in temple at Tirumala. While repairing the yagasala at the Kalyana-mantapam, it is said that five small sealed vesselfuls of gold coins were found, relating to emperor Venkatapati, Gajapati (Orissa ruler), Uma-Mahesvara (impressed with Parvati and Siva), gandabherunda (eagle stamped), Ikkeri-varahalu (gold coins of South Canara) and Sanara-kasulu, of the value of nearly two lakhs of rupees. They were taken possession of by the Government as treasure-trove and kept in the District Court. After proving from the authority of the Vaikhanasa-agama-sastra (code of rituals of the Vaikhanasa mode of worship), the five coinful vessels were got back by the Devasthanam and were stored in its treasury.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

In Tirupati he repaired the sanctum (jadi-bandhanam) strongly refixing Sri Govindaraja in position, got gold ear ornaments prepared for Govindaraja and his two Consorts as also gold crowns for Them. He had the stone granary in the SalaNancharu shrine removed, constructed mantapams from the entrance watchmen's gateway upto Bhashyakar's shrine, made a new shrine for Kurattalvar, installed an image of Bhattar in it, and converted the flower garden in the north row into a room for keeping vahanams (vehicles).

He prepared the bigger and the smaller Sesha-vahanams, Garuda-vahanam, Hanumanta-vahanam, Hamsa-vahanam (swan), horse-vehicle and Bhogiteru (car used for procession on the day of Bhogi festival in January for Govindaraja with Andal).

In Sri Rama's temple in Tirupati, he performed the Jadi-bandhanam (implanting firmly) of the three main idols, set up the dhvajastambham (flag staff) with gilded round plates, made gilded silver kiritams (coronets) for Sri Rama, Sitamma and Lakshmanasvami and for Senadhipati, together with dhanurbanams (bows and arrows) for Rama and Lakshmana and a big silver bow for the mai idol of Rama, and constructed a stone mantapam in the temple behind the watch-gate and another mantapam beside the car.

At the Alvar-tirtham (Kapilatirtham), he got repaired the mantapams on either side of it, the Venu-Gopalasvami-mantapam, the mantapam in front of Lakshmi-Narayanaswami, the mantapam of Narasimhasvami in the cave on the western bank, and renovated the fallen parts of Kapilesvara's temple.

In Tiruchanur, he built the prakaram and the gopuram, excavated and constructed the Pushkarini and the mantapam in the Friday garden with the well, performed jadi-bandhanam for the Goddess Padmavati and prepared a gemset kiritam or plated gold jewel with small gold bells for Her plaited hair, and other ornaments, and also the gold coverings for Her hands with gold lotuses. He made a new car, built the kitchen and the rooms to its west, the vahana-mantapam, and also constructed the Surya-Narayana's shrine and installed Him in it.

(iii) Third Vicharanakarta—Mahant Bhagavandas.

After Sri Mahant Dharmadasa, his disciple, Sri Mahant Bhagavandas became the Vicharanakarta in 1880 A.D.

In Tirumala he set up the dhvaja-stambham, repaired some of the mantapams and also some of the jewels, laid a telephone to the temple from the

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Tirupati office, repaired the fresh-water tank and laid under-ground pipes to get water from it to the street taps, and built the bungalow to the south of the tank for the sojourn of the Governor and high officials.

In Tirupati he built rooms in the pushpa-tota (flowergarden) constructed the High School building, established the Samskritapathasala (school) and arranged for distribution of the offered prasadam to pilgrims.

He lent some lakhs of rupees, in addition to the loan made by his guru Dharmadasa, to the Raja (chief) of the Karvetingar Zamindari on the usufructuary mortgage of the Tiruttani taluk, and also to the Raja of Srikalahasti on similar usufructuary mortgage of the Kachchinadu taluk.

In Tirupati he prepared a gilded makara-toranam for the processional Image of Sri Rama, and two baji-bandu (covering for arms) inset with diamonds, one kaliki-turayi one gold belt imbeded with gems, one gemset makara-kanthi (ornament for the neck), two gemset pendants, one gemset rakadi (ornament for fixing in the hair at the back of the head), and two chains of mohars (gold coins) preserved in the treasury, for use of the Deities in Tirupati and Tiruchanur.

He made a Surya-prabha vehicle covered with silver plate and a Sarva-bhupala-vahanam in Tirupati.

In Tiruchanur he constructed mantapams around the dhvajastambham, the shrine of Sundararajasvami, and the nirali-mantapam with the vimanam crowned with a gilded kalasam (vase), and inaugurated the teppotsavam (float festival) in it.

(iv) Fourth Vicharanakarta- Mahant Mahabirudasa.

Sri Mahant Mahabirudasa, the disciple and successor of Sri Mahant Bhagavandasa, from 1890 to 1894, seems to have done nothing of importance.

(v) Fifth Vicharanakarta- Mahant Ramakisoradasa.

His successor Sri Mahant Ramakisoradasa took charge of the Devasthanams in 1895 A.D. He made the gemset Sankha (chank) and Chakra (disc) for the processional Image of Venkatesvara and hand-coveirngs and gemets belts for His two Consorts, and gold coverings with small bells and anklets for Andal or Godadevi in Tirupati.

Sri Mahant Ramakisoradasa adopted three disciplies, Prayagadasa, Ramalakshmanadasa and Mularamanujadasa, and among them Prayagadasa was chosen as his successor Mahant in 1900.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(vi) Sixth Vicharanakarta- Mahant Prayagadasa.

Sri Mahant Prayagadasa constructed the niralimantapam afresh, reconstructed the dilapidated Sri Varahasvami's shrine at the north -west corner of the Svami-Pushkarini and reinstalled Him in it from the Aina-Mahal (mirrored chamber) in Sri Venkatesvara's temple to the north of the entrance, having been lodged there for nearly twelve years. He prepared a new car, gilded the Hamsa-Vahanam and Guruda-Vahanam and repaired the gopurams, some mantapams and the flooring of the Sampangi-Pradakshinam in Venkatesvara's temple. He made a new silver Tiruchi, constructed satrams for the resting of pilgrims, established a dispensary, enclosed the Dvarapalakas in the temple with lattice covered with silver plate, cast a tiny gold Image of Sri Padmavati and had it consecrated and suspended on the chest of Venkatesvara gold plated the sankha and the chakra formerly inserted into the two raised hind hands of Venkatesvara, and made a gold covering for the hands of Sri Rama. Sita and Lakshmana.

In Tirupati, for the stationary Idol of Govindaraja and for His Consorts, he provided silver plate covering, for His processional Image a big diamond-set patakam and gold ear-coverings, and for Sudikodutta-Nancharu a gem-set belt and a chain of sovereigns. He made the lion-vehicle, the elephant-vehicle, and the makara-toranam, all the three covered with silver plate, performed jadi-bandhanam twice to the stationary Govindaraja and paved the floor of the sanctum, the mukha-mantapam, the kalyanamantapam, the circumambulatory passage upto the front watch-gate with granite slabs; newly constructed the Vimanam over the sanctum and fixed gilded kalasams over it, the Devasthanam office building and the treasury building with a safe-vault and converted the old extensive granary mantapam into compartments for office work, for keeping records, for stores and other purposes.

In Sri Rama's temple in Tirupati, he got the silver kavacham(covering) of Sri Rama repaired, and prepared new silver Kavachams for Sitamma and Lakshmanasvami, the stationary Idols, and gold hand-coverings and feet coverings, gold bow with a small bell and arrows, and some ornaments for the processional Images, and paved the floor from the garbha-griham and pradakshinam upto the entrance gateway with granite slabs.

In Tiruchanur, he built the vimanam over the sanctum of Goddess Padmavati and fixed a gilded Kalasam on it, installed Sri Sundarajasvami Idol, provided a gold kiritam for the Goddess, Silver plate covering and a kiritam for Sundararajasvami with a silver prabha (halo), a kiritam, new hand-coverings, some

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

jewels and a pair of diamond-set karna-patralu (ear-coverings) for the processional image of the Goddess, and a pair of ear-rings for the Venkatesvara image in the temple; paved the floor in and out of the shrines with granite slabs, installed the gilded dhvajastambham and constructed the satram to the south of the temple for lodging pilgrims, and inaugurated the teppotsavam (float festival).

In Kapilesvara's temple at the foot of the Hill, he re-installed Kapilesvaraswami with Kumbhabhishekam (ablutions with water from big vessels), and prepared gold kiritams, hasta-kamalams, foot-coverings and some new ornaments for the Processional Images of God and Goddess, and silver-covering for the Nandi (bull) vehicle, and inaugurated the teppotsavam for the Images.

In Tirupati he constructed the extensive first satram for pilgrims near the Railway Station.

He invested five lakhs of rupees of the Devasthanam in the Bombay Development Loan and derived an annual interest of Rs. 54, 500. In the early twenties he purchased from P. Orr and Sons, Madras, a jadasadu with Kuchchulu (plaited hair with three pendant tufts of silk) covered with gold tablets in laid with diamonds, rubies and sapphires for Rs. 14,000/—for the decoration of one of the two Nachchimar of Lord Malayappa in Sri Venkatesvara's temple. It adorns also the Processional Images of Govindaraja's Consorts during festivals.

The Dowager Rani Sri Adilakshmi Devammagaru of the Gadwal samsthanam paid a visit to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara in January 1931 and presented certain old jewels and gold and silver coins, amounting in all to Rs. 20,000 in value with the request to Sri Mahant-Vicharanakarta to make a ratnakiritam out of them for Sri Malayappaswami, the Processional Image of Sri Venkatesvaraswami.

The work was entrusted to a certain diamond merchant of Madras on, contract and carried out by the goldsmiths Messrs C. V. Shanmugacharis and Murugesachari of Govindappa Naick Srteet, Madras.

It was commenced in August 1931 and completed in September, 1932 and the finished kiritam was decorated to Sri Malayappaswami on 1st October 1932, the first day of the Brahmotsavam of Sri Venkatesvara in that year. "All the four species of gems, viz., diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires both old (contained in the presented old jewels) and new, used for the Kiritam are cut stones". The total number of gems embedded into the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Kiritam are: 681 diamonds, 669 rubies, 125 emeralds and 84 sapphires- in all 1559 precious stones. The Kiritam measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches from top to bottom, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the base. Its final gross weight is tolas 161-6-0.

This last Vicharnakarta contemplated the manufacture of an estimable gold kiritam (crown) imbedded with four kinds of gems for Mulamurti Venkatesvara, got an estimate and a blue print prepared for it, purchased select cut diamonds, rubies, sapphires and emeralds, including two big square and oblong diamonds of 11 and 17 carats as central stones in front, took out an old gold frame of a kiritam from the treasury supposed to have been the frame of a kiritam presented to Lord Venkatesa by the renowned Vijayanagara emperor Krishnadevaraya during his first visit alone in the company of his two queens on 10th February, 1513 A.D. and commenced the work of making the Kiritam. An expert local goldsmith was engaged for the purpose. The smith melted the old crown together with more gold, moulded the thick frame to screw on to it several gold plates inlaid with precious stones. At this point the work was suddenly stopped, and all the articles and gems, were then consigned to the Devasthanam treasury.

X. ADMINISTRATION OF THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE IN MODERN TIMES.

The T.T.D. Act of 1932 was passed to improve the administration of the Devasthanam. This Act vested the administration of the T.T.D. in a Committee of seven members. A Commissioner was also appointed to supervise the affairs of the temple by the Madras Government under this Act. This Act of 1932 was superseded by the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act of the year 1951.

The Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Act of 1933 had no doubt placed the actual management of the temple under Commissioners, but the Act itself was limited in its scope, as the framers were obsessed more with the idea of using the funds for secular objects, than with the investigation of the origin of these revenues and the purposes for which the original donors of the funds and lands intended them to be used.

In its origin, the fees for the several darshanams and utsavams etc., in the temple were designed as temporary expedients to secure funds for payment to the muslim rulers as an inducement to them to allow the pilgrims freedom from annoyance. This unfortunately became established and is still the main motivating force in temple administration legislation in our country.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The investigation of the various money gifts and land assignments coming to us through successive centuries from 830 A.D., with a special abjuration to preserve the specific services for which they had been made and the enforcement of the Trust, is a sacred and moral duty, which we owe to our illustrious ancestors.

Under this Act, the whole management was left to a Committee of 7 members and a paid Commissioner. For the first time no specific qualifications for temple administration were laid down and the executive was free to nominate anyone as members of the Committee or as a Commissioner.

The Advisory Council constituted under Section 28 of the Act consisted of only 'Representatives of the Jiyangars, the Archakas, the Acharyapurushas and other Mirasidars of the Devasthanam, for the purpose of advising the Committee in the administration of the religious affairs of the temple.' There was a second advisory council consisting of representatives of the ryots of the Devasthanam for the purpose of advising the Committee on the management of the estates of the Devasthanams. The second council was nominal as the estates are governed by the Estates Land Act and rents are regulated and collected under the terms of that Act. The first Advisory Council consisting of service holders in the temple such as Jiyangars, Archakas and Acharyapurushas, and Mirasidars, practically ruled the Committee.

The above Act was superseded by the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act of 1951.

Sections 80 to 85 of the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act, 1951, dealt exclusively with the administration of the T.T.Devasthanams. Section 80 envisages the appointment of a Board of Trustees for the Devasthanam consisting of the five members appointed by the State Government. The members were to hold office for a term of five years. The Act also provided for the appointment of an Executive Officer who "shall have power to manage the properties and affairs of the Devasthanams; (2) shall be responsible for the proper custody of all the records of all the jewels, valuables, moneys, funds and other properties of the Devasthanams; (3) shall arrange for the proper collection of the income and for the incurring of expenditure; and (4) may, in cases of emergency, direct the execution of any work or the doing of any act which is not provided for in the budget for the year and the immediate execution or the doing of which is, in his opinion, necessary for the preservation of the properties of the Devasthanams or for the service or safety of the pilgrims resorting thereto; and may direct that the expenses of executing

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

such work, or the doing of such act shall be paid from the funds of the Devasthanams. The executive Officer shall report forthwith to the Board of Trustees any action taken by him under clause (4) and the reasons therefor”.

Under the Act, the Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act., had certain powers, such as deciding disputes, appropriation of Endowments etc.

Section 85 laid down the purposes for which the Devasthanam's funds may be used and is reproduced below: “The funds of the Devasthanams may be utilised for any purpose permitted by any other Provision of this Act and also for all or any of the following purposes:—

- (i) the maintenance, management and administration of the Devasthanams;
- (ii) the maintenance of the educational institutions referred to in Schedule III;
- (iii) the foundation and maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries for the relief of the pilgrims and worshippers visiting the temples;
- (iv) the construction and maintenance of choultries and rest-houses for the use and accommodation of all classes of pilgrims;
- (v) the provision of water-supply and other sanitary arrangements to the pilgrims;
- (vi) the establishment and maintenance of a veterinary hospital for the animals of the Devasthanams;
- (vii) the acquisition of any land or other immovable property for the purposes of the Devasthanams provided the acquisition is authorised by the Government;
- (viii) the construction and maintenance of roads and communications and the lighting thereof for the convenience of the pilgrims and worshippers;
- (ix) the training of archakas to perform the religious worship and ceremonies in the Devasthanams, and the training of adhyapaks and vedaparayanakas
- (x) any work or undertaking for the purposes of the Devasthanams authorised by the Government, so long as such authorisation subsists”

The previous Act of 1951 was replaced by the new Act (Act No.17 of 1966) called the Andhra Pradesh Charitable and Hindu Religious Institution and Endowments Act. Chapter 14 of the above Act made express provisions for the administration of the T.T.D.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Section 85 to 91 of the above Act laid down the provisions governing the T.T. Devasthanam. Section 86 laid down that the administration of the temple should be by a Board of Trustees consisting of not more than 11 persons to be appointed by the Government, three of whom are to be members of the State Legislature, one person to belong to the scheduled castes and another to be a woman (subject to certain provisions made in Section 86). The Members of the Board of Trustees held office for a term of three years. Section 87 directed the Government to appoint an Executive Officer and where necessary a Deputy Executive Officer for the temple. Under section 87(2) the Executive Officer was empowered to delegate statutory duties to his Deputy Executive Officer. Section 88 and 89 laid down division of powers on the employees of the Devasthanam between the Executive Officer and the Board of Trustees. Section 91 of the Act laid down the purposes for which the Devasthanam funds may be used, and is reproduced below:—

91. (1) The funds of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams may be utilised for all or any of the following purposes and also for any other purposes permitted by any other provision of this Act:—

(i) Propagation of the religious tenets of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams and the maintenance, management and administration of the temples and the endowments and the properties of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams including the educational and other institutions specified in the First Schedule and the endowments and properties thereof:

Provided that the Government may, on a resolution passed by both Houses of the State Legislature by notification in the Andhra Pradesh gazette, alter, add to, or omit any of the items in the said schedule:

- (ii) establishment and maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries for the relief of the pilgrims and worshippers visiting the temple;
- (iii) construction and maintenance of choultries and rest-houses for the use and accommodation of the pilgrims;
- (iv) provision of water-supply and other sanitary arrangements to the pilgrims and worshippers;
- (v) establishment and maintenance of a dairy farm and a veterinary hospital for the animals of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams;
- (vi) acquisition of any land or other immovable property for the purpose of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, if such acquisition is authorised by the Government;

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

- (vii) construction and maintenance of roads and communications and the lighting thereof for the convenience of the pilgrims and worshippers;
- (viii) training of archakas to perform the religious worship and ceremonies in the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, and the training of adhyapakas and vedaparanakas;
- (ix) promoting the study of Indian languages including Sanskrit;
- (x) any work or undertaking for purpose of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, authorised by the Government; and
- (xi) any other religious, charitable, social or educational purposes connected with or incidental to the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, authorised by the Government.

(2) Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams shall, every year, out of its funds set apart a sum of not less than rupees two and a half lakhs towards the maintenance of Sri Venkatesvara University.

(3) (a) It shall be lawful for the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams to establish an institution to be called the Hindu Dharma Prathishthanam, to make a foundation grant of such sums as the said devasthanams may think fit for the said purpose and to set apart every year out of its funds a sum of not less than rupees one lakh for the maintenance of the said Hindu Dharma Prathishthanam.

(b) The objects of the said Hindu Dharma Prathishthanam shall include—

- (i) promotion and propagation of the Hindu Dharma and the training of dharmacharyas, dharmapracharakas and such other personnel as may be required therefor;
- (ii) preparation, publication and dissemination of literature relating to Hindu Dharma;
- (iii) the establishment and maintenance of institutions for imparting instructions in Hindu Dharma, and
- (iv) any other purpose connected with or incidental to the aforesaid objects.

(c) Subject to such rules as may be made by the Government in this behalf, the Board of Trustees of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams may make regulations for the purpose of carrying out the provisions contained in this sub-section

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

The enabling provisions of the Act have been used to good purpose by the Devasthanam Committee and several improvements made to the temple.

The 1966 Act therefore placed the Tirumala Temple on par with all other religious institutions and charitable endowments in the State and placed it completely under the control of the Endowments Department of the State Government. Though such an administrative arrangements would have been quite good in the case of smaller temples that cater to a limited number of devotees, obviously equating Tirumala Temple which is probably one of the largest and one of the most venerated religious institutions in the country, with all minor and small temples was a retrograde step. The State Government of Andhra Pradesh fully realised the significance of this in 1979 and passed the new T.T.D. Act of 1979. Under this Act the real administration of the temple is vested in a small Committee of Management consisting of a Chairman to be nominated by the Government, and two other members also to be nominated by the Government, and in the Commissioner of Endowments Department and the Executive officer of the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam who were for the first time made ex-officio Members. The Executive Officer was defined in the Act to be an Officer who held a post not inferior the rank of a District Collector. The new Act also for the first time provided for a Financial Adviser and Chief Accounts Officer to advise on the financial matters of the Temple.

The new Act also provided for the continuation of the Hindu Dharma Pratisthanam under a new name and has envisaged the establishment of "Sri Venkatesvara Sishtachara Vidya Samstha" to be in complete charge of vedic learning, vedic schools, vedic research etc. The Act also defines for the first time the purposes for which the temple funds could be spent in furtherance of the propagation of Hindu Religion and Culture. It is too early to assess the impact of the new Act on the conveniences to the devotees and the pilgrims for whom the Temple is mainly intended.

XI Recent achievements of the T.T.D.

Some of the more important achievements of the Devasthanam for the past two or three decades are as follows:

Information Centres:—Information Centres and Choultries have been opened by the Devasthanam not only at Tirupati and Tirumala but in other important cities in India. Several enquiry offices have also been opened to assist the pilgrims desirous of proceeding to Tirumala to worship the Lord of Tirumala.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Accommodation:—Prior to 1934 accommodation for pilgrims in Tirupati and Tirumala was very meagre. The Devasthanams have tackled this problem vigorously and several cottages, choultries, guest houses, etc., have been constructed, both at Tirupati and Tirumala. There is however need for more accommodation.

Sanitation and water supply:—Sanitation and water supply have been improved; protected water is supplied to Tirumala from the Papanasanam water works. The sanitation of the town has been improved, malaria wiped out and a drainage scheme introduced.

Transport to Tirumala:—Prior to the opening of a Ghat road between Tirupati and Tirumala in 1944, pilgrims could reach Tirumala only by climbing the hill by foot by taking the old sopana-marga. After the opening of the fourteen mile-long Ghat road, pilgrims can reach Tirumala by road quickly and safely. The Devasthanam which started with two buses to transport pilgrims in the year 1944 has now an impressive fleet of buses. This is now being run by the Road Transport Corporation of the State.

Education:—The Devasthanam maintains several educational Institutions such as the Oriental College, three high schools, three colleges for men and women, several elementary schools, a Veda Patasala and Nadaswaram Patasala a training school for sculpture and an Arts College at Delhi. The Devasthanam also contributes about seven lakhs of rupees per annum for the maintenance of the Sri Venkatesvara University at Tirupati. A Gosala and a dairy with about 300 Sindhi cows are being maintained by the Devasthanam.

T.T.D. Press and Publicity Department:—A printing press is run by the Devasthanam for printing religious literature. The publicity department conducts religious discourses. The thousand-pillared mantapam at Tirumalai has been converted into a Sadas and religious discourses, Harikathas and Bhajans are held in the Sadas every day. Learned Pandits, famous musicians etc., are invited to this Sadas often.

Other amenities to Pilgrims:—The entire route from Tirupati to Tirumalai is illuminated by electric lights. The Devasthanam provides free accommodation and free medical aid to pilgrims at Tirumalai.

Research:—The Oriental Institute started in 1938 does valuable research work in Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil and has collected several rare and valuable manuscripts. The Institute is at present under the management of the Sri Venkatesvara University.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Charitable Institutions:—A Leprosy Home was started in the year 1939, and is under the charge of a medical officer. An orphanage started in the year 1943 is also run by the Devasthanam.

Ruia Hospital:—A Philanthropist of Bombay, Sri Radhakrishna Ruia, donated five lakhs of rupees for a three hundred-bed hospital at Tirupati. The Devasthanam donated ten lakhs of rupees for this project in addition to giving a four hundred acre plot for the hospital. This hospital is very well equipped.

Improvements to the temple:—The Dhvajastambha of Sri Govindarajaswami temple and the Balipitam in Tirumala temple were gold gilded in 1934-35. A gem-set flower was prepared for being fixed in the Gold Kiritam of Sri Venkatesvara Swami in the year 1939. A silver car was made at a cost of Rs. 1 lakh in 1941. The Maharatham was also made for Tirumalai Sri Varu in the year 1942. A gem-set Kiritam at a cost of 10 lakhs of rupees was prepared in the year 1945. The Makara Thoranam of Sri varu was refixed in 1947. A gem-set Vaikuntha Hastha at a cost of 3 lakhs of rupees was made and adorned in 1954. The conch and chakra of the Lord have also been set with invaluable gems recently.

Renovation works were started from 1950 onwards. The inner Gopuram of Sri Govindaraja Shrine, the Padikavali Gopuram of Sri Ramaswami temple, the gold gilding of the Kalasam of the Gopuram of Sri Padmavati temple at Tiruchanur, remaking of the Bimbas of the Mukha mandapam in Govindaraja shrine and Padmavati temple, the construction of the Padikavali and the inner Gopurams of Sri Venkatesvara temple are some of the items worthy of mention.

The Ananda Nilaya Vimanam for the Lord's temple was also renovated and regilded at a cost of Rs. 18 lakhs.

Some of the more recent achievements of the temple are as follows:—

1. A second ghat road was opened to the top of the hill and thus the Motor Transport goes up by the new road and comes down by the old road. This has greatly facilitated the convenience of the passengers.

2. From 1-3-1979, the new Management Committee under the 1979 Act has introduced far reaching changes in the timings of the various Arjitha Sevas and other Pujas of the Lord which have been enumerated in detail in the earlier chapters. This has been done to enable the Sarvadarsanam or free darshan of the Lord to the pilgrims from 6.00 a.m. to 12.00 midnight

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

except for half an hour break in the afternoon and evening for the temple Puja. On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, when Sahasrakalasabhishekam, Tiruppavada, and Abhishekam are to be performed, the temple opens two or three hours later.

3. A very ambitious scheme of expanding the printing department of the temple section has been taken up and in the course of next two or three years the T.T.D. Publications on ancient religious literature etc., would be the finest of the country.

4. More important, a modern queue complex costing nearly 1½ crores of rupees has been taken up, and it will accommodate about 14, 000 pilgrims at a time. This will have self contained bath-rooms and self-contained cloak-rooms and is very near the main temple. All the pilgrims who come for the darshan of the Lord may attend to their needs here itself and have darshan quickly. This is expected to be finished in two years time, and when this is completed it will go a great deal in providing relief to the monotony of the pilgrims waiting in the queue.

5. All Special Darshans and Sevas etc., have been completely stopped. The administration of the temple is free now with free darshan for nearly 18 hours in a day. All the pilgrims can have darshan in a matter of two to three hours in normal days. To facilitate persons who do not want to wait even this long, a special ticket, of Rs. 25/- are sold throughout the country by the bankers of the T. T. D. Even here these ticket holders are joined to the main stream of free pilgrims at the main Gopuram entrance, namely, Padikavali entrance. In short, within the temple, no distinction is made between man and man. Except for the temple servants and very distinguished visitors, all others go only through the solitary queue within the temple.

6. A free bus service is arranged on the top of the hill, so that people can go round from one place to another without much difficulty.

7. Extensive lighting arrangements have been made in the foot-path with water and first-aid facilities.

8. In the existing queue complex bays for serving coffee, milk etc., and a few bath-rooms have been constructed for the convenience of the pilgrims.

9. In order to preserve the sanctity of the atmosphere on the hill, the Government of Andhra Pradesh have prohibited all meetings of any

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

kind on the top of the hill. The only meetings that are held are the meetings of the Dharmakarthas of the temple and are concerned solely with the administration of the temple and the welfare of the pilgrims.

10. Social type of marriages with extensive groups gathered and social functions etc., have been completely prohibited on the top of the hill.

11. The Devasthanams have been encouraging Vedic studies and also recitation of the Vedas in many of the other wellknown temple. The temple is maintaining Vedaparanamdas there and this is helping to encourage the knowledge of the ancient Hindu scriptures etc.

12. Construction of Kalyanamandapams, and financial aid to the other temples in need and sparing of Vighrams and articles required for the other temples on a no profit no loss basis are undertaken.

It is expected that with the freedom from red tape and with administrative procedures provided under the new Act of 1979, the T. T. D. will prove itself to be a true vehicle for the service of the Lord and the convenience of the thousands of the pilgrims and devotees, who flock here every-day.

CONCLUSION

I. The Significance of Temples.

(a) Temples, their functions and styles.

वनोपान्त नदी शैल निक्षिरोपान्तभूमिषु ।

रमन्ते देवताः नित्यं पुरेषूद्यानवस्तु च ॥

“The gods always play where groves are near, rivers, mountains and springs, and in towns with pleasure gardens.”

‘*Brhat Samhita*,’ LV. 8.

‘*Bhavisya Purana*,’ I. CXXX. 15.

Aryavarta is a land of holy temples, shrines sacred rivers and mountains. The people inhabiting this hallowed land, are religious by nature, and have given expression to their religious emotions in various ways. The ‘Hindu Dharma’ or the ‘Santana Dharma’ is the eternal law of these people. The earliest scriptures called this law of life as ‘Rita’ as opposed to ‘Anrita.’

The Hindus owe allegiance to the Vedas, which are their holy scriptures. The Vedas present a complete and panoramic view of life in all its facets. They contain within themselves, not merely the philosophical conclusions of the great Vedic rishis, but also a detailed code of conduct for ordinary man.

The Vedas are divided into four parts viz., the Samhitas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishads. The Samhitas are hymns sung in exquisite poetry, in praise of the Vedic Gods, like Indra, Agni, Varuna etc. The Brahmanas are the liturgical portion of the Vedas, and contain details about the yagas and sacrifices to be performed by every one. Aranyakas are the mature thoughts of persons, who having tasted life in all its aspects, and not being satisfied with the transient pleasures of the senses, see the salvation of the spirit, in the quietude of the Aranyas or the forests. The Upanishads, otherwise called the Vedanta, represent the quintessence and acme of the

CONCLUSION

philosophic thinking, and mystic realisation of the ancient seers. All these four portions, put together, present a pattern of life, to which, the Hindus, right up to the present day, still owe their allegiance broadly.

According to these ancient ideals, a man's life is a sum total of the result of all its actions or Karma in his previous lives. Every Karma leaves its own Vasana, which in its own turn, produces another resultant Karma. To get over this vicious circle, every one has to perform his Dharma, with mental detachment, when no Karma accrues. Dharma is a duty, which every one has to discharge, according to the circumstances in which he finds himself placed, whether he likes it or not. This has to be performed with complete detachment and as an act of total surrender to the Lord. Consecrated action kills the effect of Karma, thus leading to liberation. What is Dharma, is defined in the various Sastras, and one has only to follow them with faith and perform his appointed task as a consecration to the divine. Thus the theory of Karma and the theory of Dharma, together, give us a theoretical and practical way of life, in which mental peace and quietude leading to liberation become possible. Since a man's position in life, is conditioned by his own previous actions, and since whether he likes it or not, his religion enjoins upon him to follow the avocations of the circumstances in which he finds himself, he has to follow it, without attachment, to attain liberation.

Hinduism is thus a comprehensive name, to embrace the innumerable subdivisions of the religious sects, which though centered round an infinite diversity of Gods and Goddesses, have nevertheless a common characteristic at the base, namely, recognition of the Vedas as the absolute authority.

In consonance with this, the Hindu temple, inspite of the considerable modifications in its concepts, which it has received in the course of centuries, still expresses the peculiar character of the ethos of the Vedas. The temple is conceived to be the personal dwelling place of the God who lives there as the Lord of the Universe. The function of the devotees is to respect and honour the Lord as the absolute Master; to wake him with music and song to perform ablutions and offer puja and naivedyam to him; and then to receive back the offerings from Him, as His infinite grace.

In Hindu India, life and religion are so entirely mixed up that it is difficult to separate them. Next in importance to the Vedas, the Puranas, which are the records of the ancient history of India, interspersed with religious matters, are the important sacred books of the Hindus. The sage Suta is said to have expounded these to the sages assembled in the Naimisaranya, which is the

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

same as Nimsar of modern Oudh. It was the practice in ancient days for learned scholars, to read out these works to ordinary people and explain their meaning. Nine aspects of piety are enjoined upon all Hindus as part of their Dharma which every Hindu has to perform.

1. 'Satsanga,' or association with the virtuous;
2. 'Harikatha' or recitation of sacred hymns and songs;
3. 'Iswarabhakti' or love of God;
4. 'Tirtha Yatra' or a pilgrimage to shrines and holy places;
5. 'Guru Puja' or worship of the preceptors;
6. 'Dhyana' or meditation;
7. 'Bhakta Seva' or worship of the devotees of God;
8. 'Japa' or constant repetition of the Lord's name; and
9. 'Loka Kalyana' or love to all the created beings of the world.

The temples from ancient days are the places where every Hindu has to do his puja and worship to the divine. One famous dictum of the great Tamil Saint 'Avvayar' enjoins that one should not live in a town where there is no temple. The temples are the hallowed ground of the Hindus, from which divine blessing issues to all.

Various rules have been laid down in the Agamas and the Sastras regarding the construction of temples, the selection of the site for location of the temple, the shape of the image to be installed therein, the time in which puja is to be conducted, the qualification of the priest etc., etc. Worship of Gods in temples purifies the heart, controls the passions, and enables the devotees to remember the Lord always.

The temple is so built and so adorned that a devotee feels an air of sanctity as soon as he enters the temple. The garbhagriha or main shrine is generally semi-dark and is bare of other sculptures, except the figure of the Lord. This is to ensure meditation and 'ekagrata' in the devotee. According to one tradition, the gateway of the temple is intended to stand for the universe, and the vigraha of the Lord inside for the supreme spirit. There is always a curtain before the Lord, which according to the Vaishnavite texts should be of three colours, white, red and black, representing the three gunas, Satva, Raja and Tamas. When the veil of the gunas is lifted, the resplendent Lord is seen. According to another tradition, the temple is just like a human body, which is conceived of as a walking temple of God, with the Jiva in the centre. The top of the temple is the head; the garbha griha is the neck; the front mandapa is the stomach; the prakara walls are the legs; the gopura

CONCLUSION

is the feet and the Lord is the Jiva in the body. Thus every part of the temple is conceived of as the body of the Lord and so should be treated as sacred. The above conception of a temple is contained in the following verse:

शिवरं शिर इत्याहुः गर्भगेहं गलस्तथा ।
मण्डपं कुशिरित्याहुः प्राकारं जान्मञ्जुकम् ।
गोपुरं पाद इत्याहुः ध्वजो जीवनमुच्यते ।

In another text, the temple is compared to a lotus pond containing a flower.

अल विमानं ध्रुवबेरकम् कूर्चं तु नालं कुसुमं च कुतुकम् ।
बल्यत्सवं च स्तपनं च पत्रकं देवालयाऽयं कमलालयः स्यात् ॥

The vimana is the water in the tank; the Dhruvamurti, the root of the lotus; the Sambandha kurcha or the connecting line is the stalk of the lotus; the Kauthukamurti is the lotus; and thus the devalaya is symbolised as a kamalalaya.

In the temples, there are generally two idols, one that is permanent and called the Mulabera, and the other that is taken out in processions etc., and is called Utsavabera. In some temples there are different idols for Abhisheka, Utsava etc. The Saivite texts declare that the Mulabera is the Sukshama Linga, and the Utsavabera called Balibera is the Bali Linga. The Vaikhanasa Agama texts, that prescribe the rituals to be followed in the Vaishnavite temples, divide the Paramatma into five 'Vyuhas' or aspects, called Vishnu, Purusha Satya, Achyuta, and Aniruddha. These five aspects are represented by a different idol each, called the Mulabera, the Kauthukabera, the Utsavabera, the Snapanabera and Balibera, each idol being worshipped for a particular purpose. The Mulabera is worshipped for the good of the world i.e., Loka Kalyana, the Kauthukabera for the archana for the benefit of the individual worshipper, the Utsavabera for the processions, the Snapanabera for abhishekam and the Balibera for offerings. This is clear from the following text:

ध्रुवं च लोकरक्षार्थं अर्चनार्थं च कौतुकम् ।
औत्सव उत्सवार्थं च बल्यर्थं बलिबेरकम् ।
स्तपनं स्तपनार्थं च पञ्चबेराः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Thus Hinduism teaches its devotees, that there are twin aspects of the God, with form and without form, and the symbolism of the Hindu Temple is an important means to constantly keep this in mind.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Almost all the temples have Sthala Puranas which reasonably and ingeniously furnish us explanations for the sayings in the sacred books. They give us details of the local history of the place and of the temples, and the puranic legends on which they are built. These may be said to be the legendary history of the temples and places of pilgrimage. They describe the circumstances under which the place originally acquired its sanctity, the period when it became a hallowed ground, the foundation of the first temple, the different dynasties of the kings who worshipped the Gods and Goddesses the renovation done in the present age, the marvels which have resulted from the worship of the Gods etc. Thus the Sthala puranas or Mahatmyas give important details about the temples from ancient history. In addition to the above, we have the various inscriptions of the various Hindu kings who have donated offerings to the temples and which are recorded in the epigraphs to be found in the temples and these give us valuable historical data regarding the temples.

In the case of Hindu temples, the main shrine is generally situated in the centre of the temple, and the other accessory buildings stand inside a rectangular enclosure. At the eastern enclosure is always a lofty 'gopura' which is seen generally from miles apart even. The tower over the main shrine is called the 'Vimana' and is generally ornamented with plaster figures right up to the top. The inner shrine is called the 'Garbha Griha' which is enclosed in a circular or square building, leaving a covered 'Pradakshina patha' for the devotees to go around. In front is a passage or what is called the 'Ardha mandapa.' The 'Ardha mandapa' is square or rectangular with a tower on the sides. In front of the Ardha mandapa is what is called the Maha mandapa consisting of one pillared building with entrance door, and space on the three sides. Besides these, there are other mandapas like the Kalyana mandapa, the Natya mandapa etc. On either side of the main entrance of the Ardha mandapa, generally two dwarapalakas are found. In front of the sanctum is located the Nandi or the bull in the case of Saiva temples, and the Garuda in the case of Vaishnava temples with a Bali Pitha and a Dhawaja stambha, in front. Thus the principal features of the temple are the following:

1. The Garbha Griha containing the sacred God with a tower called Vimana over it.
2. The Ardha mandapa and the Maha mandapa which are in front of it.
3. The verandah attached to the inside walls of the Pradakshina patha.

CONCLUSION

4. The Gopura which is an entrance tower.
5. Tirthas *i.e.*, tanks and wells which are hallowed or sacred, for purposes of bathing.
6. Subsidiary shrines dedicated to various other minor gods each in its proper place.

The image of the Lord is generally made of stone, and the sculptor has to execute it with complete fidelity to the rules laid down in the Silpa Sastras. The Sastras declare that before bringing out the image of the Lord, the sculptor should meditate upon the Lord, and that his success will be in proportion to the strength of his meditation. There are various contemplating verses called 'Dhyana slokas' to help him in the process. Deities have to be carved out in the 'Samabhanga' or the 'Tribhanga' posture. In addition to the main images, the walls of the temples are decorated with exquisite sculptures depicting the puranic stories.

In ancient times, the temples were the busiest part of the village, and the life of the community was centered upon the routine of the temple. The festivals during the twelve months of the year were all conducted in the temples. All that was best in the life, was offered to the deity as a sacrament, and was only then enjoyed by the others. The Agamas that give details regarding the rituals and other ceremonies to be performed in the temples, mention three important things of a temple, the 'Sthala' or the place, the 'Tirtha' or the sacred water, and the 'Murthy' or the deity. They have also given particulars of trees, which are known as Sthala Vrikshas which are to be planted in different temples.

So far as the main shrine is concerned it can be built on three plans viz., square or circular or apsidal. The square pattern is called the 'Sthandila' and the circular is called the 'Mandala'. These two plans are actually derived from the Vedic tradition in which two different kinds of fire altars viz., namely the 'Ahavaniya' and the 'Garhaspatya' which are square and circular in their shape, are mentioned. Even now in the Sraddha ceremonies that we perform, the Pithris and the Visvadevas are given two different types of asanas, the Pithris, the Mandala type and the Visvadevas, the Sthandila type.

The apsidal form of temple is rather rare, and only one important temple of Andhradesa namely the Kapothesvara temple of Chejerla is built in this model. This is also probably on the Dakshinagni altar model.

As regards the style of the temple architecture, there are three styles, called the Nagara, the Vesara and the Dravida types. According to the Agamas

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

the Nagara styles are quadrangular from the neck to the top, the Dravida types orthogonal from the neck to the top, and the Vesara style round from the neck to the top. The Tirumala Temple is a very good example of the Dravida type.

(b) Tirtha and Temples.

Life as a pilgrimage from birth to death has many stations. In India death is but another station and in itself does not bring final release (moksa). Final release from all conditions of existence, from all limitations, is gained through Knowledge (Brahmavidya); and Knowledge, the realisation of Supreme identity, is the means and the end itself: it gives and is release. Some attain it while alive (Jivan-mukti), others at death. To the great mass of people who are without the faculties and training to make them fit for the realisation of the Supreme Principle by Knowledge, other roads lie open which also lead to the centre. Pilgrimage is one; it brings joy(bhukti) and release (moksa) to those who have achieved control of their minds and of the actions of their sense; who have discretion (vidya), and who have practised austerities.

The places of pilgrimage are distributed through the entire country and are called Tirthas and Kshetras. The number of these sacred sites is large. The 'Mahabharata' speaks of hundreds of places of pilgrimage.

Tirtha is the name of a place of pilgrimage on the bank of a river, the sea-shore or a lake. The meaning of the word is a ford, a passage. Water, the purifying, fertilising element being present, its current which is the river of life can be forded in inner realisation, and the pilgrim can cross over to the other shore. The place of pilgrimage is the end of the journey to the centre; but it is not itself the goal and only the means for crossing over to the centre. For this reason the number of Tirthas and Kshetras is indefinitely large.

The Tirthas and Kshetras on Indian soil are potent sites where a presence is felt to dwell. Its support is in the place itself, Whatever makes the site conspicuous or memorable is reinforced in its effect by the attention of the people directed towards and concentrated on that spot. In such places "the gods are seen at play".

As the Brihat Samhita says "The gods always play where lakes are, where the sun's rays are warded off by umbrellas of lotus leaf clusters, and where, clear waterpaths are made by swans whose breasts toss the white lotuses hither and thither; where swans, ducks, curleys and paddy-birds are heard and animals rest nearby in the shade of Nicula trees on the river banks.

CONCLUSION

The gods always play where rivers have for their bracelets the sound of the flight of curleys and the voice of swans for their speech, water as their garment, carps for their zone, the flowering trees on their banks as earrings the confluence of rivers as their hips, raised sand banks as breasts and plumage of swans their mantle.

The gods always play where groves are near, rivers, mountains and springs, and in towns with pleasure gardens." ('Brhat Samhita', LV 4-8; 'Bhavisya Purana', I CXXX, 11-15). "It is such places that the gods love and always dwell in" (Brhat Samhita', 8 commentary quoting Kasyapa).

Other ancient text, also give information about the rites of temples.

"The gods are installed not only in Tirthas, on the banks of rivers, lakes and on the seashore, at the confluence of rivers and estuaries, but also on hill-tops and mountain slopes, in forests, groves and gardens, near the abodes of the blest or hermitages, in villages, towns and cities or in any other lovely place "(Tantra-Samuccaya', I. 1.28; see Frontispiece). Ritually the site of the temple is a Tirtha wherever it is situate . The 'Visnudharmottara' (Part III, chapter XCIII, 25-31), an early compendium, speaks of the installation of consecrated images (arca): 'Installations should be made in forts in auspicious cities, at the head of shop-lined streets. . . ; in villages or hamlets of cowherds where there are no shops, the installations should be made outside in gardens, . . . Installations should be made at riversides, in forests, gardens at the sides of ponds, on hill-tops, beautiful valleys and particularly in caves. At these places, the denizens of heaven are present. In places without tanks, gods are not present. A temple therefore should be built where there is a pond on the left or in front, not otherwise. If a temple is built on an island, the water on all sides is auspicious".

The presence of water is essential; but if it is neither available by nature nor by artifice it is present symbolically at the consecration of temple or image. Thus it is described how during the rite of 'adivhasana' by which the divinity is made to assume its abode in an image about to be installed, the image of Vishnu is laid to rest on the world serpent Sesha (Ananta), on a ford raised for this purpose in a river, lake or tank. Offerings are made to the Lord (Yogesa), to the Sabda-Brahman, the principle of articulate sound, or the World,—to the oceans, mountains, Sages (rsi), Fathers (pitr) and Spirits (bhuta). Varuna, the presiding divinity (of the waters) and Siva, the Lord of the sacred Tirtha are worshipped; should neither river, lake nor tank be near, three jars of water are placed in the Brahmathana, the centre of the sacred site.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Temples are built where Tirthas are; their towering shapes to the last point of their height teem with forms which have the urge and fullness of Indian nature; step by step, level by level they lead the eye and mind of the devotee from this world to the worlds above. The temples rise from a broad base: differently built according to specific types, they have their variations in time and place and their shapes were elaborated in many schools. As they are to-day in southern India their high superstructures ascend in pyramidal form, while in northern India they fling their curvilinear faces towards a meeting point above the sanctuary.

Sometimes the temples form cities of God with many buildings of great extent and complex design, or the temple is but a small chapel only. Wherever a Hindu temple stands, whatever age witnessed its growth, and to whatever size, as house, body and substance for God (the Essence) to dwell in, it is built in principle on the same plan, the Vastupurusamandala.

(c) Temple as a centre of communal life.

The life of the community was centred round the temples. Labour in a temple was equally divided among the inhabitants. In several mandapas of the temples, expositions on the Puranas and Itihasas were given. The Dharma Sastras were also explained there. Recitation of scriptures was also done. In some temples there were Ranga mandapas, where dances and music were inaugurated. Kings performed Tulabhara and Hiranyadana in the temples. Temples were also educational institutions where devotional songs and scriptures were sung. Moreover all the twelve months of the year were interspersed with various festivals, like the 'rathotsava', the 'vasantotsava' etc., and these festive occasions provided an opportunity to the people to congregate and do communal work. In some temples, the Lord is looked upon as a reigning king, and due regal honours are done to him. In the Tirupati temple for example, the almanac is read out every day before the Lord and a statement of accounts also submitted as in a royal court. Thus the temples in our land are a unique institution, the like of which is not seen anywhere else in the world. The temple is the very hub round which the life of the community is built and thus the entire life of India is religion-based. Here one can meet a variety of life as nowhere else; the Yogi seeking the Kundalini; the Jivanmukta contemplating the divine, the dancer and the musician surrendering their art as an offering to the Lord; the devotee lost in ecstatic contemplation of the divine; the poet pouring his heart out in divine hymns of liquid beauty; the householder submitting his grievances to the Lord for redress

CONCLUSION

the diseased praying for health; the healthy praying for wealth; the wealthy praying for power; the powerful praying for peace; the king desiring peace and renouncing life; and the renounced yogi desiring nothing but good to all; all can be met with in the temples, and all attentive to the central figure viz., the divine Lord. The temple is thus a literal storehouse of the life of the community and without a knowledge of it, a knowledge of life itself is incomplete.

The Tirumala Temple conforms generally to the general concepts of temples and worships as detailed above.

II. Some peculiar customs followed in the Tirumala Temple.

(a) Special practices in the Temple.

There are certain peculiar customs followed in the Tirumala Temple which have been sanctified by usage and tradition for a long time. The book 'Sri Venkatachala Itihasamala' already referred to mentions certain rituals of worship finalised by Sri Ramanuja. These arrangements are given in the fourth stabaka of the Itihasamala and are as follows:

(1) The face mark of the Lord's image should be made up of Pachai-karpuram.

(2) The face mark of the Lord on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays should be made up of white earth.

(3) Katuka or collyrium should be applied to the eyes.

(4) The image should be dressed in flowers on Thursdays removing all the jewellery on the Lord.

(5) The flower dress should be removed on Fridays and the upright face mark on the Lord should be made with sacred earth. The image should be given a full abhishekam on this day.

(6) The Nachchiyar Prabandam should be sung in the temple on Fridays at the time of the removal of the Padmavati plaque for the abhishekam of the Lord.

(7) The Lord Varahamurthi at Tirumala is to be worshipped first; the first Naivedyam should be to this deity and pilgrims should worship Him first before worshipping the Lord of Tirumala.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(8) As the hill is holy, only those who have to serve the Lord should reside on the hill

(9) Jivahimsa should not be allowed on the hill; those residing on the hill at the time of their death should be removed to the plains.

(10) Pilgrims should not wear sandals while proceeding to Tirumala.

Most of the above customs are said to have been initiated by Sri Ramanuja. However they have been altered during the centuries to suit the needs of the changing times. For example though the namam of the Lord is still made up with Pacchakarpuram to this day, it would appear that the practice of applying white earth on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesday is not now being observed. The Pacchakarpuram mark is applied rather thickly over the eyes of the Lord and on the forehead every Friday, and this is made rather thin on Thursday and is entirely removed before the holy abhishekam on every Friday.

There are a few other peculiar customs followed in the temple which have acquired sanctity due to passage of time. These are as follows —

(1) The worship in the temple is not according to the Vaishnavite Pancha-ratra Agama, but according to the Vaikhanasa Agama.

(2) The Lord's chin (Mulavigraha) is daily exhibited with 1½ tolas of Pacchaikarpuram dabbed on it.

(3) The Lord of Tirumala (Mula vigraha) obtains 'Tirumanjanam' or abhishekam on every Friday morning. Turmeric paste is one of the articles used during this abhishekam for the Lakshmi figure, forming part of the Lord.

(4) The Bhoga Srinivasa or the Bhoga Murthi in the temple however is given a daily abhishekam.

(5) Civet oil is applied to the Lord's Vighraha obviously as a preservative.

(6) The Archana in the temple (Sahasra Archana and Ashtottara Archana) involves the repetition of the several Vishnu named which are listed out in the Varaha Purana.

(7) During the abhishekam on Friday the mantras recited follow the Purushasukta Vidhanam. The 'Mantrapushpa' slokas proclaiming that 'Sriman Narayana' is the One and that worship to all deities reaches Him' are recited.

CONCLUSION

(8) After the abhishekam, along with the recital of the Prabandham hymns from the Taittiriya Upanishad are chanted.

(9) The custom of removing one's hair as an offering to the Lord.

(10) The special waking up ceremony viz., Suprabhatam.

(11) The Ekantaseva where the Lord is laid to rest every night.

(12) The anna prasadam, naivedyam to the Lord and the other prasadam are offered only outside the Kulasekhara padī. Only four nali of rice are said to be offered inside the garbhagriha to the Lord along with fruits, flowers milk, butter, etc.

(13) The Chandramana panchangam or the Lunar Almanac is followed in the temple.

(b) Some peculiar customs of the temple.

Application of Pacchaikarpuram on the Lord's chin:—

The Lord's chin wears an application of pacchaikarpuram always. This curious custom is explained by the following legend. Anantarya, one of the disciples of Sri Ramanuja is said to have been ordained by his Guru Sri Ramanuja to maintain a nandavanam or flower garden in Tirumala to ensure a regular supply of flowers for the Lord of Tirumala. He was keen on gardening as a service to the Lord, and was assisted in this work by his wife who was pregnant at that time. Once Anantarya was digging up the earth in his garden and was levelling the land; his pregnant wife was then assisting him by carrying the earth in a basket on her head. Due to her condition she soon got tired in her self-appointed task. Lord Srinivasa, the All-Seeing Deity therefore assumed the form of a young Brahmachari and was assisting her by carrying the earth himself. The old man noticed the Brahmachari and thought it was rather presumptuous of him to interfere in their 'kainkaryam' to the Lord and struck him with the spade in his hand. The Brahmachari who was hit on his chin immediately vanished. Later Anantarya proceeded to the temple to worship Lord Srinivasa and found that blood was freely oozing from the Lord's image. He is said to have immediately realised that his helper was no other than the Lord Himself and quickly dressed the Lord's wound by applying pacchaikarpuram. The Lord is then said to have pardoned his devotee and said that he would wear the wound thenceforth in recognition of Anantarya's devotion.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Another legend connected with Anantarya is the presentation of a garland of flowers. It is said that once Lord Srinivasa and his consort Padmavati assumed the guise of a Prince and Princess and were sporting themselves in Anantarya's nandanavanam. Disturbed that his flowers were being collected and spoiled, Anantarya kept watch one night, discovered the couple in the garden and tried to capture them. Lord Srinivasa dodged him and disappeared, but his consort Padmavati was caught and tied to a champaka tree. The next day Anantarya discovered who his captive was and took her back to the temple with all honours. Hearing this legend, Ramanuja is said to have ordained that the Lord of Tirumala should be taken in procession on the Seventh day of the Brahmotsavam round the town and that on the eighth day, Anantarya should be presented with a garland of flowers from the temple. This practice is being followed to this day.

The Tamil Prabandham:— The chanting of the Tamil prabandham is another unique custom followed in the temple. The Tamil Prabandham as well as the Vedas are recited not only during the Adhyayanotsavam, but also at other times. Thus, for example, when Tirumanjanam or abhishekam is done to the Lord on Friday, the plaque on which the Padmavati figure is carved is removed and at this time the hymns composed by Andal which form a part of the Tamil Prabandham are recited by the priests. Sri Ramanuja appears to have initiated the practice of chanting the hymns of the Prabandham. The Venkatachala Itihasa Mala mentions that Ramanuja arranged that the Adhyayana should be performed daily in the temple by first reciting the verses of Perialvar and later the hymns of other Alvars.

Worship in the Temple:— The worship in the temple is strictly according to the Vaikhanasa Agama. According to the Bhavishyottara Puranam Vaikhanasa Rishi is said to have admired the lilas of Lord Krishna in Dvapara-yugam and did tapas to obtain darshan of Lord Krishna. Lord Krishna then appeared to him and informed him that the sage should worship him as Lord Srinivasa only. He was also directed to proceed to Seshachalam and worship Lord Srinivasa who had manifested Himself there in an ant-hill, and that a devotee by name Rangadasa would help him to locate the Lord in the hill. Vaikhanasa Rishi is then said to have proceeded to Tirumala, obtained the services of Rangadasa, located the Lord in the ant-hill and started worshipping the Lord of Tirumala. Thus Vaikhanasa Rishi was the first person to worship the Lord of Tirumala; the temple is to this day worshipped therefore according to the Vaikhanasa practices only.

Koluvu:— The darbar of the Lord called Koluvu, offered to Koluvu Srinivasa, takes place everyday in the Snapana mantapa, just before the

CONCLUSION

nityarchana starts. The day's almanac is read before the Lord and the previous day's collections are also read before the Lord.

(c) The ceremony of tonsure or removal of hair at Tirumala

Another unique custom of Tirumala is the tonsure ceremony. Pilgrims to Tirumala usually offer the hair on their head to the Lord as a devotional offering. Persons in need of the assistance of the Lord usually take a vow and when they visit the temple offer their hair at the Kalyanakatta special hall erected for this purpose. A bath in the Pushkarini follows the tonsure ceremony; the pilgrims then enter the temple and worship the Lord.

The Tirumala temple inscriptions mention about food offerings etc. made to the Lord, but no mention is made of this curious custom of offering hair. A reprint of an article published in May, August 1831 A.D. by an English District Collector of the region, about Tirumala in the Asiatic Journal, already quoted, mentions that "offerings or counickee are made generally from interested motives, and are of every diversity of articles conceivable; gold and silver lumps, coins of all sorts, bags of rupees, copper, money, spices, asafoetida the hair cut off the head frequently vowed from infancy, and given up by some beautiful virgin in compliance with her parents' oath". From the above it is evident that this custom at least existed in the year 1831 A.D. if not earlier.

This custom of removing hair as a part of religious ceremony has a very hoary past.

From the study of comparative religion it becomes clear that hair is attributed with magical power in early civilizations and ancient culture. It is considered to be the seat of power and the strength of its owner. It is for this reason that hair is well-guarded against black magic among primitive people and folk. It is also for this reason that hair-offering is an important practice in rites of initiation and propitiation of deities and of fore-fathers. Its role in these rites has been well interpreted by W. Robertson Smith. From a close study of Semitic religion, he comes to the conclusion that hair-offering is similar to blood-offering and is believed to establish a bond between the man and the deity to whom it is offered.

"Its proper object is to create or emphasize the relation between an individual and a god, and so it is in place either in ceremonies of initiation by which a new member is incorporated into the circle of a particular religion, or in connection with special vows and special acts of devotion, by which a

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

worshipper seeks to knit more closely the bond between himself and his God." (W.R. Smith - The religion of the semities; p. 326).

The belief in the magical power of hair is evidenced also in the practices recorded by Lucian among the Syrians and the Phoenicians. Among the Syrians, hair-offering was a religious initiation, preliminary to marriage for both boys and girls. Similarly, among the Phoenicians after the mourning for the loss of Adonis, both men and women were supposed to shave their heads in the sanctuary of Astarte at Byblos. The women, however, had a choice between shaving the head or offering themselves for service for a day in the temple.

James Frazer, the famous anthropologist, has recorded beliefs in the magical power of hair in various parts of the world. He mentions a hair-cutting ritual in North India in puberty initiation ceremonies, where in some cases the hair appears to be regarded as a sacrifice. C. Jung also reports that shaving the head has been associated with consecration or initiation. The priests of Isis had their heads shaved quite bald and the custom is prevalent to the present day.

In ancient India the offering of hair in propiation rites is as old as vedas. Tonsure was undertaken in the vedic sacrifice such as Chaturmasya and Agnistoma.

Kesavapaniya or cutting of the hair was one of the rites in the royal consecration as prescribed in the Sutra literature. The Puranas and Nibandhas of the Medieval period prescribe tonsure of head in temples and tirthas, to please (tarpana) gods and pitrs and as a purificatory measure. The Samba Upapurana states that devotees should have their heads shaved. It is because of the great significance attached to hair offering in tirthas, that barbers were attached to important shrines in the medieval period. The famous temple of Somanatha had 300 barbers in the eleventh century. Even in the present times hair offering is an important rite in tirthayatra.

Hair-offering has an important place in worship of the Mother goddess. The seventh century reliefs of Mahabalipuram near Madras seem to depict hair offering to the Devi by a male devotee. Vakpati, the eight century court-poet of Kanauj, refers to the hair offered in the shrine of goddess Vindhyavasini. (Vakpati, Gandovaho, verse 317).

Under tantric practice, the *sikha* or tuft of hair was considered as one of the six *angas* to be worshipped at the four corners of the *yantra*. The offering

CONCLUSION

of sikha was also an important ritual in the initiation of tantric ascetics. It is noted in the Mahanirvana Tantra that the Pitrs, Devas and Devarsis and also "the acts performed in the wordly stage of life reside in the sikha". The ascetic offered his sikha in the fire, uttering the Kama, Maya, Kurchcha and Astra bijas, ending with the mantra svaha.

The offering of the sikha by the initiates is still a practice among the Nathapanthis. After the tonsure, the novice allows his hair or his scalp-lock to grow until he pays a visit to some shrine. Here he gets it cut and offers to the deity along with food.

Tonsure is also prescribed in ancient dharmasastras while going on pilgrimages.

There is a difference of opinion among the sastras as to whether a tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage or not. The Padmapurana and Skandapurana appear to make it obligatory. The Tirtha-Kalpataru does not refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tirtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and hard. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Caturmasyas and Agnistoma. The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (samavartana) was also marked by tonsure. Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing prayascitta for sins. The Tirthachintamani and Tirthaprakasa. both quote a verse of Vishnu from the Smrti-samuccaya, viz., 'at Prayaga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one's father or mother one should cut one's hair; but one should not cut one's hair without cause.

प्रयागे तीर्थयात्रायां पितृमातृ विद्योगतः ।

कच्चानां वपनं कुर्यात् वृथा न विकचो भवेत् ॥

The Mitakshare. on yajnavalkya III. 17 quotes a verse as follows: 'On the Ganges, in Bhaskarakshetra, on the death of one's father, mother and guru at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a soma sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases.

Both Tirthachintamani, and Tirthaprakasa, quote a verse which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tirthas except at Kuruksetra, Visala (Ujjayini or Badarika), Viraja (river in Orissa) and Gaya'. In the case of a snataka, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breadths of hair are

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

cut. Vrdha-Harita (IX. 386-387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living, tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breadths should be cut off. Other smrtis like Apastamba, in verse I, 33-34, Angiras verse 163, Yama 54-55, Parasara quoted by the Mitaksara on Yaj. III., 263-264, etc lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breadths of hair in the case of woman (nari). Parasara Madhaviya in II 1. p.291 reads even 'narikumarinam' and holds that nari means here 'a woman whose husband is alive'.

The texts make a difference between **ksaura** and **mundana**. The latter means 'shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard', while **ksaura** means only shaving the head. Therefore the Naradiya says that all sages did not prohibit **ksaura** even at Gaya but only **mundana** is forbidden there, and there is no **mundana** on the Ganges anywhere except at Prayaga. The Tirthendusekhara (p. 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only *kamya* i.e., to be done if certain rewards are desired, and points out that sistas do not resort to these two at many tirthas.

Tonsure has also been prescribed as a penance in the ancient sastras.

The Taitriya Brahmana (I. 5,6, 1-2) states: 'The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits; therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head'. The Prayaschitta, Prakasa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that vapana is of three kinds, *daiva* (of the gods), *asura* (of the asuras) and *manusa* (of men), It says that the *asura* method is to be condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the *istis*, and in soma sacrifices the *daiva* method is to be ordained, while in *prayascittas*, (there being no special *vidhi*) there is an option.

Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions. For example, the Visnupurana provides: "Tonsure should be carried out at Prayaga when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one's father or mother; one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head". To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as seen for verse quoted by the Madanaparijata and Prayaschittasamuchchaya Gautama. (27.3), Vasista Dharmasutra (24.5), Baudhayanasutra Dh.S (II.1.98-99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure. Daksa

CONCLUSION

forbade tonsure, the offering of pindas and the carrying of a corpse and all funeral rites to one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baudhayanasutra already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances. Angiras 163, Apastamba-smṛti I. 33-34, Brahm-Yama IV. 16, Vraddha-Harita IX. 386, Parasara IX 54-55, Yama 54-55, all provide that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive, and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parasara (IX 52-54), and Sankha (pp. 290-291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brahmana tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the daksina would have to be double. The Mitakshara III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brahmanas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahapatakas, of cow-killing or of being an avakirnin.' It further quotes Samvarta to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter, then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, while when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut; while three-fourth is prescribed then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut; and in the case of full penance all hair including the sikha (the top-knot) also are to be cut off.

Thus tonsure of the head both as a kamya act i.e., the act performed for the fulfilment of a desire and tonsure as a penance and also as a religious duty while going on pilgrimages is well known in India.

Elliot and Dawson in their History of India Vol. I, mention the existence of 300 barbers in the famous Śomanatha temple. The practice is also well known in the Simhachalam temple. This practice is held peculiarly sacred in Tirumala. These practices would thus appear to be quite in consonance with the ancient rites and rituals of our country, though inscriptional evidence in the Tirumala Temple, unlike other customs, has practically nothing to say about this.

III. The cult of Bhakti.

(a) Introduction.

The Lord of the Seven Hills is the Lord of the Universe; the Lord of all Creation; and is the Light of the world. Being an avyakta himself, he has

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

manifested himself in a concrete form and shape, in the *katyavalambita* pose, solely for our refuge and help. The *katyavalambita* pose indicates that the Lord's succour and help is always available to those devotees who take refuge in His lotus feet. He is the Lord of the Lords, and the *Varada hasta* bestows His divine grace sought and unsought, on his devotees. Like the effulgent life-giving sunlight, His grace is available to all, and the measure in which we receive it, is the measure of our own inability and our ignorance in refusing the Lord's grace which is available to all in plenty. What is required is complete devotion and *bhakti* or what is known technically as *prapatti* Viz., total surrender to the Lord.

(b) Origin of *bhakti*.

In the *Rgveda* we find traces of the sentiment of *Bhakti*. The very early people looked upon their favourite god as a loving father or a devoted lover. A prayer addressed to *Indra* reads: "Be our saviour; thou art recognised as our relation who looks upon us and pities us, as a friend, a father, most fatherly of fathers". Another ancient prayer reads: "All my hymns in unison praise *Indra*; as wives embrace their husbands, so do my thoughts embrace *Indra* the divine bestower of gifts; for the sake of a favour they cling to the liberal god (*Indra*) as wives do their lords or as a woman does her handsome lover." These prayers clearly conceive god as a friend or a father or a lover and this conception compares well with the definition of *Bhakti* given by the *Gita*.

The concept of *Bhakti* received the earliest and clearest exposition in the *Bhagavadgita*, which is taken to contain the essence of all the *Upanisads*. It clearly implies that the *Upanisads* are earlier than the *Gita* and the sentiment of *Bhakti* was developed by the *Upanisads* themselves. The *Upanisads* prescribe *Upasana* or fervent meditation of *Brahman* or Supreme Soul. "Such a fervent meditation cannot but magnify the thing and give it a glorious form so as to excite admiration and love". The *Mandukyopanisad* says: "The soul (*atman*) is not to be obtained by instruction, nor by intellect, nor by much learning. He is to be obtained by the one whom He chooses. To such one that Soul (*atman*) reveals his own person". This is a clear idea of winning the grace of God. Especially, the *Svetasvatara Upanisad* contains the theism of the *Upanisadic* period in its most mature form with a god distinctly personal at the centre. The *Svetasvatara* is much earlier in time than the *Gita*. This *Upanisad* gives a description of the godhead and of the final pure serenity which is instinct with the glow of love and admiration. Further, the *Upanisad* preaches that god makes himself manifest in one's own intelligence and it ends with an expression of self surrender to him. The *Svetasvatara* thus

CONCLUSION

stands at the door of the Bhakti school and pours its loving adoration on the Lord. The loveliness of the works of God, his greatness and majesty and his mysterious nature are also matters which strike the mind of man; and these appear to have operated in bringing devotion to Vishnu into prominence. What contributed to the formation of Vaisnavism were these qualities which excited love, admiration and a spirit of worship; while in Rudra-Siva the sentiment of reverence is at the bottom. In the monotheistic religions of the other countries, the same god is feared and loved; in India, the God that is loved is Vishnu -Narayana-Vasudeva-Krishna, while the god that is adored is Rudra-Siva.

(c) The philosophy of the concept of Bhakti.

It is interesting to note that the concept of bhakti developed in India to satisfy the practical needs of an aspiring soul. The great systems of monistic metaphysical thinking, like the concept of the immutable, immovable, Absolute, though they shine as striking examples of the heights of logical thinking to which thinking minds in our country could soar, still do not comport the inner stresses and sufferings of mortal men, and are but intellectual diversions and not balming cures for a soul in distress. The eternal Absolute, rigid, motionless, and totally lacking in either emotion or response, cannot stretch forth its hand of sympathy and solace in the difficulties which limited man feels during the course of his life. As one great scholar has put it, "the Absolute, (like the Tajmahal, which is unconscious of the admiration it arouses) remains indifferent to the fear and love of its worshippers, and for all those who look upon the goal of religion as the goal of philosophy, the immutable Absolutist view of the eternal, seems to be a fine finished example of learned error."

If the world is just an appearance, and God a cold-blooded non-emotional entity, the weak and erring human beings, when they cry out from the depths of distress for comfort and solace, for the helping hand of Grace, would feel miserable and let down. For an ordinary man, full of sins, to solve this equation of himself and God, it is necessary that he must have a living sense of companionship with a personal God, with whom he can have rapport in times of distress. Hence the concept of bhakti with its philosophy, that the innermost being of God is not merely the realization of the eternal truth or the abstract enjoyment of perfect beauty but a feeling of emotive personal love which expresses itself in concrete terms for others.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

Sri Ramanuja, the great teacher of Vaisnavism argues that God is indeed real and independent, and is the sole solace of the world, and that Reality is totally dependant on God. The spiritual principle which is the basis of this is that world is not a mere abstraction or an illusion, but is founded on a form of unity with the divine.

Sri Ramanuja's faith was much influenced by the Vishnu and Bhagavata puranas. In the puranas, devotion to God and not mere assent to dogma in the essence of bhakti and is held to be the most effective method of salvation.

Bhakti can move mountains; nothing is impossible for it. Dhruva is advised by his mother to be good, pious, friendly and eager to do good to living creation. "Know him to be the devotee of Visnu who never deviates from the duties of his caste, who looks with equal vision on friend and enemy, who takes nothing which is not his own, who hurts no being, and who is of unblemished mind." As the Vishnu purana says: "The society decays when property confers rank, wealth becomes the only basis of virtue, passion the sole bond of union between man and woman, falsehood the source of success in life, sex the sole means of enjoyment, when the outer trappings are mistaken for the inner spirit. Such a state of society calls for a redeemer". Moksha is equality with God (Isvarasadrshyam). Ramanuja's faith was much influenced by the Visnu and the Bhagavata Puranas.

(d) Sri Ramanuja.

Sri Ramanuja who greatly reorganised the worship of Tirumala Temple was born in Sriperumbudur in 1027 A.D. He lost his father while quite young. He specialised in vedantic learning under Yadavaprakasa of Kanchipuram but could not agree on all the points of doctrine with his teacher. Alavandar the most famous head of the mutt at Srirangam was much impressed with Sri Ramanuja's eclectic attitude and thought of installing him in the apostolic seat at Srirangam.

One day, in great distress, he asked the priest of the temple to ascertain the divine will regarding his own future. The will of God was expressed in a verse to the effect, "I am the supreme reality; my view is distinction; Self-surrender is the unfailing cause of salvation; individual effort is not very essential; release will come in the end; Perianambi is the best of the teachers." God spoke thus or Ramanuja heard the voice and set his heart to obey.

Later on Sri Ramanuja became a sanyasi and he was so popular that people called him the prince of ascetics, atiraja. Ramanuja settled down at

CONCLUSION

Srirangam and acquired a full knowledge of the Tiruvaymozhi. With the help of his disciple Kurattalvar, who knew by heart the Bodhayavrtti, Ramanuja wrote Vedantasara, Vedanta samgraha and Vedantadipa, and composed his great commentaries on the Brahma Sutra and the Bhagavadgita. The learned among the Vaisnavas gave their approval to Ramanuja's exposition of the Brahma Sutra, and it became the commentary (Sribhasya) for the Vaisnavas. Ramanuja toured round South India, restored many Vaisnava temples and converted large numbers to Vaishnavism.

The saints and teachers in whose company Sri Ramanuja spent his days were steeped deeply in religious life and piety. The hymns of the Alvars were outbursts of god-filled souls, for whom God was not merely the author of existence but an intimate personal friend and guide. The religious instinct of Ramanuja seized on the concrete idea of God as a person.

As Dr. Radhakrishnan says—"Ramanuja trusts firmly to the religious instinct, and sets forth a deeply religious view which reveals God to man through creation, through the theophanies, through the prophets, and through the incarnations. His study of the Alvars and his training by the Acaryas helped him to develop elements which otherwise would have remained latent in the Upanisads and the Brahma Sutra. He did not for a moment feel that he was propounding a system of his own; he was but expounding the wisdom of the wise of all time."

The practices which he introduced in the Tirumala Temple are based on the above concept of bhakti

(e) Prapatti.

The great faith of Sri Vaishnavas had personal bhakti to the Lord as its central faith. This is known as prapatti. Dr. Das Gupta in his 'History of Indian Philosophy' (Vol. III) given a classic glimpse of the doctrine of prapatti, and it is extracted below for information.

Prapatti, otherwise called nyasa, is defined by the older school as a mere passivity on the part of the Lord in accepting those who seek Him or as a mental state on the part of the seeker in which he is conscious of himself only as a spirit; but such a consciousness is unassociated with any other complex feeling, of egoism and the like, which invests one with so-called individuality. It may also mean the mental state in which the seeker conceives himself as a subsidiary accessory to God as his ultimate end, to Whom he must cling

THE THIRUMALA TEMPLE

unburdened by any idea of scriptural duties; or he may concentrate himself absolutely on the supreme interest and delight that he feels in the idea that God is the sole end of his being. Such a person naturally cannot be entitled without self-contradiction to any scriptural duty. Just as a guilty wife may return to her husband, and may passively lie in a state of surrender to him and resign herself, so the seeker may be conscious of his own true position with reference to God leading to a passive state of surrender. Others think that it involves five elements; (i) that God is the only saviour; (ii) that He is the only end to be attained; (iii) that He alone is the supreme object of our desires; (iv) that we absolutely surrender and resign ourselves to Him; and (v) that we practice supreme prayerfulness—all associated with absolute trustfulness in Him.

There are some who define the prapanna, or seeker of God as one who has read the Alvar literature of prabandhas (adhita prabandhah prapannah). Others, however, think that the mere study of the prabandhas cannot invest a man with the qualities of prapatti. They think that he alone is entitled to the path of prapatti who cannot afford to adopt the dilatory courses of karma-yoga, jnana-yoga and bhakti-yoga, and therefore does not think much of these courses. Again, the older school thinks that the person who adopts the path of prapatti should give up all scriptural duties and duties assigned to the different stages of life (asrama); for it is well evidenced in the Gita text that one should give up all one's religious duties and surrender oneself to God. Others, again, think that the scriptural duties are to be performed even by those who have taken the path of prapatti. Further, the older school thinks that the path of knowledge is naturally against the path of prapatti; for prapatti implies the negation of all knowledge, excepting one's self surrendering association with God. The paths of duties and of knowledge assume an egoism and it is therefore wrong to suppose that the paths of duties and knowledge are reconcilable with prapatti on account of its association with an element of egoism. The so-called egoism is but a reference to our own nature as self, and not to ahankara, an evolute. Again, some think that even a man who has adopted the path of prapatti may perform the current scriptural duties only with a view to not lending any support to a reference to their cases as pretexts for neglect of normal duties by the unenlightened and the ignorant i.e. those that have adopted the path of prapatti should also perform their duties for the purpose of loka-samgraha. Others, however, think that the scriptural duties, being the commandments of God, should be performed for the satisfaction of God (bhagavat-prity-artham), even by those who have taken the path of prapatti. Otherwise they would have to suffer punishment for that.

CONCLUSION

The accessories of *prapatti* are counted as follows: (i) A positive mental attitude to keep oneself always in consonance with the Lord's will (*anukulyasya samkalpah*); (ii) a negative mental attitude (*pratikulyasya varjanam*) as opposing anything that may be conceived as against His will; (iii) a supreme trustfulness that the Lord will protect the devotee (*raksisyatiti visvasah*); (v) complete self-surrender (*atma-niksepah*); (vi) a sense of complete poverty and helplessness (*karpanyam*). The older school thinks that the man who adopts the path of *prapatti* has no desires to fulfill, and thus he may adopt any of these accessories which may be possible for him according to the conditions and inclinations of his mind. Others, however, think, while being free from any desire, since they wish to feel themselves the eternal servants of God. Though they do not crave for the fulfilment of any other kind of need, it is obligatory upon them to perform all the six accessories of *prapatti* described above.

The older school thinks that God is the only cause of emancipation and that the adoption of the path of *prapatti* is not so: the later school, however, thinks that *prapatti* is also recognized as the cause of salvation in a secondary manner, since it is only through *prapatti* that God extends His grace to His devotees. Again, the older schools think that there is no necessity for expiation (*prayascitta*) for those who adopt the path of *prapatti*, for with them God's grace is sufficient to remove all sins. The later schools, however, think that, if the follower of the path of *prapatti* is physically fit to perform the courses of expiation, then it is obligatory on him. According to the older school a man possessing the eight kinds of devotion (*bhakti*), even if he be a *mleccha*, is preferred to a Brahman and may be revered as such. According to the later schools, however, a devotee of a lower caste may be shown proper respect, but he cannot be revered as a Brahman. Again, on the subject of the possibility of pervasion of the atomic individual souls by God, the older schools are of opinion that God by His infinite power may enter into the atomic individuals; the later schools, however, think that such a pervasion must be of an external nature, i.e. from outside. It is not possible for God to penetrate into individual souls. As regards *Kaivalya* the older schools say that it means only self-apperception. He who attains this state attains the highest stage of eternity or immortality. The later school, however, thinks that he who has merely this self-apperception cannot attain immortality through that means only; for this self-apperception may not necessarily mean a true revelation of his nature with reference to God. He can realize that only as he passes through higher spheres and ultimately reaches *Vaikuntha*-the abode of God, where he is accepted as the servant of the Lord. It is such a state that can be regarded as eternal.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

(f) Later teachers than Sri Ramanuja.

Sri Ramanuja's visistadvaita philosophy influenced Ramananda (1300 to 1411 A.D.), Kabir (1398 to 1527 A.D.), Nanak and Tulsidas (1511 to 1637 A.D.) and a host of others who spread the bhakti movement in India.

Pertaining to the same is the famous Gita govinda by the poet composer Jayadeva. In the same movement were saint Gyaneswar (1271 to 1297 A.D.), a devotee of Vithala of Pandaripur, Namdev (1270 to 1350 A.D.) and include Narsi Mehta of Gujarat (1414 - 1481), Chandidas (1417-1477). Vidyapati (1400-1507), Surdas (1479-1584), (1469-1538), Nanak Sri Chaitanya (1484-1532), Vallabhacharya (1479-1531), Pothana, Purandhara Dasa and Tallapaka Annamacharya (1414-1503), etc.

(g) Bhakti as a means of salvation.

Bhakti as a means of salvation is the very essence of Srivaishnavism, Ramanuja's view is the highest expression of truth, while pure monism holds that the Real is something larger and better than our thinking has gone for. Their beautiful stories of the other world evoke great response within our souls. Ramanuja comprehends all aspects of life and concludes that there is a God who directs the world process. Logic suggests it, religious consciousness confirms it, and most of us accept it. Srivaishnavism has thus the greatness of religious realization. Ideas of this are found enshrined in the various stories of the Upanishads, the agamas, the puranas and the prabhandas and Srivaishnavism respond to them all with its own peculiar religious fervor.

The essence of the concept of bhakti is that all the different elements are held together in the undefinable unity of religious experience. Srivaishnavism and the concept of bhakti tried to reconcile the demands of the religious feeling with the claims of logical thinking. It has given us a systematical and self-contained philosophy of religion and more remarkable is the deep earnestness with which the concept of bhakti seeks to bridge the great gulf between the apparently conflicting regions of religion and philosophy.

The great prabhandakartas, the alvars, Sri Ramanuja and the saints of Srivaishnavism the acharyapurushas in Tirumala, were all imbued with this spirit of the bhakti movement in its pristine original form, and the Tirumala Temple with the Lord of Seven Hills is still serving as a living beacon of active religious life.

CONCLUSION

IV. The Katyavalambita Divya Manohara Murti of Sri Venkateswara.

(a) The image of the Lord.

The katyavalambita pose of the Divya Manohara Murti of Sri Venkateswara is a living God to its devotees. Throughout the ages it has served as a refuge for people in distress. People from all parts of the world flock to it in great distress and are benefited by the Darshan of the Lord.

The image of the Lord is in the sthanaka or standing posture. His eyes are in sama drishti showing divine grace on the devotees assembled to offer worship. The face is beaming with joy and wears a divine smile. He is richly adorned with flowing locks of hair some of which rest on his shoulders. The ears wear beautiful ornaments. The neck is shaped conch-like and the body has the grace and majesty of a lion. He has four arms, the upper two being culled to hold the Chakra and the Sankha. The lower right hand is in the varada hasta style and the left lower hand in the katyavalambita pose. When the idol itself is not exactly in the tribhanga pose the body below the waist has taken a slight tilt to the left, and the knees themselves are bent and opened slightly outward giving it a peculiar grace and charm. Lakshmi is held in the right chest in the sitting pose. The figure of the Lord is depicted wearing a dhoti from the waist downwards. There is a katibandham of the waist band. The legs and feet are beautifully shaped, are strong and are models of perfection. It is of great significance that the idol here does not conform to any agamic rules for the simple reason that the Lord is above all rules. The idol is a splendid specimen of a divya manohara murti.

(b) The darshan of the Lord.

To all devotees a mere darshan of the Lord is a matter of deep spiritual reflection.

The more one thinks about Darshan, the more indefinable does it become. The Mahabharata says "Bathing in sacred waters, or visiting temples with idols of clay and stone, may purify one after a lifetime, but the saints purify one by mere Darshan." Does Darshan, therefore, mean merely a vision or an act of seeing a God, or is there in it, some other impenetrable spiritual undercurrent of subjective experience, which is not capable of being defined in exact objective language? The more one thinks about it, the more it became clear that Darshan is not mere blessing or mere benediction in the ecclesiastical sense of the term. Darshan is neither bestowed, nor conferred. It

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

is neither given, nor received. Darshan simply occurs. For example, the first time one has a sight of the mighty and glorious river Ganga, having reached it after dreaming about it and its glory for years, one experiences Darshan.

Darshan is a mystic experience. It has no exact definition. We, with centuries of tradition behind us, take it for granted. It is ingrained in the consciousness of our people through our culture or by some power of instinct, which, ever and again finds a new source, without the slightest fear or hesitation. The mere fact that, one, in spite of western habits of thinking, is irresistibly attracted by Darshan, is proof positive that the entire teaching of Hinduism, its philosophy and religion, has come to us as natural as the air on earth.

Darshan has been defined by a great writer as, a form of happiness induced by being in the presence of some great manifestation of collective consciousness. It may be person, place or thing, and represent past, present or future, so long as it sets up the definite recognisable glow of superpersonal happiness'. Darshan has therefore to be experienced subjectively. Having tasted the bliss of it, one returns to it again and again. It does not involve any talking, any formal giving of presents or taking of prasadam. It involves a total surrender of one's ego to the one Real and a taste of the Infinite Happiness that is ever present in all of us, by the merger of our ego with the ever present Reality.

If Darshan is the above, does it necessarily require physical contact with, or being in the presence of anything or anybody? Obviously not. A mystic experience of communion of limited self with the ever present Reality, certainly transcends limitations of space and time. But then, it is one of those mysteries of life which the Giver of all Mercies has ordained for all of us, that we must have attachment to our own ego, as an essential condition of becoming. So long as this lasts, man, in his ignorance does require some external action, or some external contact to remind him of the heritage which is all his own and which transcends his ego. This condition is induced in us by the physical act of having Darshan of physical God and praying before Him and being near His presence.

How foolish are we, with our own egoistic thoughts, and our own imperfections, that we do not even find time to avail ourselves of the great wealth of grace and light that flow from Him perennially? Any Darshan of Him leaves one completely transformed and with a sense of fulfilment and an indefinable elation of the spirit. One sometimes envies the simple faith of the lonely and the humble and wonders why God has given us a so-called enlightened mind.

CONCLUSION

Life, to the simple folk never brings deep troubles of the mind. To them devotion exists. God exists. Truth exists. There the matter ends. For others, the mental journeys of the dark nights of the soul, when the world of the mind seems like the grim scene of a jungle-like struggle, and god seems to be receding in shadowy nothingness, and when our own existence seem nothing more than a fitful passage across the problems of Life and Death, of Soul and Spirit, assume great importance. The questioning mind goes out, and questions the very roots of things from which all questions should arise and sink. Decades ago, on the Hills of Tirumala, where I saw the Lord for the first time in deep reverence and faith, the entire darkness of my soul was rent asunder by the incandescence and brilliance of His Grace. From that moment of totality of surrender, He is ever with me, and I have no other source except that, to draw sustenance for this mortal life. In spite of His ever presence, still Darshan of his physical form, does have an effect, and it leaves one with a strange sense of elation of utter happiness and joy, which has no ostensible or known reason.

(c) The miracle and guidance of Lord Venkatesvara.

There are many incidents quoted, some of them quite true, and some of them due to excess of zeal on the part of his devotees, about His supernatural powers and the many miracles that the Lord has wrought. To one who attempts to know the Lord in his true form, such an enquiry is completely meaningless. The fact that a fell disease was cured, or that a childless parent was blessed with one, or that a tragedy was averted by timely warning, etc., etc., or similar incidents of which instances are plenty, are really not of importance at all. The very great miracle that the Lord performs, and that which really matters is the subtle and imperceptible change in the very elan of life of anyone who turns to Him with faith and sincerity. The real seeker who goes to Him in a spirit of devotion and surrender gets an unforgettable experience of lightness of spirit that moves him to the core of his being and leaves him with a sense of serene and sublime satisfaction.

One derives the greatest benefit from Him, just by sitting near Him in complete silence and inward prayer. If this is done properly, the troubled waters of the mind get calmed down and one slowly feels an upliftment of one's spirit. One is conscious of a silent and resistless change that is taking place in one's mind and a great peace penetrates the inner reaches of one's being. Gradually all doubts and difficulties melt away like dew before the sun, and one feels ashamed that one at all harboured such petty thoughts

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

and made oneself miserable in trying to solve the problems that one's own intellect creates for one. The sheer joy and sublimity of the felt presence of the Divine in Him, overwhelms the limits of one's individual ego, and one sinks to the bottom of a sea of ecstasy, delight, bliss and peace. One feels like doing nothing but just to remain silent in this vast ocean of peace and calmness, and one comes back to the normalcy of one's own ego and its endless agitations with a feeling of great regret. After some time, a total and complete surrender of one's mind to Him becomes inevitable, and the power of the Lord is such, that one's Sadhana is no longer done by himself, but by the Lord to whom one has surrendered.

It would be conveying a very wrong impression, if one thinks that the Lord is a completely abstracted spiritual being out of touch with the day to day problems that so much confront and agitate us. He has the complete attachment of the totally detached, and the all enveloping compassion of the fully divine. It is a sign of the greatness of His utter humanity that He is so easily approachable to all and sundry. Many people of many kinds flock to him daily with their problems. A list of the persons who see Him daily will give us an interesting idea of the extent of His influence. One sees for instance, widows left destitute; wives deserted by their husbands; scholars lamenting lack of recognition; condemned and sometimes even corrupt government officials bewailing their lot; learned pundits debating categories of hair-splitting logic; non-believers; foreign savants; mystics and saints; politicians and V.I.P.s; and a whole set of individuals ranging over a wide sphere of human activities like contractors; writers; advocates; doctors; teachers; singers; temple worshippers; archakas, etc., etc., all flocking to Him. Many come expecting a solution to their problems. Some come out of sheer curiosity and some out of a desire to see something of a great Lord. To one and all He is easily accessible, and He talks to them in their own language, and gives to them in the measure in which he is sought.

The material envelope of His image reflects the power of the spirit in Him. Many people have variously described Him. To one, his noble face pictured in grey and brown has an elusive element of spirituality which the French aptly term as *spiritual*. Another has described Him as tall and lean and as having features reduced to bare essentials and that His smile transforms His face into that of a child, with an extraordinary charm and sweetness. To a third, what mattered most was His face, and particularly His eyes, which looked at one with a rare lustre, or rather a fine blending of intelligence, kindness and compassion while at the same time they reflected a most gentle sense of Grace. Yet another experienced a feeling of peace whenever he recalled

CONCLUSION

his meeting the Lord. Many people all over the world have recorded their impression of their meetings with the Lord. Whatever differences there might be in the individual reactions of each of them, all are agreed that there is an intangible element of great spirituality that emanates from Him and envelops everyone that comes into contact with Him in a feeling of peace and happiness.

One who has been blessed by Lord Venkatesvara will never again feel any hesitation in accepting Him. It has been well said that the most sustaining power for righteous conduct is the felt presence of the eternal. If this is experienced, then it is no longer necessary to have recourse to any argument to prove this.

If ever any proof is required the temples are live institutions, the shrine of Tirumala is a verifiable truth.

(d) The significance of Lord Venkatesvara.

Anyone who has had just a darshan of the Lord of the Seven Hills will no longer doubt whether God exists or not. To some who have had a wholly western type of education, training, and outlook, but who are still racked by the problems of the Ultimate Reality and the ways of reaching it, the Lord of the Seven Hills has been a fountain of not merely spiritual solace, but also the main influence for fundamental and far-reaching changes in mental outlook, habits of thought, and methods of living. He is, to one and all, an embodiment of That which is imperishable, and which, out of Its grace and kindness, stretches forth Its hand and touches man, to make him remember who he really is, and to enable him to recover his lost soul.

One who has seen the Lord in his real self, will never again hate another. People of all grades and kinds flock to Him with their problems; widows left destitute; parents with unmarried daughters; wives deserted by husbands; youngsters without employment; proud scholars lamenting lack of recognition etc. etc. But the Lord sees them all, not by the ordinary light of the day, but by the transfiguring light of their divine possibilities. When He, regards the lowliest and the humblest with the reverence they deserve, as beings, in whose hearts dwell an element and a power which men call God, how then can hate or difference flourish? Many flock to him with prayers and requests. Whether their prayers are heeded or not, it is certain, that they go away entirely different persons, from what they were, before they saw Him. Everyone feels com-

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

forted and solaced, and if his request is not fulfilled, he can be certain of one thing, namely that mental peace, joy, and strength to sustain anything that may happen to him, would be added unto him.

A darshan of Him is a real experience in itself. People who go to Him with their problems come away after meeting Him, with their eyes full of tears, and their hearts melted down by an unknown but agreeable emotion, not knowing what has come over them. The greatness of the Lord lies in the imperceptible and almost unnoticed changes, that he brings about in the inner psyche and being, of any one who turns to Him, with sincerity and devotion. People who have gone to Him with a long list of doubts and questions, have come back bewildered, not having asked those questions, and curiously finding that they have no longer any need to ask them at all.

His noble face with hues of grey and dark has an elusive and subtle element of great spirituality. His expression is mild and modest; his large dark eyes being extraordinarily beautiful and tranquil. His face is straight and classically regular. He reminds one, of the saints of the Middle ages; but behind is hidden something far more vibrant and potent, than is apparent on the surface. He represents the very embodiment of all that we hold as sacred, and is a repository of the true religion of the Upanishads, through whom the mighty genius of the Eternal, otherwise inexpressible in categories of language, exhibits itself, as a living symbol, of that great mystery of the universe, which transcends all processes of thought, and encompasses the whole corpus of creation in a mighty, and Real Oneness. He reminds us that we are not the mere animals that we normally are, but are sparks of the divine, and that our purpose in this life, is to redeem this heritage, and to claim our divine inheritance. He is a rare Lord who seeks only to uplift the world. His mission in this yuga is to uplift us, and it is for this, that he is carrying of the burden of the temple today.

A living testimony to a living God is Lord Venkatesvara of Tirumala. All that He requires is sincerity in approach. Those who seek with their whole heart, and with a real determination to find, will discover the secret of the Ultimate from Him. If this sincerity is there, He ensures that faith and devotion automatically develop in the devotee. After some time, all doubts and difficulties disappear, and ultimately the desire for sadhana itself drops out. One feels only like surrendering to Him, and being absolutely free and calm, without anything else, in His safe anchor. After some more time, a total and complete surrender, of all will and mind, to Him, becomes inevitable, and the power of the Lord is such, that one's sadhana, is done to

CONCLUSION

him, by Him, to whom, one has surrendered. It is a fact, and a verifiable fact that the Lord guides surely, but subtly and imperceptibly, all who turn to Him with faith. When one surrenders to Him, success is inevitable, and one has only to be borne on, to the Ultimate, secure and safe in His refuge. This is not mere theory, but is a matter of personal experience with the Lord. We have only to surrender our sinful, lustful and agitated hearts and minds to Him, and in return we get from Him, grace, love, and a taste of the divine, which is measureless and invaluable. It is a great fortune of our times that He has chosen to be with us, and we have only to blame ourselves, if we do not avail ourselves fully of His divine presence and influence. Such a chance occurs only rarely to many. I offer my respects and prayers, to my God who is to me my whole life here and hereafter, with the recitation of the following 108 names of His Hallowed Names:—

श्री वैकुण्ठेश्वर अष्टोत्तय

1.	ॐ श्री वैकुण्ठेशाय नमः		
2.	ॐ श्री शेषाद्रिनिलयाय	श्री वैकुण्ठेशाय	नमः
3.	ॐ श्री वृषभगोचराय	"	नमः
4.	ॐ श्री विष्णवे	"	नमः
5.	ॐ श्री सबन्धनगिरीशाय	"	नमः
6.	ॐ श्री शेषाद्रिपतये	"	नमः
7.	ॐ श्री मेघ पुत्र गिरीशाय	"	नमः
8.	ॐ श्री सरस्वामि नटिबुधे	"	नमः
9.	ॐ श्री कुमारकल्प सेव्याय	"	नमः
10.	ॐ श्री बलिबुद्धिबधाय	"	नमः
11.	ॐ श्री सुवर्चला सुतनय स्त सौम्यापत्य भराय	"	नमः
12.	ॐ श्री राजाय	"	नमः
13.	ॐ श्री पद्मनाभाय	"	नमः
14.	ॐ श्री सदाशाय सुताय	"	नमः
15.	ॐ श्री स्यक्तवैकुण्ठलोकाय	"	नमः
16.	ॐ श्री गिरिकुण्डाबिहारिणे	"	नमः
17.	ॐ श्री हरिचन्दन गोबेन्द्र स्वामिने	"	नमः

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE,

18.	ॐ श्री	शंकराभ्य नैत्राभ्य विषयाय	श्री बंकटेशाय	नमः
19.	ॐ श्री	बलुपरीक्षर नाथे	"	नमः
20.	ॐ श्री	कुण्डलाय	"	नमः
21.	ॐ श्री	अश्विनाम्बरिष्यक्त वक्षते	"	नमः
22.	ॐ श्री	बंकटाय	"	नमः
23.	ॐ श्री	सनकादि महायोगि पूजिताय	"	नमः
24.	ॐ श्री	देवजित्प्रमुक्षानन्त वेत्त संघप्रवासिने	"	नमः
25.	ॐ श्री	इवेतः शिव बलम्बक्त पूजिताञ्च युवाय	"	नमः
26.	ॐ श्री	लोचवर्धन वपुष्य प्रकाशन पराय	"	नमः
27.	ॐ श्री	सामुखायित ताडयामि	"	नमः
28.	ॐ श्री	ताडयचित्त निवासिने	"	नमः
29.	ॐ श्री	मायागूढ विमानाय	"	नमः
30.	ॐ श्री	गह्वरस्तम्बावासिने	"	नमः
31.	ॐ श्री	अनन्त शिरसे	"	नमः
32.	ॐ श्री	अनन्ताक्षाय	"	नमः
33.	ॐ श्री	अनन्त चरणाय	"	नमः
34.	ॐ श्री	श्रीशैलनिलयाय	"	नमः
35.	ॐ श्री	दामोदराय	"	नमः
36.	ॐ श्री	नीलमेघनिभाय	"	नमः
37.	ॐ श्री	ब्रह्मादि देवदुर्वास विश्वरूपाय	"	नमः
38.	ॐ श्री	बंकुठागत सङ्गम विमानास्तर्गताय	"	नमः
39.	ॐ श्री	अगस्त्याभ्यस्थिताशेष जन दुर्गोच्चराय	"	नमः
40.	ॐ श्री	वासुदेवाय	"	नमः
41.	ॐ श्री	हरये	"	नमः
42.	ॐ श्री	तीर्थपंचक वासिने	"	नमः
43.	ॐ श्री	वासुदेवप्रियाय	"	नमः
44.	ॐ श्री	जनकेष्टप्रदाय	"	नमः
45.	ॐ श्री	सार्कण्डेय महातीर्थ जाल पुण्य प्रदाय	"	नमः
46.	ॐ श्री	वाक्पतिब्रह्मनाथे	"	नमः
47.	ॐ श्री	चन्द्रलावण्य दायिने	"	नमः
48.	ॐ श्री	नारायण नगेन्द्राय	"	नमः
49.	ॐ श्री	ब्रह्मकुलपुत्रोत्सवाय	"	नमः
50.	ॐ श्री	शङ्खचक्रवर्गमञ्जलसत्करतलाय	"	नमः
51.	ॐ श्री	ब्रह्मभृगुमहालक्ष्मिप्रदाय	"	नमः

CONCLUSION

57.	ॐ श्री केप्रदाय	श्री वेंकटेशाय	नमः
58.	ॐ श्री नित्यवीचनमूर्तये	"	नमः
59.	ॐ श्री अस्मितात्वंप्रदात्रे	"	नमः
60.	ॐ श्री विद्यतोत्सर्गहारिणे	"	नमः
61.	ॐ श्री तीर्थस्वामि सरस्वता जनापीठ प्रदायिने	"	नमः
62.	ॐ श्री कुमारधारिकावास स्कन्धापीठ प्रदाय	"	नमः
63.	ॐ श्री जगद्व्यसतमुद्भूत पोत्रिणे	"	नमः
64.	ॐ श्री कर्ममूर्तये	"	नमः
65.	ॐ श्री किलरद्वन्द्वशापान्तप्रदात्रे	"	नमः
66.	ॐ श्री विभवे	"	नमः
67.	ॐ श्री वैष्णवतपुनिश्रेष्ठपूजिताय	"	नमः
68.	ॐ श्री सिंहावलनिवासाय	"	नमः
69.	ॐ श्री श्रीमन्नारायणाय	"	नमः
70.	ॐ श्री सङ्कषण नीलकण्ठाय नृसिंहाय	"	नमः
71.	ॐ श्री कुम्भाक्षगणेशेष्ठ सङ्घापत्यप्रदाय	"	नमः
72.	ॐ श्री दुर्गेयः प्राणहर्त्रे	"	नमः
73.	ॐ श्री श्रीधराय	"	नमः
74.	ॐ श्री क्षत्रियास्तकराजाय	"	नमः
75.	ॐ श्री भक्त्युपाय	"	नमः
76.	ॐ श्री पाण्डवारिप्रहर्त्रे	"	नमः
77.	ॐ श्री श्रीकराय	"	नमः
78.	ॐ श्री उपत्यकाप्रवेशस्थ शंकरछातमूर्तये	"	नमः
79.	ॐ श्री कव्याब्जलरसीकूल लक्ष्मीकृत तपस्विन	"	नमः
80.	ॐ श्री लसत्लक्ष्मीकराब्जोज वल्लकल्हारकक्षजे	"	नमः
81.	ॐ श्री सालग्रामनिवासाय	"	नमः
82.	ॐ श्री शुक्लगोचराय	"	नमः
83.	ॐ श्री नारायणार्चिताशेषजनमुनिवधाय	"	नमः
84.	ॐ श्री मृगधारिकाय	"	नमः
85.	ॐ श्री वृषभासुरहारिणे	"	नमः
86.	ॐ श्री अञ्जनगोत्रपतये	"	नमः
87.	ॐ श्री वृषभाक्षलवासिने	"	नमः
88.	ॐ श्री अञ्जनानुत्तवात्रे	"	नमः
89.	ॐ श्री माधवीयावहारिणे	"	नमः
90.	ॐ श्री प्रियङ्गुप्रियभक्षाय	"	नमः

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

86.	ॐ श्री	स्नेहकोलवराहाय	श्री वेंकटेशाय	नमः
87.	ॐ श्री	नीलवेनु वयोवारलेक वेहोदुवाय	"	नमः
88.	ॐ श्री	सङ्कुरक्षित्तिनाथ	"	नमः
89.	ॐ श्री	भोमपुत्रक्षिनाथ	"	नमः
90.	ॐ श्री	सुवर्णिनी सुवर्णसम्प्रदाये	"	नमः
91.	ॐ श्री	मधुवासिने	"	नमः
92.	ॐ श्री	कुम्भाक्षविम्वेदालत वेलिकत्तव्रवाय	"	नमः
93.	ॐ श्री	वराहाचलनाथाय	"	नमः
94.	ॐ श्री	वल्लभनाथ	"	नमः
95.	ॐ श्री	त्रिविक्रमाय	"	नमः
96.	ॐ श्री	महते	"	नमः
97.	ॐ श्री	हृषीकेशाय	"	नमः
98.	ॐ श्री	अकण्ठाय	"	नमः
99.	ॐ श्री	नीलान्निलयाय	"	नमः
100.	ॐ श्री	कीराक्षिनाथाय	"	नमः
101.	ॐ श्री	बंकुण्ठाचलवासिने	"	नमः
102.	ॐ श्री	मुकुन्दाय	"	नमः
103.	ॐ श्री	अनन्ताय	"	नमः
104.	ॐ श्री	विरिञ्चाम्पत्थितानीत सौम्यरूपाय	"	नमः
105.	ॐ श्री	सुवर्णमुक्करीत्तात मनुजाभोष्टदायिने	"	नमः
106.	ॐ श्री	हृलाम्बु अगतीरर्धसस्तकलदायिने	"	नमः
107.	ॐ श्री	गोविन्दाय	"	नमः
108.	ॐ श्री	श्रीनिवामाय	श्री वेंकटेशाय	नमः



श्री वेङ्कटेश्वरस्तवः

शैवाः श्री वेङ्कटेश! त्वयि परमशिव भावयन्तो भजन्ते
दुर्गादेवीसमर्चामतय इह भवत्यर्चयन्तीव देवीम् ।
सुब्रह्मण्यार्घशीलाः अपि च भवति पङ्क्तमापूजयन्ते
नैवैकोऽप्यागमस्त्वामनुगति यतो ज्ञागमातीतमूर्तिः ॥

१

श्री श्रीनिवास! भवदीयनिगूढरूपेणान्बोन्यशात्रवगुणान् बहसि स्मितेव ।
मूर्तीकृतस्त्वमपि यद्यपि मानसं तु त्वद्भक्तियोगनिरतेषु दयाविलीनम् ॥

२

मूर्तिर्बाह्या दृश्यते श्यामवर्णा चित्तं श्वेतं शान्तिमदैवकान्त्या ।
त्वद्भक्तेभ्यो वित्तमार्कषसि त्वम् यच्छस्येभ्योऽनन्तशक्तिं कृपां ते ॥

सद्भक्त्याऽऽत्मार्पणं ते कलिदुरितहराङ्घ्रिद्वये सन्दधेऽहम्
दुष्कृत्यान्वेव पापान्यहमिह निबहाम्यर्पये तानि तुभ्यम् ।
स्वीकृत्याद्वैतमोक्षं वितर सहजया स्वीयकारूप्यदृष्ट्या
मम श्रीवेङ्कटेश! प्रणमितशिरसा प्रार्थये देवदेव! ॥

४

त्वदत्तमेव सर्वं मे किमस्त्यर्पयितुं हि ते ।
अत आत्मार्पणं कुर्वे त्वयैक्यं मे प्रसादय ॥

५

